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The
Emma
Goldman
Papers

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Emma
Goldman
Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 41

Correspondence

August 1, 1937, to January 15, 1938

Edited by

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CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

Alexandria, Virginia

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The Emma Goldman Papers Project

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Introduction to Reels 38 through 45 (July 1, 1936, to March 15, 1939)

During July 1936, Goldman, still grieving over Berkman's death, redirected her energies toward the anarchist struggle in the Spanish Civil War. She devoted herself wholeheartedly to enlisting international support against Francisco Franco's Fascist forces and their allies among right-wing groups.

At first, Berkman's suicide left Goldman at a loss about the future direction of her life. "We burried [*sic*] him yesterday," she wrote to Liza and Semion Koldofsky, "and the largest part of my life was burried with him" (7/1/36). She was unable to work on her lectures with the deluge of expressions of condolence from family, friends, and comrades to respond to. In accordance with Berkman's last wishes, she helped his companion, Emmy Eckstein, relocate to her parents' home in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, Goldman tried to get a passport to facilitate Eckstein's emigration to the United States.

Goldman had taken an interest in Spanish anarchism long before war began. She had visited Spain briefly in 1928 with Henry G. Alsberg, an associate from New York, to learn about the growing anarcho-syndicalist movement. There she met Federica Montseny, daughter of veteran anarchists and during the Civil War the first woman to serve in a Spanish cabinet. Throughout the 1930s, Goldman had been impressed with Spanish anarcho-syndicalist organizations, which were among the most successful in Europe.

After her return to Europe from Canada in 1935, Goldman began to follow events in Spain more closely. She learned about conditions there from several of her correspondents who had become involved with the Spanish anarchists: Augustin Souchy, Max Nettlau, Helmut Rüdiger, and Alexander Schapiro. As members of the anarcho-syndicalist International Working Men's Association (IWMA), they volunteered to work for the two affiliated Spanish organizations, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), the

association of anarcho-syndicalist trade unions, and the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI), the political organization of anarchist militants.

Throughout these years, however, and even for a few weeks into the war, Goldman saw little hope of an anarchist revolution in Spain. Indeed, on first hearing the news of the outbreak of fighting between the military forces of General Franco and the anarchist and socialist militia, Goldman worried that the people could become the victims of change, as they had during the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution, rather than its beneficiaries (to Therese Souchy, 7/22/36). In light of the early military victories by Republican forces, Goldman decided that she had been mistaken about the chances of an anarchist victory in Spain. "The awful pall that hung over me since Sashas untimely death has been broken," she wrote to her friend Arthur Leonard Ross. "It was due to the call I have received from my Spanish comrade[s] to help them in their heroic struggle" (8/29/36).

Soon after arriving in Spain in September 1936, Goldman decided to contribute her formidable public relations skills to the anarchist struggle. She would meet with important anarchists, gather information and documentary material, and then return to Great Britain to set up a press service and propaganda bureau. During her three-month tour of the areas under anarchist control, she visited agrarian collectives and worker-operated factories and utilities to learn as much as possible about economic conditions and labor organizations. Based in Barcelona, where she produced the English language version of the weekly *CNT-FAI Information Bulletin*, she traveled throughout Catalonia, the Levante, and Aragón and visited the Huesca and the Aragón fronts. She was hindered by her inability to speak Spanish, but with the help of interpreters and her fluency in French, the most commonly spoken foreign language in Spain, she was able to ascertain enough to be impressed by the level of organization that was maintained in most sectors of the economy. In her letters she repeatedly contrasted the innovativeness of Spanish

revolutionaries with her experience of the inability of their Russian counterparts to create new social institutions during the early 1920s.

Goldman's accounts of the Civil War, while naturally influenced by her partisanship, nevertheless provide some of the most thoughtful contemporary commentary on events in Spain. Her relatively balanced observations are all the more valuable because of the war's controversial nature, which produced grossly inaccurate reportage from the mass media and left-wing press alike. Goldman refrained from hasty assessments of a complex political situation about which she initially knew little. For example, she avoided publicly criticizing the CNT-FAI for issuing so much publicity about Soviet aid to the Republican forces. She suspected Stalin's motives in supplying arms and noted that the arms went only to troops controlled by the Spanish Communist party, Partido Comunista de España (PCE), leaving the anarchist-controlled militia in Catalonia very poorly supplied. Nevertheless, in a letter from Barcelona to an unnamed comrade (12/7/36), she warned against judgments based solely on theory: "Bear in mind that life is more exacting than theories. Not that I can agree with some of the steps taken by the CNT-FAI. But being on the spot I can understand them."

Another issue that Goldman faced was the extent to which anarchists should ally themselves with other parties of the Left. Accompanying the anarchists in their struggle against the Right were the PCE, the socialist Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), and the dissident (anti-Stalinist) Communist party, Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM). Caught in the cross fire between anarchist purists of the IWMA, including Alexander Schapiro and Mollie Steimer (who opposed any anarchist alliances with other organizations), and generally uncritical supporters of CNT-FAI policies such as Max Nettlau, Goldman identified most with the pragmatic flexibility of Mariano Vázquez of the CNT-FAI. She believed that the demands of the military struggle against Franco forced anarchists to ally with other antifascist organizations. But she continually urged anarchists to expand their own

political activities in the liberated regions by holding public meetings, producing propaganda, and increasing mass participation in anarchist organizations. She warned that otherwise, in the competitive political dynamics of Civil War Spain, anarchist groups would lose their identity in mass organizations.

Returning to Britain in early 1937 as an official representative of the CNT-FAI, Goldman rose to the familiar challenge of defending a movement beset by critics from both the Right and the Left. While she had her own criticisms, she concentrated on publicizing the constructive work of the Spanish anarchist movement, emphasizing the revolutionary aspects of the struggle: the agrarian collectives, the new public schools, the worker-owned factories and utilities, the democratic structure of the anarchist militia. These new, democratic institutions, Goldman insisted, were replacing a corrupt system dominated by the landed aristocracy with its allies in the Catholic church and the army. This emphasis corrected both the conservatives' portrayal of Spanish anarchists as destroyers of civil order and traditional values and the pro-Soviet Left's dismissal of anarchists as undisciplined opportunists unwilling to do their share of fighting on the front lines.

Her role as a representative of an organization, the CNT-FAI, was a new one for her. Throughout her life she had worked as an independent activist, forming coalitions or *ad hoc* committees as the need arose. As the London representative for the CNT-FAI, she agreed to function as an official of a large organization, an organization that had the opportunity and the will to undertake governmental functions. Federica Montseny, for example, one of Goldman's associates in the CNT, was serving as the Minister of Health, along with three other anarchist ministers. Goldman faced this dilemma with an extensive understanding of the political dynamics in Spain. She knew that Spanish anarchists had to choose between two potentially damaging alternatives. On one hand, they could stay out of the Popular Front government and allow other parties to take power and risk having that power

used against them in the future. On the other hand, they could join the government and risk abandoning the central tenet of their political philosophy: that the functions of government are oppressive in all contexts. While Goldman did not take a definite position on this issue, she insisted that anarchists should never work to limit the freedom of other parties or individuals, except that of Fascists.

Her first project consisted of an effort to display her collection of photographs, posters, journals, newsletters, manifestos, and paintings from Spain as a way to demonstrate the importance of the anarchist contribution to the Spanish Revolution. Her exhibition of photographs of the bombardment of Madrid by Franco's forces was also an appeal for humanitarian aid for the casualties of an increasingly mechanized war that targeted civilian populations. She worked with Fenner Brockway and Roland Penrose of the Independent Labour Party on a joint exhibition of her collection and other materials from Republican Spain. And she was a prime mover behind the Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children which raised about £500 during the winter and spring of 1937.

While her public meetings were well attended, usually attracting seven or eight hundred people, she frequently complained in her letters about the lack of response to her efforts in Britain. She may have been comparing the British response to her Spanish aid campaign with the huge crowds she drew in the United States in the similarly charged atmosphere of the years before World War I. As before, she was convinced that she could do more in the United States to aid the Spanish anarchists; in early 1937 she applied through Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union for another visa to lecture in the United States. This application, her last major effort to return, was rejected.

Goldman also set herself the formidable task of convincing the British labor movement to take direct action to force the government to end its arms embargo against Spain. Without foreign aid, except the small amounts of arms

and a few advisers from the Soviet Union and Mexico, the Republican forces were unable to hold ground against Franco's army, which was well supplied by the governments of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The British government's arms embargo continued throughout the Civil War, despite general public support for the Republican cause. The anticommunist sympathies of the leadership of the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress prevented any rank-and-file challenge to the government's "neutrality". In addition, Goldman and her associates had few contacts with British labor unions. They were unable to attract more than a few individuals to the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union, which was formed primarily to provide support for the CNT-FAI.

Goldman's journalistic efforts on behalf of Spain were considerably more successful. She worked with Vernon Richards, the son of an Italian anarchist, and his companion Marie-Louise Berneri, the daughter of the Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri, a major figure in the CNT in Barcelona, on the fortnightly newspaper, *Spain and the World*. Although Goldman wrote several letters to the editors of major British dailies to try to correct their inaccurate reporting on the Civil War, she preferred to write for an anarchist journal. She was able to obtain financial support for *Spain and the World* from the CNT, and she recruited several British writers, including the poet and art critic Herbert Read, to write for the paper. In addition to providing an alternative to the mass media's distortion and the neglect of Spanish events, *Spain and the World* contributed to the sense of urgency about the Civil War that led hundreds of individuals to volunteer for the International Brigades, which were essential to the Republican military efforts.

Events in Spain became more complicated after the outbreak of street fighting in Barcelona between the CNT militia and the central Republican forces, which were increasingly dominated by troops loyal to the PCE, during the "May Days" of 1937. The fighting, which continued for several days, began when the central government attempted to remove the Barcelona telephone exchange, the primary center for communications for Catalonia, from CNT

control. Hundreds of CNT and POUM militants were killed and hundreds more arrested. After the negotiated settlement, in which Federica Montseny played a crucial role, Goldman changed her initial stance of muting her public criticism of the other leftist parties in Spain. She began to criticize the suppression of the workers' organizations and the arrest and detention of anarchist militants. She held the PCE responsible for the street fighting because she believed that the Republican government, dependent on Soviet aid, was being forced to eliminate the revolutionary programs of the CNT-FAI, that the desire to limit the revolutionary potential of the Civil War guided the Soviets' policy. They ostensibly wanted to maintain the participation of all levels of Spanish society in the Popular Front against Franco and to avoid offending the governments of Britain, France, and the United States, countries whose governments were opposed to a communist or anarchist revolution in Spain. When the left-wing socialist premier, Largo Caballero, who had resisted communist influence, was removed, along with the four anarchists in his cabinet, and procommunist Juan Negrín was installed in his place, Goldman's criticism became even harsher. In an article in *Spain and the World* of June 4, 1937 (see the Goldman Writings Series), she accused the Communists and right-wing socialists of plotting to end the social revolution in Spain. She also attributed the death of Camillo Berneri--found shot in the back after being arrested during the May Days--to agents of Stalin. Finally, she likened this campaign, which included attacks on agrarian collectives, to the repression of the anarchists and other noncommunist leftists in Russia under Lenin and Stalin.

The events of May 1937 shattered the solidarity of the Popular Front government in Spain but did not surprise Goldman who had been prepared for such an outcome by her disappointing experience in the Russian Revolution. She was angered by the conciliatory position of the CNT leaders who were trying to avoid a protracted battle between anarchists and the Republican government. But she was also angry at the insistent criticisms of Mollie

Steimer, Alexander Schapiro, and others in the international anarchist movement, who demanded that the anarchists cease all cooperation with the Republican government. She argued that the urgency of the war against Franco, in which the Republican forces were taking heavy losses, made such theoretical purity impossible. Goldman was also able to place what she saw as the mistakes of the CNT-FAI leaders in the context of the constructive efforts they were making.

During the months after the May Days, Goldman became impatient for reliable news from Spain. A comrade from New York, Abe Bluestein, after visiting her in London, wrote her several detailed reports from Barcelona, documenting the repression of the anarchist organizations by the Republican government. He also described the developing split between the leaders of the CNT-FAI and a new organization, Libertarian Youth, whose members wanted to resist the repressive governmental actions. Feeling the need to reassess the political situation for herself, Goldman returned to Spain in September 1937. She visited the Madrid front and was impressed by the high morale of the Republican troops. She found many of the agrarian collectives in Catalonia still thriving. She also visited the Modelo Prison in Madrid where she learned that fifteen hundred anarchists and several hundred members of POUM were being held as political prisoners. Outraged by these arrests and the recent disappearance of Kurt Landau, a member of the Executive Committee of POUM, Goldman attacked the Republican government in an article, "Political Persecution in Republican Spain," in *Spain and the World* (12/10/37, Goldman Writings Series). Mariano Vázquez and Pedro Herrera of the FAI, in a response to this article, advised Goldman to use more tact in her criticisms of the Republican government. Such complaints, they argued, could undermine the support the Republican government sought in its struggle against fascism.

Back in Britain by December 1937, Goldman continued to campaign for the CNT-FAI. She wrote for *Spain and the World*, organized a musical evening

for the benefit of Civil War refugees, and formed a British branch of a new organization, Solidaridad Internacional Anti-Fascista (SIA), founded in Spain by Federica Montseny to raise funds for humanitarian aid for Catalonia. By the spring of 1938, Goldman began to find it more difficult to arouse support for the Spanish cause as the attention of the public was drawn to Central Europe; Hitler occupied Austria in March and began to intensify his anti-Semitic propaganda campaign. Meanwhile, after the Soviet government's indictment of the Old Bolsheviki, Goldman focused increasingly on the links between Stalinism and fascism, an analysis that had limited appeal in Britain. Feeling that her work in Britain was failing, Goldman decided to visit Spain once more and then move to Canada, where she hoped to be more successful at raising funds for the CNT-FAI. As the military situation worsened and Franco's troops advanced toward Barcelona, she knew that the anarchist cause might be defeated in Spain. But she needed to draw inspiration once again from "the only people in the world who still love liberty passionately enough to be willing to die for it" (to Arthur Leonard Ross, 6/17/38).

At the same time she faced another personal crisis when her niece Stella Ballantine was hospitalized in New York for severe depression. For decades Goldman had been closer to Ballantine than to any other family member, relying on her even more for emotional support after Alexander Berkman's death. The loss of this support contributed to the growing feeling of isolation that Goldman experienced as her work in Britain brought fewer results.

By the time she reached Barcelona in September 1938 for her third and final visit, a deep split had developed within the anarchist movement over the issue of cooperation with the Republican government. Although she sympathized with the faction of the CNT-FAI, led by Pedro Herrera, that adhered to the classical anarchist principle of avoiding any cooperation with the state, she considered this an internal matter about which she was unwilling to comment. She nevertheless remained determined to call attention to the

Republican government's political repression of dissident leftists. She spoke out against the charges brought against a number of POUM activists accused of collaboration with the Fascists, declaring that it was the POUM's anti-Stalinism that had led to their arrests. And she expected CNT personnel like Mariano Vázquez to do more to obtain the release of the jailed anarchists.

After Goldman returned to London in November, she closed the CNT-FAI press office, as there was no one else in London able to carry on her work, and she convinced Ethel Mannin to take responsibility for the SIA. Before moving to Canada, where she planned to raise funds for the SIA, Goldman needed to find a safe repository for Berkman's papers, which were in storage in her house in St. Tropez. She chose the International Institute of Social History, located in Amsterdam, because of its reputation for independence from any government restrictions or monitoring. She spent most of January 1939 cataloguing his papers. Briefly absorbed again in her private life, perhaps effecting a final separation from Berkman and an integration of the experience of the decades she was associated with him, she thus insulated herself from the final defeat of the Spanish anarchists with the fall of Barcelona to Nationalist troops in late January.

The plight of the Spanish refugees detained in poorly supplied refugee camps in France, however, evoked an immediate response from Goldman. She began work to raise money to help them emigrate to North America. She also began a dispute with Mariano Vázquez about the cause of the defeat of anarchism in Spain. Goldman believed that the sabotage of the social revolution by the Communists was the deciding factor; their attacks on the programs and organizations that benefited the Spanish masses led to the demoralization of the groups that supported the Republican cause. Vázquez saw the failure of Western democracies to come to the aid of Republican Spain as the primary cause of the defeat because it left the Republican forces hopelessly outnumbered by the well-equipped Nationalist troops assisted by their German, Italian, and Moroccan units.

Each of these positions included differing assessments of the actions of the anarchists themselves. Goldman thought it was naive to ally with the Communists in the Popular Front government. She was aware of the importance of public morale in maintaining a protracted civil war with heavy casualties; therefore it was important to distinguish one's efforts from any organization that could act against the interests of the people. She could not see as clearly as Vázquez the importance of external, international forces in a conflict as complex as the Spanish Civil War. Vázquez believed that without support from an international anarchist movement, other labor organizations abroad, or democratic governments, the Spanish anarchists had no choice but to accept support from the Soviet Union. In late 1937, Goldman had been willing to admit that she may have been too optimistic in her assessment of the strength of the anarchist movement in Spain. This allowed her to accept the eventual defeat of the anarchists without losing hope for the future. She had come to realize that "it will take more than one revolution before our ideas will come to full growth. Untill then the steps will be feeble, our ideas no doubt fall from the heights many times and many will be the mistakes our comrades are bound to make.... I will die as I lived[,] with my burning faith in the ultimate triumph of our ideal" (to Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin, 9/7/37).

Editor's Note.

Many documents relating to Emma Goldman's involvement with the anarchist cause during the Spanish Civil War, including a large body of correspondence, were acquired too late to be incorporated in the chronologically organized Correspondence Series. Users of the microfilm are advised to consult reels 68 and 69, which consist of supplementary correspondence, for those documents, especially material from the

**Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives at the International Institute of
Social History, Amsterdam.**

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The Emma Goldman Papers

881027004

[Letter, 1937 Aug.? Nice to Emma Goldman, Paris? (fragment)] / Nonore [Teissier]. — 2 p. ; 29 × 23 cm.

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J'ai été pour l'anniversaire de la mort de notre
Sacha sur la terre où demeurent ses restes charnels
car son esprit se prolonge en notre souvenir
à nous tous ceux qui l'avons aimé.

La tombe, toute blanche des petits cailloux de
pierres de marbre, était bien telle que vous l'avez
vue avec la plaque qui rappelle ses pensées
les plus grandes et ses sentiments les plus géné-
reux. J'y ai mis deux grandes gerbes
de fleurs rouges ainsi que le souhaité ---
Oj. joint le chèque que vous m'avez en-
voyé pour l'achat de ces fleurs. Il y manque
votre signature.

Je pense au mois de septembre aller avec
Louzon faire un petit voyage en Tchécoslovaquie. Si
vous connaissez la Bas Guel.

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23872
Quels camarades qui pourraient nous renseigner un
peu sur la situation vous nous obligeriez beaucoup
car déjà nous serons bien gênés par la méconnaiss-
sance de la langue.

Si vous devez retourner en Espagne j'espère que
vous voudrez faire escale à Nice quelques jours. Mais
je suis bien inquiète de vous savoir de projet en
tête car là bas tout est dangereux et le temps
où je vous saurais dans ce grand mais mal-
heureux pays, mon cœur sera plein d'inquiétude
pour votre santé, votre liberté, votre vie. Je sais
cependant que vous n'irez qu'à quelque fin utile
et je ne saurais alors insister sur toutes les
raisons que j'ai à espérer un changement de
direction pour vos prochains voyages.

Je vous embrasse de tout mon cœur

Nonore
14 Boulevard des Capucines

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726345

[Letter, 1937 Aug.? London to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Fenner Brockway]. — 1 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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24039

28th July, 1937.

The Secretary,
Authors', Playwrights' & Composers
Incorporated Society,
11, Gower Street, W.C.1.

Dear Sir,

I wish to draw your attention to a matter which I think is of importance to authors.

As you know journalists representing newspapers are provided with visas by the Foreign Office on condition that they sign a declaration that they will not intervene on either side in the struggle in Spain. Apparently, however, this rule does not apply to authors. I have just been informed of the case of Mrs. E. Colton, a British subject, who had been authorised by the C. W. Daniel Company Limited, book publishers, to go to Spain in order to collect material for a book on its new educational experiments. Messrs. Daniel had sent her a cheque for £25 to cover expenses.

When, however, Mrs. Colton applied for a visa this was refused on the ground that the privilege to which I have referred above is extended to journalists only.

Quite apart from the personal issue, this seems to involve a principle about which your Society should be concerned. I suggest that you might consider the point and if you think well take it up with the Foreign Office.

Faithfully yours,

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24040

Sidney Silverman, M.P.,
House of Commons, S.W.1.

Dear Sidney,

Can you take up with the Foreign Office the refusal of a visa to Spain to Mrs. E. Colton (Emma Goldman). She is a British subject by marriage and carries a British passport which is entirely in order. She has a letter from the C. W. Daniel Company Limited, her publishers, authorising her to collect material in Spain for a book on its new educational experiments and sending her £25 to cover expenses.

When she went to the Passport Office to apply for the visa this was refused.

As you know, journalists are permitted to go to Spain for newspapers if they sign a declaration that they do not propose to intervene on either side. It would seem reasonable that a similar rule should apply to authors. Quite apart from the case of Mrs. Colton I think the principle is worth taking up and I am communicating with the Authors' Society about it.

I am writing to you on this matter rather than to one of our own M.P.'s because experience shows that an approach from a Labour M.P. is often more effective and because I know of your sympathy and support.

With all good wishes,

I am,

Sincerely yours,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 1, London [to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 6 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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F.A.I.

London Office:

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London August 1st 37.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Darling. I have been tardy with letters to you the last two weeks. There was nothing very serious the matter. I had simply gotten in a slump and letters were very hard to write. Then too, I had a preface in mind for the new edition of Sashas little book WHAT IS COMMUNIST ANARCHISM. I found it extremely difficult to do yet could not free myself of ~~that~~ thought ever present in my mind. You see, when I was in Chada four years ago I suggested to the comrades to buy up the plates of Sashas last work and get out a new edition. The work is more than ever very timely. Well, Canada could not get enough money together to bring out the book. Now the Freie Arb. Stimme intends to do so. Freedman wrote it for the preface. You will laugh when I tell you he asked for six hundred words dealing with the world situation and Sashas death. A Kleinigkeit. Well, I finally wrote the preface but it is more than six hundred words and it does not deal with the world situation. It does not even deal with the point in Sasha work in which he erred as demonstrated by the Spanish Revolution. Namely his idea that the workers can not hope to defend the Revolution against modern war machinery and that, therefore, only the workers economic strength will win. The General Strike is the best weapon. Our dear Sasha no more than anyone of us foresaw the fascist pest and its allies with their war equipment. The General Strike is a tremendous weapon if the workers of all countries would engage in it as a protest against the attacks on the Revolution. But the workers outside of Spain have done precious little to help the struggle there. They have not even done as much as the British sea and transport workers in 1920 did for Russia. They have collected some money. But no real decisive demonstration of solidarity with the heroic people of Spain has any country shown. So where would the anti-fascist be if they had depended on a general strike alone? This should have been dealt with in my preface as well as the new blunders made by the leaders of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. But it was impossible. I am inclosing a copy of what I wrote so you will see that I made it as concentrated as possible. I hope the Fr. Arb. St. will use it. If not it will be no tragedy. Sashas last work like all his writings stand on their own merit.

I hope when the Fr. Arb. St. puts the book on sale there will be a little money for Amy out of it. Frankly I don't know what will become of her. She was to go to Ray Boyle and Lawrence who are in Switzerland. First it was to be for the whole summer. Then only for a month. E. wrote she hadn't the fare. So I sent her that. I did not hear from her for two weeks. Naturally, I thought she is with Ray. Then I had a letter that she was still in Paris, was ill and starving and did not know

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know where to turn or from who to ~~xxxxx~~ borough. I then cabled Lodest who sent her thousand francs. ~~He~~ must be frightfully hard-up because it was nearly a week before he cabled the money. Still he did send it. Well, I have a letter from Emmy saying she paid five hundred francs debt and she is going to a former ~~neighbor~~ neighbor of hers in St. Cloud to get a weeks rest in bed. She had ~~done~~ a little work for some theatre, typing, she had to carry her machine back and forth to the theatre and she was sure she had injured her inside. Not a word what had happened with May and Lawrence and why ~~skax~~ the visit was off. There was such a violent love affair between May Lawrence and Emmy it seems strange that they should fail Emmy when she most needed their love or whatever it is between them.

I am certain Lodest would send her some money every month if only \$25. But it is impossible for him to do it regularly unless he is reminded. Now, he has told Emmy repeatedly she should cable him or write when she needs help. He has written it to me and I have reiterated the same thing to E. But no, she would rather have me do it for her. Now, I realize it is humiliating to have to ask help all the time. But lots of things in life are humiliating. It is more than humiliating for me to ask Lodest. I don't know what will become of it all. True E. tries to get work, so do tens of thousands. It is not her fault if she does not get it. So unless she determines to turn to Lodest every month I do not know how she will manage. Anyway our dear Sasha left me some load, I will have to carry it until the end of my years. I shouldn't care if E. were well. But she is not and it makes my responsibility more acute.

If only I knew myself where to turn. As I wrote you unless I go to Canada I will have to do something about a loan on ~~xxxxxxx~~ Bon Esprit. Dearest Jeanne Levey has promised to raise some money to secure my entry into Canada. The trouble is the outlook there is triste. Dorothy Giessecke writes me that Montreal is out of the question for any activity for Spain. The Catholic church is so ~~powerful~~ powerful in Quebec not even a Hall can be gotten for meetings on Spain without Police permission that had never been required before. Not only that but the Press is of course Catholic kept. Even some perfectly innocent Government representatives from Spain were nearly driven out of town. So what chance would I have? A Jewish meeting or two, yes, but nothing in English. Toronto while still fairly liberal has given very little response for Spain. Other towns, Calgary, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Vancouver are far apart and the fares prohibitive. All in all the outlook is not very bright. Still I want to go more as a test in re A. than what I might achieve in Canada itself. So far the comrades in Toronto have raised no money. Besides I will have to come back to England first.

As I wrote you Frank left me his picture. It is powerful and gives the CNT-FAI as I could never hope to do by word of mouth or even ~~pen~~ I arranged a free showing and raised \$110 to launch the film. The trouble is we cannot show it in its inflammable condition. We had to have it reduced to 16mm. and also make it non-flammable in the process. This alone and for one picture costs us \$42.10. Now, to send the film around the country and cover London we will need at least six more films. Nor is this the only cost. We will need to send an operator and a projector and that costs more than we can hope to realize from the film. However we have made a start. It will first be shown at the I.L.P. summer

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school. Hundreds of branches will be represented there and will report back to prevail upon their comrades to hire the film from us. Then we have arranged another free showing for the 20th of August for the press and all sorts of well-known people, writers, Labor and others in the public forefront. I will not be here for that but I am leaving it in good hands. At that affair another appeal will be made for help to send the film out broadcast. For the 20th of Sept a public showing in connection with a meeting has been decided upon. The preparatory work is also in good hands and I intend to come back in time for the finishing touches and to speak

I should really not leave and devote myself to the work entailed to launch the picture. But my knee is still bad and causes me a lot of pain. My doctor insists nothing will help it so much as sunbathing. If I did not still have Bon Esprit I'd find some spot here outside of London, no sunbathing here so far. But I really must go to St Tropez to see about the place and finish with it once for all. I leave for Paris the 4th and about the 15th I will go to St Tropez for a few weeks. Then come back here to push the film, and get ready either for Canada or ~~xxxxxx that xxxxxx~~ or Palestine. This is as dubious as America. But comrades are working for it there. Even if they succeed it will only be for a month or two after which I will still go to Canada. At present I am uncertain about either country except England where I must come back for a while to make the picture a success.

I wrote Knopf and I asked C.W. Daniels for credentials that might get me a visa for Spain. I could not yet hear from K. But Daniels sent back a letter post haste saying he wanted me to gather material for a book on the new educational experiment undertaken in Catalonia. I went with the letter to the Foreign Office. But I was of course refused. "the rulings of Non-Intervention do not include writers," I was told. Journalists yes! Now if you were regularly employed on the Staff of the Daily Mail or the Telegraph we would give you a visa" the clerk enlightened me. I assured him I had no intentions to be on the Staff of such sheets. Well, my good friend Fenns Borackway Sect. of the I.L.P. insists that the refusal must not be taken lying down. It concerned not only me but writers in general. So he has written to a Labor P.P. and to the Authors Club asking them to protest against this perfectly absurd discrimination between writers and journalists. And Daniels is writing to some of the leading authors and publishers. I do not believe it will help. But I agree some protest is necessary. While I still could hop about with ease I thought I'd try the illegal way to Spain. It is out of the question now. All the reactionary gang

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happened

in Spain may soon be kicked out. It has ~~opened~~ ^{happened} before you know. In that case it would not be difficult to get there. By that time I hope my knee will be well again. I want ~~to~~ to get to Spain in any event, I mean whether I go to Canada or Palestine or remain in England. Well we will see.

I am so glad to have Loe's address. I wrote him and Babsie a long letter to day. My poor stricken brother not much of a birthday for him on the 15th of this month. Only a line to make him feel how deeply he is in my heart and my mind. If this reaches you in time send him a line Stella dearest, or a wire. In illness and isolation a word from those near and dear to us means so much. Who should know it so well as I? If I have had my health, barring the damned knee, I have felt the isolation the separation from Loe and you and my other dear ones. It is unbearably painful at times. ~~and I~~ at least can absorb myself and forget in my work. But Loe's condition must be cruelly difficult to endure. So let's help him all we can if only with a cheering word. Yes, dearest Stella I know it is hard for you to get away and also costly. I am not doubting you at all. It is only that Loe's days are counted, or ~~was counted~~ months at most. One usually regrets when it is too late not having done more for those we love when they were alive. I am often beset by the thought that I did wrong in leaving Mice and Sasha before he was completely recovered. True, circumstances made ~~it~~ being near very painful and trying. Still I should not have minded that. I should have gone to a hotel so as to be within ~~an~~ easy call. I am sure Sasha would not have taken the final plunge. It is all nonsense of course to regret the irremediable. But it is my regret which made me plead with you to go out to Loe. I know perfectly well you love our sweet Loe and going to him would be no more an indication for your love as not going against it. Perhaps I have grown too sentimental in my old age. Anyhow I do not wish to press you.

My dearest, of course I do not want you to quarrel with Kate much less with Ian about their blindness to the Moscow gang. It would do no good in the first place. And people must come to their senses through their own experience. Nothing else seems to make them see the things crying to the very heavens. I should not have referred to either Kate or Ian and their fanatical belief that the pope can do no wrong. But on the day of writing I received the document giving a day by day account of the criminal plot by the Spanish Communists. It made me see red. I am sorry if I hurt you darling. I know so well that it takes a long time for a lie to be found out. I should not worry you about it. Yes, that Louis Fischer, a worse prostitute does not exist. He not only sells his own rotten mind, he sells the Russian masses as well. Nor is he alone. To hell with them.

Modest seems to be disappointed that I did not let Bon Esprit go for the 75,000 francs. He writes I may now have to wait a long time to find another buyer. That is well possible. But if he had not delayed the authorization paper I could have sold it for that in March and turned the francs into pounds. Fact is I still do not have that damned scrap of paper. Modest cabled me he had sent it registered c/o Mollie's address two weeks ago, it is about a month now. But the letter could not have arrived or Mollie would have forwarded it to me. So

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again time will be lost before another authorisation arrived. There is so much red tape in France. The authorisation must be written on official paper and signed before the French Consul if it is done outside of France.

The notaire being a Frenchman and close fisted must have sent *to send* only one sheet of paper. So now I had to write May to get the notaire another sheet to rush it to Lodest that I may at last have the damned authorisation. As I said I was going to St Tropez, perhaps a buyer will be found while I am there. I'd let the place go for eighty five thousand instead of the 95,000 I have now asked. As it is it will mean a great loss and Stein will have to get his share. Not much will remain at best.

Still it would secure me for a few years and I could help Joe a little and that unfortunate E. But I may have to wait a long time now and some other interference might happen. It always does in my case. As now when the agent demands his commission whether I let the place go or not. You see he did secure a buyer and it is not his fault if I backed out. French law sustains him not me. Serves me right. I am the last person who should ever have tied herself with property even if it was bought by friends.

I have not heard from Harry K. since I last wrote him. I understand he has some trouble with his eye. That would be too bad for the dear man if it were a serious condition. I am waiting to hear whether he intends to proceed on my suggestion of a committee. But really dearest I fear there is no chance for me. Roger has not written in a long time. Dubinsky has refused categorically. And the situation in the States is such that I will be considered an additional danger to Mr Lewis. Not very flattering I must say. Still one must face facts. I cling to a very slender thread my being near the States. People cannot be moved for anything too far away from them. Well, we will see.

Speaking of how indifferent people are when one is away. Hundreds of our friends must have read the Sunday Times of the 4th that contained my letter. And a great number must have read it in the Evening Post, yet no one outside of yourself cared sufficiently to send me the clipping. Such indifference shows how very little people remember or care when you are far away. I dare say all these friends would cluster around and indulge in a lot of empty assurance of affection if I were in the States. But to send a clipping, a paper or an occasional book. Oh no, their friendship and love never goes that far. By the way, the letter also appeared in the Toronto Star but shortened. I am glad the Times and Post had it. So many people will at least have read the other side of the story about the C.N.T.-A.I. You don't know how much that means

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Aug. 1, London [to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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to me.

I am so glad your people had such a nice holiday. I can imagine that with the best condition must have blurred the bright picture for your mother in your house. Your lovely kids and sweet Teddy and you my darling. Your people must rejoice in this side of their visit. Be sure to give them my love when you write them. It is fine of Hymen and his new wife to take ~~xxxxxxx~~ your folks out for drives. Be sure to give Hymen my affectionate greetings even though he never writes, or remembers me. I ~~xxx~~ deeply appreciate his interest and care of Mos.

My darling you cannot say I have failed to make up for the long wait. Now I must get a corner as to my knee. It helps a lot. I may add a few lines before this is mailed on Tuesday. You can write me to Bonapart. I will be there the latest the 20th of this month. I mean to leave Paris the 15th but I may go to Nice first to visit with Tessier for a day or two and have her take me out to Cannes grave. I haven't yet seen the Tablet I had arranged with Tessier to order and put up. So I may not get to St Tropez before the 15th. It will only be for three weeks as I must get back here about Sept 15th. I am lucky about my flat in London. A Spanish cruise has taken it off my hand until I return. So I will be back at 15 castle town etc.

Love to Teddy, the boys. Dearest love to you my Stella. My goodness you do look thin, quite the modern figure. Better not keep it up dear heart, it is dangerous. Seriously don't work so hard and stop reducing.

Emma

Send my affectionate greetings to Hymen and Helen. Hope you will be happy night here in all.

If you had sent me Hilary address, I could have written her. & she had

wrote me of R. Bann

106 Goringham Rd London W. 12
He will forward me letters

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 2 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

14667

August 2nd 37.

Dearling Jeanne.

I have two letters from you of the 17th of July and the typewritten one dated the 20th of June. Of course you meant July because the postmark is that date. Yes, I have heard from Julia. First it was a postcard giving me the hotel at Grenoble. I wrote her at once that I was planning to go to St Tropez via Grenoble. I would stop off if I knew whether she and Lucille would still be there about the 15th of August. I received an immediate answer giving me her itinerary. Alas, it was such that we could not possibly get together. Also I had realised that I could not go South by easy stages because of my knee. So I again wrote Julia begging her to postpone her trip to Switzerland and come to Paris for a few days. I am glad to say she and Lucille consented to do so. They plan to reach Paris about the 9th or 10th. I am leaving here the fourth. I had intended leaving to day. But Ethel Mannin, an English writer and a friend of mine who ~~knows~~ arrange for me to travel like a lady could not get a lower berth and my knee hurts so much to climb to an upper. So I decided to wait until weds when I can go in comfort.

I will remain in Paris about ten days then go on to St Tropez. My doctor insists that my knee needs sunbaths. Don Képrit is just the place for it. If only there will not be so many painful recollections. You have no idea how Sasha loved and cherished Don Képrit, the pride he took in the garden, the care of the roses and plants he gave. To think of all that while in Don Képrit will open up ~~xxxxxxxx~~ the wounds that have hardly turned into scars. Yet I have to go not only for my knee but to see about my place. I had a chance to sell it but when the frame began to fall I had to hang on to it or lose more than half of its cost. It is all I have to my name, and for the time left me in this best of worlds of ours. Anyhow, I am going from Paris to St Tropez for a few weeks so you can write me there under A.C. Colton Don Képrit Cherin St Antoine St Tropez Var. France.

I will have to come back here. An American friend who lived long in Spain has made a most impressive film of the events since 1931 to a few months ago. I see it is appearing in New York, perhaps it will also come to Chicago though the N.Y Times damned it, of course it is too revolutionary, to much the fight of the CIO-PAI. Well the trade here would not have it. So the friend gave me the film for my xx

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 2 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

work. I have at once organized a small non official committee to ~~demonstrate~~ rate the film broadcast. Of course you understand that we will not be permitted to show it in the regular way as the censor will never release it. We can show it in connection with meetings. The trouble is the picture in its present form is inflammable and there is no hall in London or the provinces licensed for it. So we had to have it reproduced to a non inflammable film and of smaller size suitable for halls. That cost £2.10 and \$35 for every additional picture. Fortunately I collected \$116 to be in with and I rather think more can be raised at the next free showing. It has already been arranged for the third week in this month and will be for the Press and three picture houses that do revolutionary films, also for a lot of invited guests. In that way we hope to raise some money to make at least six pictures to send to all parts of England. It is the most impressive bits of propaganda for the CIT-PAI I have seen. I have left everything in good hands. I expect to return here around the 15th of Sept when we will have the first public showing in connection with a meeting.

However you must not imagine the film means money. In as much as only six pence can be charged for admission that to avoid amusement tax, and also because we need an operator and projector that will cost about four pounds an evening in addition to the rent for hall, and advertising there is no hope of making money, but it is the moral and propaganda effect which will count. The CIT-PAI never needed it more than now when they are being brutally villified by the damned Stalinist gang. Once I have got the film in motion there will be no need for my being here. I could then call for Canada especially since my chances of getting to Spain in a legal way has received a staggering blow. This is what happened. My English publishers gave me a credit to go to Spain for material for a book on the educational experiment in Catalonia. I had also written to Knopf for one but have not yet heard from him. Anyhow I sent for a visa. But the Foreign Office refused on the most idiotic grounds. "The Non-Intervention rules while providing for journalists do not include writers. Can you beat such stupidity? The man in the office assured me that if I were employed on a regular news-paper staff, such as the Daily Mail, or Telegraph he would give me a visa. As if I would want to work for such rotten Tory sheets. Well, the refusal will have this good effect it will make publicity. The General Secretary of the Independent Labor Party has already written to a Labor M.P. and to the Authors Club to protest to the Foreign Office and my publisher is sending out a letter to publishers to do the same. All will stress the absurdity of permitting journalists to enter Spain and discriminate against writers. It will be good publicity. But whether it would get me a visa is doubtful. Now since I can not continue by the legal route and since my knees would not let me climb the Pyrenees my getting to Spain will be out of the question. It makes me sick that this should be so. The one here is that the Fascist and Communist government in Spain will not last long. Spain is not England or America where governments last for ever. The CIT-PAI though hurled from its high position largely through its own fault is already beginning to grow tentative. I should not be surprised that some sudden change will take place.

However I cannot face the idea of sitting around in England doing nothing of importance. So I must go to Canada. If

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870928198

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 2 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10669

3

only to make a last test whether A. will let me in or not. The out
look is not bright. Dubinsky whom Rose Poseto approached refused
point blank. Roger Baldwin is no hero and does not do anything exe
lting. Still I feel that he would be more active if I were near than
so far away. I am glad dearest that you agree with me. The thing
now is the money. I am delighted to learn that you are on the job
I knew you would be. I am not sure what Julie will do if it at
all. I wrote her in my first letter asking whether you had spoken
to her about my going to Canada. She replied that you had not but
she would wait until I write we will meet and then I should tell
her. So we will see.

The comrades in Toronto have so far done nothing. They
did have somekind of a gathering to discuss my coming but so far I
I have not been notified of the result. Yet I am sure they will
raise something though it is not going to be enough. Of that I am
certain. I have written Ben Ladd a personal letter. He has not
replied. It would be very good if Jay could broach the subject
when he will be with him if this does not reach you too late. I
mean Jay may have been in Canada. Anyway I know if you will not
succeed no one else will. I am so sure that you are doing your
utmost that I am making my plans in re Canada. By the way if you
would write Florence Barnett, Bens daughter she might contribute
something. And Hindshears might raise something among the comrades
As I wrote before the money raised in the States is of course on
a speculation. But if I should succeed not only will it mean a lot
of propaganda but it will also enable us to pay back every penny.
Of course there will be no manager again for me outside of such
first rate managers as yourself and Jay and the other comrades.
This is what you must impress upon those who will contribute toward
my trip to Canada.

Yes, indeed I will be able to sell the pamphlet
and also LIVING MY LIFE which now sells at \$1.49 of which I get
forty percent discount. But more than that I will be able to place
the real Spain, the Spain of the masses, of the CNT-FA before
Canadian and American audiences.

I am happy to know you have completely recovered
from your accident. Please prevail upon your chauffeurs to be "careful
darlings". Anything to retain ones life and limb. Isn't it worth
it when one is still young and handsome as you are my sweet Jeanne
Oh, how I would love to visit your country place, or at least to

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 2 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

14670

be with you in Chicago. I am sure it could be brought about if only we had the right people to work for a visa. I have written Harry Kelly to start a campaign for a Committee. I am certain Roger would never have succeeded had not my dear friend Mrs. Mahle Carter Croft organized a formidable Committee. I asked Harry to do the same. To do it quietly and by means of correspondence. Then when we do have a list of outstanding people, Harry will take more heart. I shall when you get back to Chicago in Sept. you could undertake to round up influential names in your city. You could cooperate with Harry. It is my only hope for the future of getting back, perhaps for the last time. No one will ever guess the heart hunger I have for the real and vital American, the A. that holds my people, my precious friends my comrades and that is the only field where my labors have borne some fruit and will more if I could till it again. I should despair if I did not know my work in such hands as yours, Harry's and a few others.

There is a time & move in Palestine to get to there. No, not to and my grave in Jerusalem, "Our Homeland" but ~~to~~ to do something for them and get impressions of the experiment under taken there. It is a very small anarchist group that is trying to organize something for them, but that too is vague. First one needs a visa from Palestine and secondly the Labor movement I am told is about the most reactionary in the world and the Labor outfit in Palestine is still powerful. I am not very sanguine about it. In any event my going there would only be for a month. I will keep you posted.

Write me to at 14670 or 14671 Jeanne. Give my love to Ray and take lots of it yourself.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871005178

[Letter] 1937 Aug. 2 [London to A.] Vidalí Arabi, [Spain?] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 25 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20413

2 de Agosto de 1937

Estimado camarada Vidalí Arabi; Saludo

Atendiendo tu petición, me complace en comunicarte que en calidad de préstamo, puedes disponer de la cantidad que me pides para atender servicios de nuestra causa antifascista. Como voy a salir de Inglaterra dentro de unos días, te ruego hagas la devolución de la cantidad prestada al camarada R. Barr.

Fraternamente tuya y de la Revolución

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Aug. 2] Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, Paris] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 2 p.; 11 x 18 cm.

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P.S. If dear old Michonze shows up he might be useful doing odd things.
— is absolutely with us in the Spanish struggle.



His address is 5, Rue de Chevreuse,
Paris XI. Needless to say he is not
on the telephone; it is almost
literally a garratt!

HOTEL COSMOPOLITE

COPENHAGEN

Monday

TELEGRAM-ADDRESS:
COSMOPOLITE, COPENHAGEN
TELE. CENTRAL 99

Emma dearest, I have your two heart-warming letters; I purposely didn't reply to the first right away as I wanted to wait for yr second telling me how the Fri. meeting went off. I had also hoped by to-day to have the result of the second X-ray, but apparently I can't have it till tomorrow, and don't want to delay any longer. Reg is ver. much better, that is to say he is not coughing or sniffling blood any more, but they keep him on his back still, and he is as white as this paper, and very weak, has that muscular pain in arms and legs that is apparently a symptom of the disease. We keep wondering why they don't put him outside - the weather is wonderful and the hospital gardens are lovely; I suppose they don't want to move him, but they are moving him to the X-ray room today. They think from the first X-ray that the pathh on the lung is very small, but the danger is going to be when he starts moving about again and his blood pressure (down since the hemorrhages) goes up again. It's all very worrying, but a Danish dr here assures me that the two hos. drs attending the case are good men, so I suppose there is nothing for it but to be patient. We hope against hope he will be able to leave the hos. this week, and move (by car which the Danish dr friend will lend us) to a quiet sea-place. As to the future, so far as its possible to pla., we'd thought of a few weeks rest at the Cottage (where he can lie out on the loggia of the garden) & then at his home in Somerset, which is coun ry, and then vaguely we'd thought of Venice, or perhaps Dalmatia - I have a friend who spent a winter there. We feel almost anywhere would be cheaper & more interesting than Switzer. But of course its impossible to plan yet.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Aug. 2] Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, Paris] / Ethel [Mannin].—
2 p.; 11 x 18 cm.

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rushed & then this happened; also I got the ~~unshraund~~ book for her that I promised; it's at home now... I haven't her address bar so can't write myself. *TK*

L.H. sent a cheque for £25 which will pay Reg's first class fare home & his hos. expenses & the few days by the sea, and says he can call on him for up to £500. But I wish he'd pay it into A's account, not say call on him for it, because obviously R can't keep going to him and asking for it in dribs and drabs.... I try not to worry, and I even get a bit of work done, but I feel very 'low' - can't sleep properly and have no desire to eat, and walk about with a feeling of crying inside all the time. Reaction to the shock of last Wes. I suppose. My husband, also, wrote me a very nasty letter when I wrote asking him for the legal formality (after all these years its nothing more) of a divorce for desertion; and I worry about my book, and about possibly having to disappoint Jean about my spending a week in Austria with her, only above all I worry about how white Reg still is, and that continuing muscular pain.

Forgive all this, Emma; I don't talk to anyone in the whole 24 hours except to Reg at the hos. in the afternoon (the kind Danish dr is not in Copenhagen) so all the talking I do gets into letters, & I get all bottled-up Its a damned disgrace if they've not run R's letter in the NS; he thinks it was ~~aski~~ wrote that disgraceful notice of his book, because ~~aski~~ was one of the people his book would hit against, so-called labour socialists who back a Gov. which continues to bomb natives and imprison political offenders without trial in India.

Tell me about the folder, Emma; if you're going to have a single sheet or a four-page, what Harrison suggests for the 'layout' of it. I sent ~~anica~~ W. the Express cutting about the Sal Army and the Basqua kids, & begged her to do something about looking into it, as she had promised me she would.

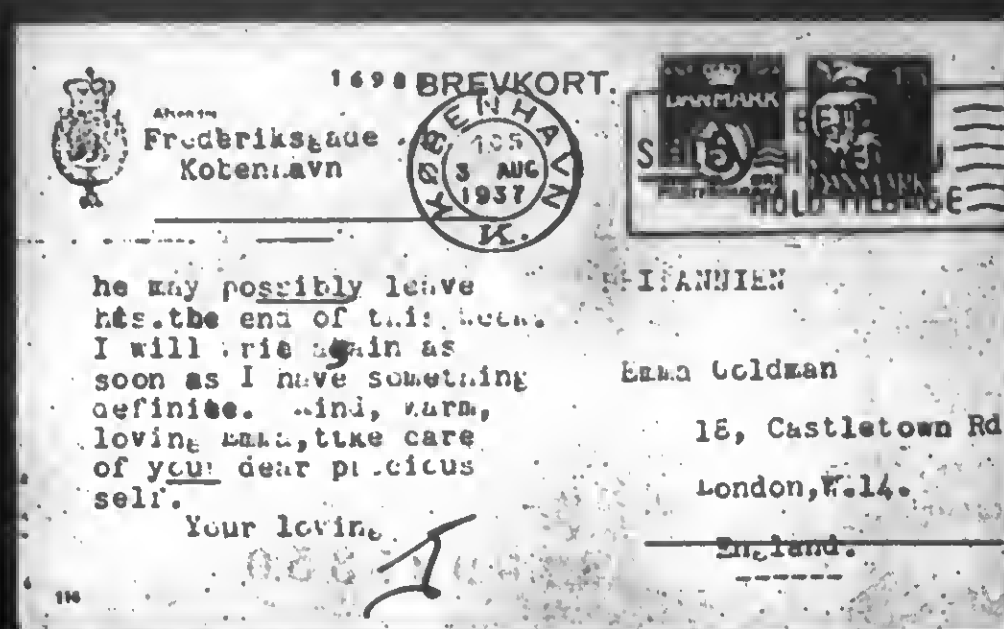
Dear Emma, I loved you for the warmth & unanimity of yr letters, but I would not dream of yr staying to help me even if you were fit; you have your own important work to do. Let me know if you had a nice easy journey to Paris & how you are, dear, & how things go re the film, etc. Bless you for your loving

if you should be writing to Doris I think I will
you'd tell her I meant to write before leaving to
thank her for taking me to Madame S. but was so
kindly. I have a real David's

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1937 Aug. [2] Copenhagen [to] Emma Goldman, London / E[thel Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1937 Aug. [2] Copenhagen [to] Emma Goldman, London / E[thel Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

It has been for
years that I have
been waiting for
you to come to
Copenhagen.

Copenhagen. August 2nd 1937 16984
Frederiksberg Hotel, Frederiksberg 1

Dearest E, I received your letter in Paris,
on receipt of your second letter, but it occurs
to me that you got this before you leave London
if I post it now. I have been to the hos. again
since writing & though they could not give me the
result of the x-ray test today they say that
every sputum test taken yet yields no t. b. bacillus
— & they think the hemorrhages may have been
the bursting of a blood-vessel in the throat; but
of course its not certain yet. Whence is posing
that despite the diagnosis of the English or here
of the Danish or when he was first admitted the
new opinion should be right! After all they took
the ~~tests~~ tests then! They also say

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Aug. 3] London [to] Modest [Stein, New York (fragment)] / Emma [Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 16 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London _____

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6809

I am so glad to know you have almost recovered from your operation. You have gone through enough for one life time. From now on you should really take better care and keep whatever health and strength you have. It would be nice if you could come abroad and spend a little time in Bon Espirit, probably the last chance if we should be lucky to find another buyer soon. Do try hard old dear.

Write me to Bon Espirit, I will be there the 15th though I may go first to Nice for a few days. I want very much to see the Tablet a French friend in Nice had made for Sascha's grave. Sentimental, eh? Don't imagine me a fool. I wanted the Tablet with my inscription on Sascha's grave not for his sake. But in case anyone who knew him should come to Nice and want to find his grave. Any how I want to go myself. My French friend has a car and she will take me there as I am quite crippled for the present and cannot walk very far.

Goodbye dear Modest, please do not always take me in a wrong spirit, will you?

Affectionately,

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

870922151

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 3 [London to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. -- 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

9425

August 3rd 37

Modest my dear. You have lifted a heavy weight from my mind in acting so quickly in response to my cable. I heard from Emmy that she had received the money you cabled and had paid five hundred francs debts. No matter how much you have told her to turn to you if she is broke, or I have told her she simply does not do it. She turns to me in her distress and panic as if I had the means to help. I realize that it is not pleasant to have to ask. But then, it is also not pleasant for me to have to do it for her especially when I know how much your illness must have cost you. Yet I had to cable because she wrote she was ill and starving. Frankly I don't know what will become of unfortunate Emmy. She does try to get work. She did some typing for a theatre she wrote me but earned very little. Then too she is ill all the time. It is hard for her to drag her typewriter back and forth. After all you and I are the only people who ~~fix~~ were Sasha's oldest friends. Naturally she feels she can turn to us. I only wish I were in a position to support her. Actually I do not know myself where to turn. So you my dear are the only one. I know that you give generously and gladly especially have you always done it for Sasha. I feel sure you will also be ready to do what you can for Emmy.

I have your letter of July 17th. I don't know what has become of your registered letter to me sent c/o Mollie. It certainly did not arrive there or Mollie would have sent it on. You see I had an unfortunate fall just the day ~~after~~ I was dressing to go to Victoria station to arrange about my passage to France. I badly injured my knee and tore the ligaments. That is six weeks ago to day. I was forced to lie still, no small effort on my part. Of course I could not go to Paris, and Mollie forward all mail coming to her for me. Your registered one was not among them. I have written May, you remember her from Banque King to see the notaire at once and tell him to send you another ~~for~~ official paper so you can again fill out the authorisation. I don't know what else can be done.

Why should you wonder about my saying Sandström had not received the authorisation? I cannot lay my hand on one of the letters I received from you ~~in~~ wherein you informed me that you need the official paper. But I am almost certain you wrote you would send it to Sandström. I maybe mistaken of course. But that was my impression. Another reason is that Sandström wrote me he would close the sale for me if I will consent to the original price of 75,000 francs. Knowing that he could not sign it without the auth

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870922151

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 3 [London to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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out the authorisation from you I naturally concluded he must have received the paper from you. By the way dear Modest when I first wrote you about the damned paper I asked you to send a copy to the lawyer Bernard and one to me. Well, where ever the general mix up the fact remains that the paper sent registered simply did not reach me. So there is nothing to be done but repeat the unpleasant procedure. You will no doubt get another official sheet, please send it to me to Bon Esprit, Chemin St Antoine St Tropez Var. I am leaving for Paris tomorrow, will be there about ten days, then go Bon Esprit. I did not think I would ever go back. Too many painful memories. But the doctor tells me my knee needs sunbaths. And where can I get it ~~maxim~~ so undisturbed as in Bon Esprit. Then too I want to see what can be done with that damned agent. So I am going to St Tropez for three weeks or perhaps a month.

Modest my dear what makes you always misconstrue what I say or write. I did not mean to charge you with having spoiled the sale nor did I mean to make you responsible for the cost. I merely wrote that if I had had the authorisation the sale would have been closed. But it was not any intention on my part to make you stand the responsibility. After all it was not your fault if you had to wait for the damned sheet from France. Such bureaucracy to make people of a distant country abide by French law. I wish you would learn to take what I write you in the same good faith as it is meant.

You say you did not know ~~xxxxxx~~ I had a definite buyer I cannot understand how you could doubt that when I wrote you that I needed your authorisation to settle the sale, or something to this effect. You are wrong to say that I would not have gotten spot cash in the event of the sale. That is precisely what I would have gotten as I had made it clear to the agent that I will not let Bon Esprit go on part payment. In other words, had I sold the place for 75,000 francs I should have turned the amount into pounds at once. To let it go at the present rating of the franc would simply mean throwin Bon Esprit away. I won't do it my dear. True, I am hard pressed. I have written Stella whether she could not get me a loan in America on the house. If I go to Canada as I plan to do I may not need the loan. But in any event it would be madness to let Bon Esprit go for the original price.

As to the agent he is a shark. He insists on the 3700 francs. Unfortunately the law in France sustains him though the deal was not consummated. The fact that he got a buyer and that I had consented to the price gives the agent the right to demand his commission. Well, perhaps I can induce him to take less, or some kind of an arrangement. In any event he will have to wait because I haven't 3700 francs to my name. The whole thing has already worried me more than I can tell. But that too will be overcome some day I suppose.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870922151

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 3 [London to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman], —
3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

9429

I am so glad to know you have almost recovered from your operation. You have gone through enough for ones life time. From now on you should really take better care and keep whatever health and strength you have. It would be nice if you could come abroad and spend a little time in Bon Esprit, probably the last chance if we should be lucky to find another buyer soon. Do try hard old dear.

Write me to Bon Esprit, I will be there the 15th though I may go first to Nice for a few days. I want very much to see the Tablet a French friend in Nice had made for Sashas grave. Sentimental, eh? Don't imagine me a fool. I wanted the Tablet with my inscription on Sashas grave not for his sake. But in case anyone who knew him should come to Nice and want to find his grave. Any how I want to go myself. My French friend has a car and she will take me there as I am quite crippled for the present and cannot walk very far.

Goodby dear Modest, please do not always take me in a wrong spirit, will you?

Affectionately.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881028014

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 3, London [to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] /
Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 31 x 24 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London August 2nd. 37

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dearest Dorothy.

runy
off
I have not written because I was to uncertain what my next move will be. I ~~hang on~~ on tenaciously to the hope of getting to Spain. The condition of my knee made any attempt at a sub rosa route impossible. I tried the legal way. I got my London publisher to give me a credential saying he wanted material for a book of the new educational experiments in Cataluna. He did sent it by return mail. But the foreign office. refused the visa on the grounds that the rules of Non-Intervention do not include writers. Journalists, yes. "Now if you were on the Staff of the Daily Mail, or the Telegraph we would give you a visa" the clerk assured me. Nice of him isn't it? Well some people insist that this gross discriminations should not be taken hands folded. Fenner Brockway Sec. of the I.L.P has written a Libor M.P. to protest, also to the Authors Club. And my publishers has protested and has written publishers to protest against the outrageous discrimination against writers. But I am certain it will not help. In other words, my going to Spain is for for the present. I am hoping that our people may bethink themselves and rise against the Stalinisation of Spain. Against the dictatorship that has set in in its most brutal form. But there is no saying when therank and file will wake up. The leaders insist that the Communists want the CNT-FAI to rise. That would give them a chance to say our people have sabotaged the Anti Fascist struggle. That is sheer madness. Because the Communists have been getting away with murder and the complete annihilation of the liberties and rights gain by the CNT-FAI on the 19th of July.

Since I cannot get to Spain, I am going to Paris tomorrow for ten days and from there to St Tropez. I know I will be beset by a thousand memories and shadows. But the doctor tells me my knee needs sunbaths. And Bon Esprit is just the place for it. So I must go there fore about three weeks.

I am coming back here to launch a film an American comrade long in Spain has given me to be utilized here. I have already gotten together an un-official committee and have raised some money for the necessary expences though not enough to send it out to the provinces. I am leaving the work in reliable hands who will organise a private showing for the Press and specially invited people and a public show in connection with a large meeting for Sept. I will be back for that.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881028014

[Letter, 1937 Aug. 3, London [to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 31 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

In your letter of June 29th you mentioned that you had held a preliminary meeting in re my proposed visit to Canada. But you say nothing of its outcome in your letter of July 14th. I wonder whether the comrades failed to respond. It seems therefore that one letter between the 29th of June and the 14th of July must have been lost. Of course you have not exceeded your authority in writing people about the suggested fund. I referred to it in one of my letters because you wrote me you are a poor beggar. I therefore did not want to ~~xxx~~ burden you with a disagreeable task. That was all. I wrote Ben Addon, the Seltzers, Fanny Barrett and Mrs Barker. None have replied so far. There is of course plenty of time as I could not sail before the end of Sept anyhow. But you will please write me to St Tropez.

In your letter of June 3rd you asked me about Martin Cudell. He is one of the finest we have who works in the ~~fringe~~ foreign propaganda section in Barcelona.

Your letter about the situation in Canada and especially Montreal and Quebec is anything but cheerful. But I am not aware that Canada was ever very promising. It was miraculous that my visits had the results they did bring. It is sad that they left no great results. But that must be faced. This time I am determined to try very hard to get to the West of Canada. I am hoping you will be able to join me, perhaps go ahead to some of the cities to make contacts for meetings. It will all depend on how much money can be raised by some of my American friends for that purpose. Anyhow we will see. But difficulties have never stopped me as you probably know.

Give my greetings to all the comrades, love to Dien and Tom. I am glad she is home again. My love to the Dessers. Joe has stopped writing it seems. Regards to Ben.

With love,

Emma

The group I have organized and you
entering our ranks were certain
with my visit to Canada 4 yrs
ago. So you should not give
up and look through such blue
glasses.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

861029122

[Letter, 1937 Aug. 3] Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, Paris] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. —
6 p. ; 21 x 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

MORIS'S BAR

9. PLACE MASSÉNA. 9

NICE

TELEPHONE 813-02

4149

Mrs. G.

1937

~~Paris~~

Sunday.

P. M.

Dearest Emma.

In Nice to see ^{Mr.} ~~Mr.~~
Grioli back to Italy —
he has been with Norman
+ I since Thursday. Now
waiting for Galerie to open.
Your letter arrived yesterday
dear Emma — I have not
yet succeeded in deciphering
it all — but I planned
enough to tell you you are
leaving for Paris this week
— then come in French about
the flat I only half
understood that what I
fathered Nellie is to take

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029122

[Letter, 1937 Aug. 3] Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, Paris] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. —
6 p.; 21 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

211 4149 A
at half price - who is
responsible for the other
half - how long will
this continue?
It is evident from what
you write that one letter
to him went astray -
I wrote you the week before
the one you now answer - I
told you my ideas about
flat - also about the "change"
which will further that Gates
was to pay him for stairs
etc. etc. Many other questions
you asked about the house
I answered in that letter
why the downstairs only paid
25 weeks - that this was done
by the agent & ^{the tenants} they have to
decorate the flat when
they leave. Now here

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Aug. 3] Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, Paris] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. —
6 p. ; 21 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

With only a few minutes to spare I can't go into all this again. Norman has gone on to Hulton with Pino & I must get back to my shop as soon as possible.

For two weeks I have lived in a state of almost curious elation. Norman is continuing on a fence - we have been to see him from all over - we can well know that he would not feel through it all ~~that~~ he has insisted on my going with him - I have not taken a meal at home in all that time. We have been crunched, dined & fêted daily. I wonder if it is all a dream. Always the only woman with open fire or fire of them

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Aug. 3] Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, Paris] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. —
6 p. ; 21 x 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6
4150
Venice is a phant & a fog
it is ~~all~~ ^{absolutely} screamingly
funny. I want to find time
to write you the full story
but when that will be, God
alone knows. About your
coming to Venice. I will love
to see you Emma dear, but
until things get back to
a reasonable normal state
you would go crazy ^{here} & I have a
promised Norman & all
his friends that I will not
concede him - & I don't
want to seem to cause you
perhaps when Archie comes -
if you are at Bon E. point
we will motor over - but I am
rather hoping you won't go ~~there~~
just now. I would be putting
too much strain on you ^{with} this
business. I can hardly write
about it. But Emma I want

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Aug. 3] Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, Paris] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 6 p. ; 21 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4181

MORIS'S BAR

9. PLACE MASSÉNA. 9

NICE

TELEPHONE 813-02

5
I must go on just as I am
doing now for as long as I am
needed - I could not cut
myself in two - I have a
full time job at the moment &
some very happy in doing it.
I only wish I could tell you
more but there is no time
for who understand most
things will understand this
I know. I will have a
avoche & but at deciphering
your letter & try to answer it
tomorrow. Your concern at
my silence was real I can
see - but there is no doubt
my letter has reached you.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Aug. 3] Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, Paris] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. —
6 p. ; 21 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I have just had to discuss a
girl I had - Jan - the 3rd
letter that she received its
destination - one was even
more serious than yours.

Since the enclosed is
Nellie - I hope to do some
good business for her.

My love - write me
soon.

Can ever
be true

Tell David Goldman
in his plot.

Writing in a sort of half
day - I, the world is strange
on 3 part ops some only dreaming.
When I awake I will find you
a wire.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1937 Aug. 3, Copenhagen [to] Emma Goldman, Paris / Ethel [Mannin].—
2 p.; 7 × 11 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Aug. 3rd 1937

16982

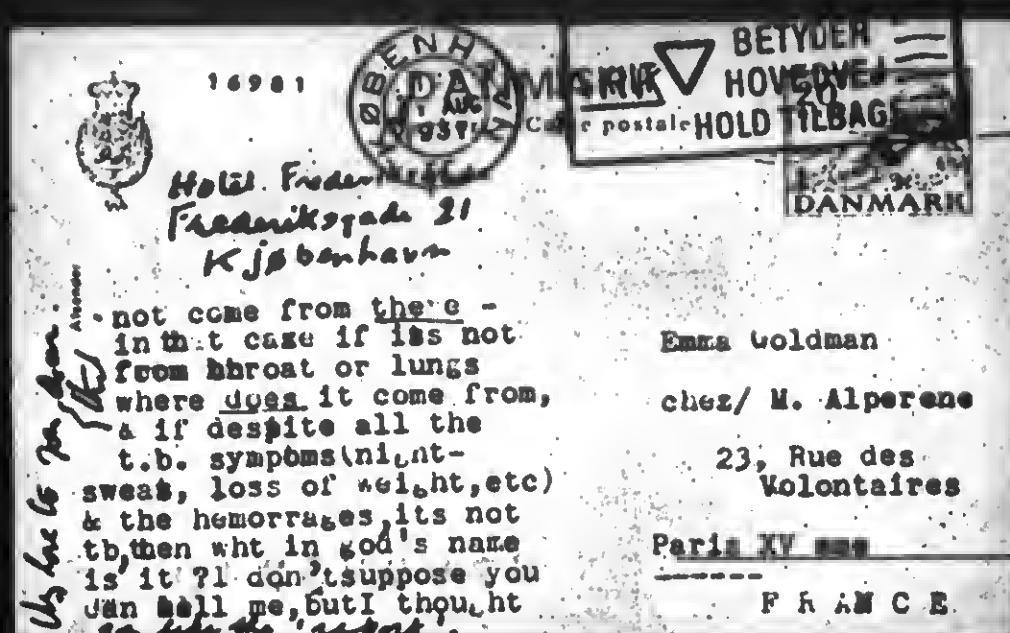
Dearest Emma, I wrote you to London y/day (a
pc) hop'n. to catch you before you left; though I
had already post'd you a letter to Paris. I now
write to tell you that the 2nd x-ray result, which
we got today, like the first shows no pathh on the
lungs, & all the sputum tests they've taken show no
t.b. bacillus; they told him definitely this morning
that it was not t.b. but this afternoon he spat
blood again, which he'd not done for several days;
also the 'rheumatic' or neuritic pains in his limbs
particularly in his wrists & ankles are bad enough to
keep him awake at nights. It is all very discour-
aging & baffling & worrying. Everyone here tells me
the hos. is very good, & a Danish dr here assures
me that the drs who have charge of the case are
excellent men. They have examined his throat (done
by the hos. throat specialist) & say the bleeding does

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1937 Aug. 3, Copenhagen [to] Emma Goldman, Paris / Ethel [Mannin].—
2 p.; 7 × 11 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



The Emma Goldman Papers

870929418

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 4 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20604

August 4th 37.

My dear, dear Martin. I have at last a letter from upi dated July 27th. It is the first I have received in ~~three months~~ in three months. You can imagine I was most unhappy over your long silence. I know about the censor. But also I know lots of people send letters out only you and the comrades in Valencia seem to be unable to do so.

I am sorry you did not get the clipping from the New York Sunday Times which published my letter. It has since appeared in several American papers. I have sent for them. When they arrive I will try once more to send you a copy.

I should have been in Paris six weeks ago. But my injured knee held me up all this time. It is somewhat better but the doctor insists I must take sunbaths to cure the knee. So I am going to St Tropez. That is I am leaving this evening for Paris where I will remain a week and then go to St Tropez for three weeks. I will then return to London. Franks film is going to help us much to place the CNT-FAI before large sections of the workers. Much more so than I was able to do by means of meetings. They cost so much in London and bring so little. But the film speaks its own language and since it is most impressive we could not wish for a better medium of propaganda. That's why I am coming back. Later in the Autumn I may go to Canada. I might as well be in Canada for all I get from Spain. I have written the Comité National in Valencia ten weeks ago and no answer. The comrades do not seem to realize the importance of supplying authentic news for the work in this country. It is too bad.

That is terrible news about Nin. To me more terrible because the CNT-FAI seems to have lost in influence if it cannot even find out definitely whether the murder was really committed. I hold the Stalintest ~~more~~ capable of any such act. It is all so sad. You did not tell me whether my telegram was received for the 18th. I sent one to The Comité Regional and one to the Comité National in Valencia. I am not surprised the demonstration was not permitted. History always repeats itself. Especially the history of all governments. The tragedy is that the people never learn this fact.

I will see that the I.L.P send you their paper and other printed matter about the CNT-FAI and its work for the POUM. But will the censor let you have it? Did you get SPAIN and THE WORLD? It had a translation of the article in the Soli about the POUM.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929418

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 4 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20605

20605

I have receive nothing from you in the way of printe matter.
If it comrades comrade Barr will ~~print~~ send it to you, I inclode
copy of the appeal to the workers we have printed which is a trans-
lation from the Soli put into real English. Byt the way, what is the
matter with Abe Bluestein and Selma. Are they alright. I ask be-
cause I can see the English Bulletin is not his. It is again the most
atrocious English. And just the report of the Plenum of the FAI
it was so essential to have it in good English. Please let me know
if there is anything wrong with Abe. I am most worried about them.
Give them my love if all is well.

I inclode a note for Ilse. Tell Frank ~~and~~
I am glad he got my letter. I have written him twice since direct
to his letter box address. We heard from him and Barr will answer
tomorrow.

You had better write me c/o Galve or Roca whoever of the
two, will remain in Paris. I will see one of them or both if they a-
re in Paris and I will give them my address in St Tropez.

Please dear Martin, do write a little more often
I feel so cut off from Spain and all the comrades I have met, you
in particular.

Affectionately.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Aug. 4, Bristol [England to] Emma [Goldman, Paris] / Ernest [Taylor]. — 2 p. ; 18 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18074

Campfield.
Abbots Leigh.
Nr Bristol.

Aug 4th 1937

My dear Emma,

I thought you would be interested to hear that Margaret and myself paid a visit to Elsie on Sunday and we thought the children were looking healthy and happy. From what I could gather they are now responding to their new conditions. I should say they are well fed and have quite sufficient clothing to last them until the summer is over. I have made arrangement when I get their signs to let them have something of a hot water bottle, an awful lot of books was sent from kind friends which was quite useless and has been passed on to other institutions. The children seem very keen on having clean clothes and make quite a point of getting them.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Aug. 4, Bristol [England to] Emma [Goldman, Paris] / Ernest [Taylor]. — 2 p. ; 18 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1887s

My own impression is the Spanish couple who
were in charge up to a few weeks ago. We not
suitable for the post, the place was being very
badly run. There is now a capable woman in
charge and I think it will be greatly improved
in every way. I saw no religious body represented
there, fortunately the weather is just right and they
appear to be enjoying the garden. How are you?
Have you quite recovered from your accident?
She has still drags on, but I am glad to see
the various bodies are drawing together, that is
the only hope for the future. Margaret is very well.
You ought to have seen the way the S' children
clustered round her, they were friends at once.

Love from us both

Yours
Ernest

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001184

[Letter] 1937 Aug. 6, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. —
1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C. N. T.**A. I. T.****F. A. I.****CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIORSECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84
TELÉFONO 14731 - 41**TELÉFONOS:**

CENTRALITA 14731

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BOLETÍN SUÉCO	46
BOLETÍN BELGARO	46
BOLETÍN PORTUGUÉS	46

Barcelona 1e 6 août 1937.

Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,
18, Castletown Rd.,
LONDON, W. 14.

Chère camarade,

Sans doute vous vous rappellerez qu'il fait un mois et demi, environ, sont arrivées deux camarades anglaises, lesquelles, selon les certificats qu'elles nous ont montrés, étaient déléguées par les groupes anarchistes d'Angleterre, afin de pouvoir étudier la tactique et l'attitude des camarades espagnols et après pouvoir éveiller un peu aux masses anglaises et les organiser.

Nous avons fait tout le possible pour que ces camarades pourraient rentrer en Espagne et les avons donné des facilités afin qu'ils puissent travailler en même temps qu'ils pourraient faire ses études. A cause de que la plus grande difficulté pour eux c'était le langage, nous les avons donné un professeur qui les donnait des classes chaque jour. Quand ils auraient appris l'espagnol ils devaient aller à l'école des militants qui fonctionnent dans ce Comité Régional et qui donnent des très bons résultats. Nous espérons qu'avec le temps nous aurions deux bons camarades qui pourraient faire un grand travail en Angleterre. Mais subitement a disparu l'un d'eux et après nous avons su qu'il a parti pour l'Angleterre, sans dire rien à personne. Le camarade qui est ici, nous dit qu'il est parti à cause des affaires personnelles et de santé, mais malgré cela, il pourrait bien l'avoir communiqué aux camarades qui avaient relations avec lui. Nous tous nous sommes restés perplexes.

Nous espérons que vous pourrez nous communiquer quelque chose sur cela, sans insister beaucoup. Le camarade qui encore est ici s'appelle Parthing. Dans ce moment je ne me rappelle pas le nom de celui qui est parti, mais je crois que vous le connaissez.

anarchistes

A vous lire, recevez mes salutations fraternelles et

Martin Gudell

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001183

[Letter] 1937 Aug. 6, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell.—
1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 22

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

**SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 24
TELÉFONO 14721 - 41**

TELÉFONOS:

CENTRALITA 14721

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SECRETARÍA PORTUGUESA	53

Barcelona 1a 6 août 1937.

**Comrade EMMA GOLDMAN,
18, Castletown Rd.
LONDON, W.14.**

Chère comrade Emma,

Je vous remets ci-joint la brochure dans laquelle
sont reproduits les discours d'un meeting qui a eu une grande répercus-
sion dans la vie de Catalogne et d'Espagne.

Selon je vous ai communiqué par ma précédente lettre
le 19 juillet tout le monde a travaillé, sans avoir aucune réunion, ni
aucune manifestation, dû à une disposition du gouvernement. Celui-ci
avait peur de que les masses se dépassèrent.

Le meeting a eu lieu plus tard, et vous trouverez
les discours, sans censure, dans cette brochure. Vous trouverez aussi
inclus les photos de ce meeting, lesquelles vous pourriez les reprodui-
re dans la presse anglaise.

Dans l'attente du plaisir de vous lire, recevez
mes bien fraternelles salutations,

Martin Gudell

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Aug. 6, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, Lo[ndon] / N[emesio] Galve.—
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

20606

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO DELEGACION PERMANENTE EN PARIS

Paris 6 de Agosto de 1937.

Emma Goldman.
18-Castletown Road.
West Kensington.
LODNO-W 4.

Querida camarada Goldman,

En este preciso momento acabo de recibir de Barcelona las presentes credenciales, que te remito para que hagas de ellas el uso que estimes mas conveniente. *según voluntad de las interesadas*

Al volver de España me he encontrado con una multitud de correspondencia tuya y de otros camaradas, que no he podido contestar tan rápidamente como eran mis deseos. No obstante, a partir de este momento, la correspondencia no sufrirá ningún retraso.

En lo referente a ti, debo decirte que todo cuanto me has mandado para el Comité Nacional le ha sido remitido y creo que deberá ya obrar en sus archivos.

El compañero Roca me dice que ha recibido tu carta y que por exceso de trabajo no ha podido contestarla. Me encarga te diga también que lo del visado, aun a pesar de todas cuantas gestiones viene realizando, está muy mal. Como comprenderás tal como habíamos tratado este problema no creo que haya posibilidad alguna de poder entrar en España de una manera legal, aunque no por eso la CNT y la FAI hayan perdido, como tu dices, la influencia que en las masas tenían. Pero hay que tener en cuenta ciertas circunstancias impuestas por la política, y si se quiere obrar sensatamente, hay que adaptarse a las mismas, sin que ello quiera decir o representar una sumisión incondicionada.

No obstante lo que te digo, yo en una ocasión te había dicho que si tu te llegabas hasta París, es en París donde haríamos todo lo posible para arreglar tu pasaje y tu visado para España, pues es el único sitio donde puede esto arreglarse. Por lo tanto, una vez mas te lo vuelvo a repetir: Sería precisamente en París donde quizás, aunque sin podértelo afirmar concretamente, donde se arreglaría lo de tu pasaporte.

Sin que ello signifique un consejo personal, yo te diré que hoy no ofrece ningún atractivo desplazarse a España tal y cual están las cosas, no porque pudiera sucederte nada, pero si porque te encontraras con molestias que no serán de tu agrado. Así, pues, eres tu misma la que has de decidir sobre estas cosas.

Recibe un fraternal saludo de tu amigo y compañero,

N. Galve

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Aug. 6, New York [to] Emma Goldman, St. Tropez / Alex L. Hillman. — 1 p. ; 21 × 15 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

ALEX L. HILLMAN

SAMUEL L. CURL

18090

HILLMAN-CURL, INC.

Book Publishers

SIXTY-SIX TOMPKINS SQUARE
FIFTH AVENUE • 6-4674 • 4675
NEW YORK CITY

August 6th, 1937

Miss Emma Goldman,
Bon Esprit,
Chemin St. Antoine,
St. Tropez,
Var,
France.

Dear Miss Goldman:

Under separate cover I am sending you en advance, confidential copy of "Proletarian Journey," by Fred Real, which we are publishing on September 24th.

You will remember Fred Real as the labor leader who led the southern textile strike and got a twenty-year sentence. He now occupies a most unique position; if captured by the Soviet Communists, he faces a firing squad; if captured by capitalist justice as represented by the State of North Carolina, he faces a twenty-year sentence.

We would greatly appreciate any comment that you might be good enough to make with respect to this book. At the same time, will you let us know whether we may use this in publicity.

Sincerely yours,

Alex L. Hillman
Hillman-Curl, Inc.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Aug. 7, London [to] Emma Goldman, Paris / Fenner Brockway. —
1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Emma Goldman,
c/o M. Alperine,
23 rue des Volontaires,
PARIS, XV.

Dear Emma,

I have been sent your letter to the Summer School. It is generous of the London Bureau of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. to send a cheque for £50 towards our Home for the Basque children. I enclose a receipt which was made out at the Office and which I hope is satisfactory. We will specially acknowledge the gift in the "New Leader."

I am afraid there is no doubt now that Nin has been shot. The Government has acknowledged that he has disappeared. I am enclosing a copy of the Press Statement which we issued on the matter.

We had the first showing of the film last night. It went well but it still wants some improvement from the point of view of sound. I am writing to Harrison about this.

Yours as ever,

Fenner

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Aug. 7, London to Emma Goldman, Paris (enclosure)] / [Fenner Brockway]. — 1 p. ; 10 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

44607

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

35 St. Bride Street, London, E.C.4.

5/8/1937

Received from London Bureau CNT FAI.

the sum of Fifty Pounds

Shillings — Pence

for Basque Children's Home, Collection in name
3 CNT FAI per Emma Goldman
£ 50 — —
Many Thanks
J. J.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Paris August 8th 37.

Dear Comrade.

Key

you
are ~~concerned~~
concerned
in

You understand dear comrade that it is of the utmost importance to us Anarchists and to our movement to make sure that no one of the foreign or Spanish Anarchists groups could or did have anything to do with the disappearance of young Rein. And I do not know anyone so well informed in such matters and so experienced as you. I ask you, therefore, to send me word as soon as possible if you have found any clues or proofs that would exonerate our people from the suspicion now entertained by Abramowich. We have to stand all sorts of miserable columny and charges without having the murder of a perfectly innocent man added to the lies about us. Besides it is also an act of justice and humanity to help the heart-broken father and an old and trusted Socialist to some definite proof that no Anarchist had anything to do with the case.

you to give ~~to what~~
to be perfectly
from to make
me.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Aug. 8, Paris [to unknown recipient, Spain?] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 26 x 20 cm.

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20599

París, 8 de Agosto de 1.937.

Querido Camarada:

A mi llegada a París, recibo una carta del veterano militante socialista, Abramovitch, sobre la desaparición de su hijo. Después le he visto y me ha dicho que, desde el principio, tuvo la impresión de que la banda del P.S.U.C. se había hecho con la vida de su hijo.

Pero ciertas informaciones que recibí sobre las investigaciones realizadas por los anarquistas suecos y alemanes, le hacen suponer que alguien de entre ellos se desembarazase de Rein, hijo de Abramovitch. Un artículo publicado en un periódico socialista sueco, que condenaba la actitud de los dirigentes de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. en los sucesos de Mayo, y que el grupo sueco-alemán pudo atribuir a su hijo, le hacen pensar en ello.

Es natural que Abramovitch quiera saber quién y en qué puede estar fundamentada la muerte de su hijo. Comprenderás, querido camarada, lo imposible que me es suponer que alguien pueda cometer un crimen por el hecho de que se critique, o incluso se condene, la actitud y los compromisos realizados por los que están a la cabeza de la C.N.T.-F.A.I.

Si el anarquismo significa algo, es precisamente el derecho a los demás a la crítica, y hasta el condenar lo que los desagrada. Es por lo que me dirijo a tí para obtener un informe preciso sobre el trágico fin de Rein.

Abramovitch me informa que en cierta ocasión que te hablé, le aseguraste harías lo imposible para encontrar a los responsables de la desaparición de su hijo. Y como no ha recibido noticias tuyas, solicita mi concurso para que le ayude a encontrar a los culpables.

El me asegura, que si tú me garantizas no haber encontrado en tus indagaciones, la participación de ningún anarquista del Grupo sueco-alemán, en tan desgraciado asunto, creería en tu palabra y en la mía. Descartaría toda sospecha sobre nuestros camaradas, en la seguridad de que los únicos interesados en ampararse de Rein serían los miembros del P.S.U.C. a fin de vengarse en la persona de Abramovitch, que durante veinte años consecutivos ha criticado el régimen bolchevista.

Comprenderás, camarada, que es de importancia capital para nosotros, anarquistas, y para nuestro movimiento, el tener la seguridad de que ninguno de los Grupos Anarquistas extranjeros ni españoles, han tenido la menor participación en el rapto del joven Rein.

No conozco a nadie que esté tan bien informado y experimentado sobre estas cosas, como tú. En consecuencia, te pido me mandes

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le antes posible, unas líneas confirmando las pruebas y datos capaces de liberar a nuestros camaradas de las dudas que envuelven a Abramovitch. Son suficientes las acusaciones y calumnias miserables de que somos objeto, sin tener que añadir el asesinato de un hombre absolutamente inocente. Es, además, un acto de justicia y de humanidad ayudar a un padre, anciano y respetado, militante socialista, truncado por la tortura moral, dándole una prueba definitiva de que ningún anarquista se ha mezclado en este asunto.

Tengo la certidumbre de que tu confianza en mí te incitará a dar las pruebas, cualesquiera que sean, que hayas podido obtener sobre este "affaire", y que serás absolutamente franco conmigo.

Saludos.

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Paris, 8 Août 1937

Cher camarade,

J'ai reçu, à mon arrivée à Paris, une lettre du vieux militant socialiste, Abramovitch, au sujet de la disparition de son fils. Je l'ai vu depuis; il me dit qu'il avait été, au début, sous l'impression que la bande du PSUC avait pris la vie de son fils. Mais de certaine information qu'il avait reçue au sujet des activités "Investigatrices" des anarchistes suédois et allemands, il se peut quelqu'un d'entre eux qui se soit débarrassé de Rein, fils d'Abramovitch. La raison pour laquelle il le pense est l'article qui avait paru dans un journal socialiste suédois qui condamnait l'attitude des chefs de la CNT-FAI dans les événements de Mai. Le groupe suédois-allemand aurait soupçonné son fils d'avoir été l'auteur de l'article. Il est tout naturel qu'Abramovitch veuille savoir qui est ce qui aurait pu avoir des raisons pour tuer son fils. Vous comprenez, cher camarade, qu'il m'est impossible de supposer que quiconque puisse être aussi brutal pour commettre un meurtre parce qu'un autre critiquait ou même condamnait l'attitude ou les compromis soumis par ceux qui sont à la tête de la CNT-FAI. Si l'anarchisme signifie quelque chose, il signifie précisément le droit aux autres de critiquer ou de condamner tout ce qu'ils n'aiment pas ou tout ce qui ne leur plaît pas. C'est pour cette raison que je m'adresse à vous pour obtenir une information précise sur la fin tragique de Rein.

Abramovitch me dit qu'il vous avait parlé et que vous lui aviez assuré de faire l'impossible pour trouver ceux qui sont responsables de la disparition de son fils. Mais comme il n'avait plus eu de nouvelles de vous, il m'a demandé de l'aider à trouver les coupables. Il m'assure que si vous me donniez l'assurance que, comme résultat de vos investigations, aucun anarchiste du groupe suédois-allemand n'avait eu la main dans l'affaire malheureuse, il croirait en votre

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205958

parole et en la mienne. Il n'aurait plus aucun soupçon sur nos camarades, parce qu'il saurait que le seul autre groupe de gens intéressés à s'emparer de Rein serait les membres du PSU. Et qu'ils y seraient intéressés afin de frapper Abramovitch qui, durant ces vingt années, avait exposé et critiqué le régime bolcheviste.

Vous comprenez, cher camarade, qu'il est de première importance pour nous, anarchistes, et pour notre mouvement de nous assurer qu'aucun des groupes anarchistes étrangers ou espagnols n'ait pu avoir ni avoir eu quoi que ce soit à faire avec la disparition du jeune Rein. Et je ne sais personne qui soit aussi bien informé sur ces choses et aussi expérimenté que vous. Je vous demande, par conséquent, de m'envoyer un mot aussi vite que possible si vous avez trouvé les moindres pistes ou preuves qui pourraient libérer nos gens de tout soupçon dont est empoisonné Abramovitch. Nous avons à souffrir toutes sortes de calomnies misérables et d'accusations sans avoir un assassinat d'un homme absolument innocent à ajouter aux mensonges jetés contre nous. C'est, d'ailleurs, aussi un acte de justice et d'humanité que d'aider un père brisé par la torture et un vieux et respecté militant socialiste et lui donner une preuve définitive qu'aucun anarchiste n'est mêlé dans l'affaire.

Je suis certaine que votre confiance en moi vous suscitera de me donner les preuves, quelles qu'elles soient, que vous avez pu obtenir sur cette affaire, et que vous serez absolument franc avec moi.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 10, Paris [to] Milly [Witcop Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Roc

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

Paris August 10th 37.

TELEPHONE : FULHAM 6819

Dearest Milly. I received your letter of July 14th but was too busy to write you before leaving London the 4th of this month. And since I came here I have been so depressed I simply could not throw off the ~~weight~~ ^{weight} enough to write. You see being with our beloved Mollie and Senia and with ~~Senia living over our dear children~~ I have really stepped into a hornets nest. They are so violently against the CNT-FAI that no matter what our comrades do in Spain they find not a good hair on them, or any ~~justification~~ understanding for the motives that forced our comrades to make the steps they did. As you and Rudolf know I was opposed to the entry into the Government or the pact with Russia. ~~But~~ In as much as the leading comrades went so far as both these compromises I agree with the criticism, Senia, Volin Besnard and our ~~clx~~ Senia and Mollie are offering. What hurts me most is their bitterness, their dogmatism, their unwillingness to see the side of the Spanish comrades. To understand that people who have suffered and sacrificed so much for our ideas do not become villain and traitors overnight. Well, it is hopeless and I have tried since my arrival here to avoid any argument, especially with Senia and Mollie whom I love like my own. But it is a surcharged atmosphere likely to explode any minute. However, it is not for long. The dear children go on their vacation Sunday and I leave for St Tropez for a few weeks.

I am bitterly disappointed that I cannot get to Spain. Owing to my knee still very painful from the fall I had seven weeks ago I cannot risk going illegally. And the British foreign office has denied me a visa as a writer. I got me a credential from C.W. Danile who published my DISILLUSIONMENT.... to go to Spain for material on the new education in Catalonia for a book. But I was given the absurd reason for the refusal of a visa because the rulings of the NON-Intervention does not include writers. It does include journalists. Some friends I have are now trying to make a protest of writers and publishers against such discrimination. But I do not think it will do much good. On the other hands Spanish comrades are trying something here. But I have no faith in the whole business. The reaction in Spain is worse than under Rivera. The murderous communists and the blackest reaction are in power now and ~~are~~ people ~~are~~ have lost all of their position. One cannot really blame the comrades outside of Spain if they are so critical and so bitterly disappointed. It is heart breaking to learn every day of the arrests of hundreds of comrades, of the foreign comrades who came to help being kicked out of Spain, and of our people being killed in broad

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AM daylight. I agree it is taking ones life in ones hands to go to Spain now. But under the other hand it is impossible to go on with any effort for the CNT-FAI without having first hand knowledge of the situation. I am going with the same intention. I am going to Spain if only the comrades who are going with me.

Dearest as far as I know Green has no credentials from the CNT-FAI whatever. I made it my business to ask comrade Roca one of the finest types of Spanish Anarchists who is stationed here. He assured me Green has no authorization whatsoever from the CNT-FAI. Neither has he anything from the Paris bureau of the CNT-FAI. It is too bad that our Spanish comrades are so naive and easily taken in by braggards like Green. I do hope he will not do too much harm. But at any rate I want you to know that and if necessary let the comrades know that Green does not represent anyone but himself.

Yes, I was very glad that the TIMES published my letter and that the Evening Post reprinted it. I only wish you and other comrades would have sent me the clippings. The only one who did it was my own Stella, no one else thought about it. And I need some copies. I have written Van Valkenburgh to get some copies for me.

I wonder whether you got the German Bulletin from Spain. And whether you received No. 55 of July 26th. No one could write a more courageous and fiery protest against the mistakes of the comrades at the head of the CNT-FAI. Yet it is written in a comradely spirit. I am sure the CNT-FAI knew of that Bulletin since it must have been translated from the Spanish. I am glad to see the protest. It proves that the rank and file has its own stand and ideas.

You had better write me c/o Ralph Barr 106 Coningham Rd. London W.12. You see I am still hoping for the miracle to happen to be able to go to Spain. In that case Barr would know what to do with my mail. Senia and Mollie are going away for a month's holiday so I do not want mail sent to her. And I do not want mail to lie around in Paris. It is a nuisance.

Give Rudolf my love. I am anxious to know how he is getting on with the MSS on Syndicalism and Anarchism. Write me if he cannot spare the time.

Love to Fermin. He has been on strike long times hasn't he?

Mollie send her love I am sure so does Senia.

Devoted love to you.

Love to Rudolf Emma
of course!

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[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 10, Paris [to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. —
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~~xxxxxxxx~~ Paris August 10th 37.

Dear Modest.

Your registered letter containing the authorisation which left New York July 2nd reached me only Saturday the 7th of this month. I have no idea why it should have taken over a month to Paris. It may have been that the ~~carrier~~ brought the letter to Mollie's place while they were away between the 10th and 15th of July. If so the concierge seems to know nothing about it. She told Mollie no registered letter for her or Mrs Colton had arrived. Anyhow it was delivered to me last Saturday morning. Meanwhile I have written May in St Tropez to see the notaire and to get him to send you another document. So you may receive one about the time this will arrive. If you will have done nothing about it do not bother. The one I have will do I hope.

Dear Modest there was no buyer in sight last year when I left St Tropez. The one the agent got appeared in March of this year. At that time I was willing to sell ~~xxxxxxx~~ to sell ~~ix~~ Don Esprit both pieces of land for 75,000 francs. The dollar was then about 21, or 22 francs. It is now 26, 61. If I let it go at the original price we will both lose a handsome sum. I don't intend to do it. The trouble is the agent. He insists on his commission. He claims that if your authorisation had arrived in time the sale would have been closed. That he still has the client willing to give the 75,000. That he is therefore not to blame for the delay. As I am going to St Tropez next week I will try to adjust the matter somehow.

In any event I am glad you agree that it would be a pity to give Don Esprit away. In your letter of July 17th you thought I should let it go because I would not have gotten all in cash as you thought. I have already written you that there was no talk of part payment. I would not consent to that at all. Its painful enough to sell the place that had meant so much to Sasha and that in a pinch would give me a roof over my head. When I do sell it I want no more to do with it. I want to cut loose and be done with it. Well, the question will be if I can find a buyer now. Perhaps when I am there I might find one.

As I said I am going to St Tropez but only for

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friends here will get me a visa for Spain. If they do I will fly there at once. I admit it is dangerous now with the wild Stalin beasts laying in wait for everyone who has ever opposed them. They killed one of our best Italian Anarchists. And it seems they have also done away with the son of Abramewich the old Socialist from Russia. And of course they are killing off the POUM members who are no more Trotzkiist than I am. In as much as they have an old account with me to settle they will try hard enough I am sure. Nevertheless I must go and will if only I can get the visa. It is important for my work in England to get all the facts in the change that has taken place in Spain. I will cable you if I have to go suddenly, if not you will know I am in St Tropez. Meanwhile if you wish to write me do so c/o Ralph Barr. 106 Comingham Rd. London W.12.

Just now I must go to St Tropez to get sunbaths for my knee. I injured it seven weeks ago and it is still most painful to walk. I hope I will get relief on our terrace of Bon Esprit.

So glad to know you have recovered.

Affectionately.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Paris August 11th 37

Dearest Ethel, Again days have passed without word from you. I know, I know how difficult it must be in your anxious and worried state of mind to correspond. But we who love you can not help thin ing of you and hoping for a word, for news to reassure us that Agie is improving and that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ he may soon be condition to travel back to England. If the weather is anything in London as it is here your cottage would prove just as good as the hospital in Copenhagen. And there you would at least be among your books and your material though you would probably not do much writing. I should feel at ease if I know how you are dearest mine and about your plans if you can make any.

I am staying over here longer than I planned. The Spanish comrades here are trying hard to get me across quite legally. Naturally, I would prefer to go there than St Tropez. I am so obsessed by Spain it will be no peace to retire in St Tropez even more cut off than I was in England. Yes, my knee is still far from well and it needs sunbaths. But as one of the dear comrades suggested I could just as well take sunbaths in Valencia. Its hot enough there. But there will be no such good luck because our people move slowly and it may take weeks before they achieve anything if at all. Still I decided to give them until next Thursday the 19th. If they fail I go to St Tropez. Better not write me there until about the 24th as I may go to Nice first. But you can write me here until the 19th. I am leaving the evening of that day so you could reach me in the morning.

Harrison writes me the text, your text without any changes will be ready for the free Show we have arranged for next week. I don't remember the exact date. We will only have enough for those who will attend the Show, the others not until later on. So if there are any changes you want to make in the proof you will at have time. Alister from Jenner tells me the film was seen and heard at the Summer school but that the sound in the 16.m.m. has to be improved which I know the Kodak people will do.

Have/ just recieved a copy of the text. Harrison wants me to let him know not later than Friday if I have any suggestions to make. I think you had better do it my dear if you find anything you want to change. But see to it that it reaches Harrison Friday. You can do it if you mail it to London directly this reaches

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reaches you.

The murderous Communists have killed Nin. And I fear the others will not fare much better. I must say my dear the publicity of the I.L.P. in the case of the POUM was lacking spirit and indignation. Fenner came back from Spain quite sure that the promise given him by the Government would be kept. True they did insist on Nins transfer from the secret Madrid Cheka to the regular prison. But they certainly did not safeguard the transfer. From what I could learn here the Communist gangsters waylaid the transfer and let loose a machine gun directly Nin and his guards stepped out of the Cheka mowing all of them down. It is really horrible to think that such things can happen without the socially conscious world rising in revolt.

Darling your card was just handed me. I am happy beyond words that R. is on his way to England or already there. I am sure it will be better all around. At your own place, more competent specialists and near friends. Oh, I am so glad and so relieved.

Yes, do write me my darling as soon as you can and tell me everything. Good of L.H. Some people have thick hides they have to be knocked on the head almost before they realize what they should do. Yes, it will mean material relief for R. And that is half the cure.

Now you can send the corrected text if you find anything to correct to James Harrison 2, Ravenscroft Avenue Golders Green N.W.11. See that he gets it back Friday morning.

I hold you close to my heart with love.

Affectionate greetings to Megie.

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[Letter] 1937 Aug. 11, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh]. — 2 p. ; 29 x 23 cm.

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419 East 5th Street-New York NY

11 August 1937

23792

Dear Emma

You have no where the hair is short this time for I really haven't acknowledged your month old letter. To use the threadbare excuse were almost superfluous— so there is no use telling you that I immediately got in touch with Harry and find that he is any thing but well and able to carry on. I spoke at Mohegan Colony with him and Rooker last Sunday and came down on the train with him as far as Yonkers. He is really pretty badly used up. I saw Rudolph and Mille and AB there for they are staying in the colony for the summer. R's book on Culture and Civilization is off the press. Covioi Freud \$3.50. Needless to say I cannot touch it! Then I have been called in by Freedman anent the Canada proposition. He is taking that up with the Federation and I have promised to work with him on it. Stella sent Harry the list of preferred names some time ago and of course nothing could be started without it. I did not know this till Monday morning when I got a letter from Stella after having seen Harry only the night before. However, I immediately wrote Harry to send it to me and it arrived this morning. Today is Thursday and the Federation has a meeting tonite which I will attend and find out just what's what and the next best move to be made. I will report on this in my next letter to you. Will \$300. be sufficient for the trip? The Washington matter must, I am afraid, be left in abeyance for a number of reasons. First, you probably know of a pending bill to grant wider latitudes of discretion to the Secty of Labour— while this is on the fire no one wants to undertake anything that might disturb the sleeping dogs in Congress who think the Dept of L already has too much leeway. That is to say, no one who might be useful in Washington, and I suppose that means RB. What his connections are now I do not know but it is rumoured that he is pretty sweet with the Commies. I am wondering if Ross could not do as much— only Arthur is so hopelessly broke I suspect he could scarcely finance himself for much more than a few postage stamps. And who else is there? Could Alsberg possibly be used in any way? Or would you prefer not to broach the matter to him, even if he might be able to do something?

Another thing EG that is keeping me occupied is street meetings. We have at least one each week. Last week was our roughest experience. There is a strike on in all the Automat Restaurants. Of course the CP has its plug uglies in the picket lines throughout the city, especially at the one at 14th Street near Irving Place. We have our meetings there every Tuesday night. Last Tuesday no less than two hundred invaded our meeting. There was Jack Frager, Sprintzer Cohen and myself. Later, a few comrades dropped around casually, but most of them came after the damage had been done. They use their time worn, but quite effective methods of first booing calling us Fascists, 5th Columnists, Trotskyists etc., etc. Then one enterprising youngster got a megaphone and out boomed all the other boopers. Then they began rolling up papers and throwing them at the speakers together with some fruit and other little items. Failing so far to put us down they formed a very effective flying wedge and no less than 75 huskies rushed into the stand which gently folded up dropping yours truly to the ground. There were no casualties, even after the cops charged into the crowd, but we certainly were cordially received. Two weeks ago they actually called up the Mercer Street Station and six radio cars ploughed into our meeting at 14th Street and University Place. That is the way it goes. One must never mention the hypocrisy of the Communists nor their crimes in Spain nor their murders, their Cheka, their political swindles, lies and utter demoralization. So far they have assassinated no one. But here, as in Spain the comrades are culpably to blame for their damned indifference to everything the communists are doing. To give a quarter for Spain eases their conscience and keeps their slates clean to their own self satisfaction. We cannot get them out. There hasn't been a live anarchist in captivity in New York since the Sacco-Vanzetti agitation and now that some of us are willing to get and expose the hand of the communists in Spain they will not support the meetings. Who could blame the communists; it being their policy to work they way they do for what they want, for not taking advantage of the dopes here as well as in Spain. Except here, of course, they cannot go to the lengths they do there. Nevertheless, a small cordon of good husky comrades here could stop even that! If were enough to make one weep!

Then, added to the little matters involved in the foregoing, the ULO has just shifted the editorship of the paper Spanish Revolution over to me. I am not to get

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EG#2

23793

out the present issue but I am to prepare the copy for the next one to come out about the first of September. How I am going to do it all I cannot not imagine at the moment for I certainly cannot cover all the foreign exchanges. I can get along well enough with the Spanish exchanges but not with the French and of course there is nothing at all available in the English press of this or any other country. So with Street meetings, group meetings, getting on this little campaign of yours, working on the paper I will certainly be in a fair way to keep out of other mischief and that is why I go to such lengths to explain why I haven't written you before --- but perhaps I may find that the more I have to do the more I shall be able to do, like the sick man who has to get worse before he gets better! Anyhow, I will do my best - bad as that may be. And, also, EG I hate to send a letter without so much as a postage stamp in it and there be times when I scarce can produce even that ~~little~~ little item. All these excuses added up loom large as exculpations for ones tardiness dont they?

Freedman told me that he had written you for a 600 hundred word history of the Spanish war, combined with some reminiscences about Sasha. Aside from the impracticability of combining two such subjects in a single writing, it doesnt seem to me possible for even a poet in one word stanzas do do such a thing. Moreover, it would seem most inappropriate as a foreword in the ABC. Our comrades have some crude ideas, to say the least.

I am sending you some olippings. I was under the impression that Stella was doing that right along. I suppose you want some of the more substantial stuff the American papers are bringing out about Spain and kindred subjects. Well, there is a great deal of chaff as you well know. Nothing like material that comes out in the Guardian save on rare occasions. I will do my best to select what I believe to be most desirable.

It is most regrettable that you met with that accident-, talk about generals dying in bed! To think that EG should be laid up as the result of an accident in the house. Still such little things sometimes develop into pretty big things. I can only hope the trip and sun treatments in St. Tropez will fix you up. You say you will only be there till the end of August. Where after that! You must keep me posted. And perhaps you could send me something for the paper or something about Spain I would not be likely to get elsewhere. I would appreciate that ever so much.

I forgot to tell you that the communists got out a leaflet assailing our 19th of July meeting and warning all the faithful to stay away. We got hold of one from a man who works on one of the Government WPA projects right in the office where the job was done. Thats a hot one- the communists putting one over on the government in using its time and stationery to sabotage an anarchist meeting! I will have to hurry this letter along EG for I have so much to do this evening - I know I have not begun to say what I intended to during the weeks I have been procrastinating - you will have to charge that against me for having such a disorganized mind. Do you hear frequently from Abe Bluestein- his girl is returning to the States. Green has been seen in NY and has, I understand been trying to get someone to arrange a meeting for him where he would be the sole and only speaker. Not a single one of the comrades has seen nor heard from him but we have learned that he is living in the Village. Whatever his mysterious motives are I am at a loss to understand. He must have the confidence of someone besides himself and coming from such a place as he found in Spain one would think he would be scarcely able to wait till he did see and talk with some of the comrades. He did write Smith (present editor of SR) but what he wrote Smith would not disclose. It all seems so unnecessarily secretive. At any rate he is apparently not active in any movement unless it be at something undercover. Keep up your chin EG- I will do everything possible get some of the things done that must be done. Please include in your next anything pertinent to Spain. Greetings-- van

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870929414

[Receipt] 1937 Aug. 11, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, [Paris] / Confédération Générale du Travail Syndicaliste Révolutionnaire. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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A.I.T.



A.I.T.

CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL SYNDICALISTE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE

ADRESSER
LA CORRESPONDANCE A :

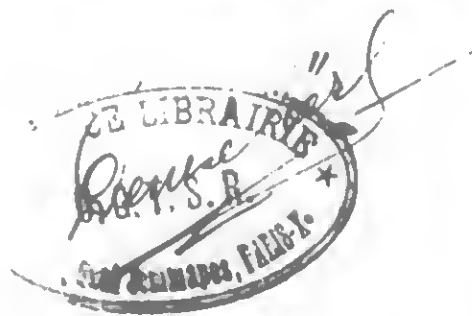
TOUTE L'ÉCONOMIE AUX SYNDICATS !..
TOUTE L'ADMINISTRATION SOCIALE AUX COMMUNES !..

Paris, le

RECU de la Camarade Emma GOLDMANN, la somme
de fcs: 400.⁰⁰ (QUATRE CENTS FRANCS) par l'intermédiaire
de la camarade MOLLIE, en règlement de 50 Albums "Espa-
gne Révolutionnaire" envoyés le 22 Janvier 1937, en
ANGLETERRE.

FAIT A PARIS le 11 Août 1937.

Pour la Librairie de la C.G.T.S.R.



NOTRE ORGANE :

LE COMBAT
SYNDICALISTE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Aug. 12 London to] Emma [Goldman, Paris] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 4 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Thursday

If this letter is clumsily expressed its
just this consoling tiredness.

Dearest Emma, please don't think I didn't appreciate your dear letters, for I did: I didn't write again from Copenhagen as there was no new news to report of F. and I wanted to wait until I got back. Well, we made the journey on Tues. and got back last evening; it was very tiring; there was a terrible long way to walk from the boat to the Customs shed and train, and it tired leg terribly; in the train he looked fagged and complained of backache. We got home alright and he had a good supper, but afterwards looked ill again, and presently said he was afraid he was going to have another hemorrh. I got the syrup they gave us at ~~the~~ and gave it to him, and followed it with two tablespoon-fuls of bromide, ~~and~~ as instructed, and gave him ice to suck, and by sitting dead still the hemorrh. subsided. But he had felt it 'bubbling' on his chest, and he looked deathly. I was so frightened that when he first whispered what he felt I thought for a moment I was going to faint, but after that first shock I know I behaved calmly and sensibly and was able to allay his own fears. I kept him still in his chair for hours and made up a bed on the divan (it all happened in the sitting room) and presently undressed him very carefully, with the minimum of movement, and moved him the few feet over to the divan: he slept fairly well (the bromide, of course) and I sat by his side in a chair all night terrified by every breath that seemed too deep or too fast! But today though he looks rather ill he feels alright, and I have kept him in bed all the morning, and then helped him to move slowly out on to the

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16976

loggia to lie in a deckchair all afternoon. I rang up an intelligent dr friend last night, and by today he had fixed for Reg to go into Parts hos. on Monday, and be attended personally by a very brilliant and internationally famous young physician who is interested in the case from what my dr friend has told him of it. The general view seems to be that Reg's high blood-pressure is at the bottom of it all, and that this bursts blood vessels in some part of the body, and that the b.p. was increased by the exertion of the journey yesterday. This seems reasonable. My friend assures me they won't keep him in hos. more than the day or two necessary to make some investigations that were not made in Denmark. It seems dreadful that only just out of hos. he has to go back to eng. and a noisy London one at that, but my dr friend insists that we should be fools to miss the chance of so brilliant a dr personally attending to the case, and we must find out what is wrong - he can't go all his life terrified to move for fear of a hemorrhage! He's such a fine, sweet person, Emma, and such a valuable comrade, one of our few really sincere and politically sound young revolutionaries - it's dreadful he should be laid low like this, just now when we can so ill spare him, and I feel this terribly apart from my own personal grieving....and for that there aren't any words; I feel sort of crying inside all the time, only it's no use giving way to the futility of weeping; it doesn't help him - in fact it would depress him and make him worse, and there's all the time so much to do; only after completely sleepless nights like this last I feel all-in. and oh Emma that four boast of an English dr who attended him in Copenhagen before he went into hos. - he has actually

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17084
written saying that he must be regarded as a tubercular patient despite all the negative tests at the hos. He insists that because he has tubercular symptoms (some of which, such as the cough he keeps on mentioning, he has not had!) he must be regarded as t.b. despite all the tests (which show no t.b. bacillus whatsoever and the ex-rays show the lungs to be perfectly normal) and he has actually reported to the local t.b. officer! This officer wrote to me and he got it whilst he was in hos. (I suppose you know that in Eng. t.b. cases in the district have to be reported back to the local t.b. officer) He reported me as t.b. merely on symptoms and before any tests or examinations had been made! and when the hos. have declared me definitely not t.b. comes along and writes me that cruel letter - like re-sentencing a reprieved person! It upset me terribly, just when after all the nightmare of dread and worry I was beginning to be happy again. I didn't show the letter to me because he himself has completely faith in the hos. drs. and my dr. friend here assures me that there is no reason at all to suppose they are not absolutely right.

Yes, Emma, its good to be home, where I can give him proper food and iced drinks, and where there are books and one's friends accessible. He is immensely glad to be home, and I could be happy but for the anxiety as to how long they will want to keep him at the hos. - it seems so cruel he must go away again when he is only just out, only I feel its the right thing in view of the circumstances - don't you?

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17008
Barling Emma, so much about me and my worries, when you have so many worries of your own. I do love you for your unselfish interest and concern in this bad patch we've struck, me and I. The news you send about Spain is dreadful. I'm not telling her. He feels these things so terribly - which is more than a good many of our so-called comrades seem to do. Dear Emma, it's not the physical danger I feel for you about going back to Spain, but the dread that they may gaoil you, where you'd be of no service, and which would be more dreadful than any physical danger - for as you say life is better to be lived dangerously and all your life you've lived it that way. If only more revolutionaries had your spirit, and your courage, my allant Emma! Bless you and bless you, with all my heart.

I had a nice letter from dear Auntie. Dear Auntie in her happy twittering world of unrealities! But she's had such suffering in her life that we'd have her anywhere but in that safe twittering world, wouldn't we?

I sent the express cutting about the S.L. Army and the Basque children to Monica W some time ago, from Copen. but have heard from her. I hope anyhow she's acting on it.

I am turning the folder copy to Harrison; it seems OK to me.

Dearest Emma, I must end now; I am so very tired and there is such a pile of actual letter mail here despite all I had sent on. I got a good bit of work on the book done whilst away, but now that I am back seem almost too

exhausted to pick it up again; but perhaps a night's sleep will make a difference. Love to you both.

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880726171

[Letter] 1937 Aug. 12 [Knoxville, Iowa to Emma Goldman, Paris] / [Morris Goldman].— 11 p. ; 25 x 16 cm.

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Aug 12, 1937

Charmeleh darling - By yompin, yelmenek
yezue, are we happy to get word from
you direct. It seems ages and ages ago.
Tzu Schpanien willst du fahren,
es fellet dir Tzohness? Just wait till
I see you, ich well dir geben. Mein
tahteh alvescholen wollt gezogt, in
der haim veset du blihen. I would
^{take} all your clothes away including ~~all~~ deine
haisen und deine Zidenek zoken. Once
upon a time you were good at Russian
Kozzatskehe, but look what Fonia got
you. Now he wouldn't even welcome
you to a monthful of Peterburski Kwass.
Now you are fantaziring a return to Spain.
How do you expect to master the Tango
on a bum knee? To dance away from
sky dropping-bombs is part of their
indoor as well as out door sports. I
bet you havent even had an x-ray taken
of your knee. Is your doctor a clairvoyant?
How does he know? Perhaps a little piece
of bone or knee cap snapped. There may be
a loose cartilage. You walked over 3 1/2 miles
with a broken knee cap and didnt know it,
till the x-ray told you so. Have you kept

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(2)

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the limb at absolute rest? Was a splint or cast applied? Did you bear down on your foot too soon? Genuß Kaashea gefreht.

I guess you must know of the family pension, fifty per month. It is sweet of them. Saxe, Hyman, Stella, Smee and Beans are in on it. I appreciate their good will. It helps, but the pill is none the less bitter to swallow. The Regierung's Pension will come to \$26.66 per month or less. So far there has been no final adjudication and I haven't drawn a cent. The fault is mine. I was playing for time and holding them off. I didn't want to retire and didn't want their pension. I appealed my case. About 3 months ago, I thought, I might gather up enough nerve and show myself in person. Washington asked me to let them know when I could come, at the same time informing me that their decision was final and that my visit would make no difference. They got me down as permanently and totally disabled for useful and efficient service as a medical officer in the Veterans administration. I was eager to get back on the job.

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(3)

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I was getting ready to pay them a visit, just to show them my prowess and perhaps to land some other kind of position in the Vietnamese administration. It was a case of a more than willing spirit, but the flesh was weak. Then came a sudden severe heart attack with a pain that I never knew before. It was diagnosed as "Coronary Thrombosis". All sudden heart deaths are usually due to this condition and ~~the greatest~~ ^{a great} number follow the first attack. That's what happened to poor brother Norman, but my time hadn't come. I was stricken on the 25th of this last May and put in 6 weeks in bed at absolute rest. A doctor saw me daily and Babsie looked after me. I wasn't allowed even a visit to the bath room. One day poor Leah visited me. I was propped up, eating something. There was a crowding around the heart. I smiled and didn't want her to know it. It was coming on, a peculiar feeling of pressure and distress. It lasted only a minute. Leah noticed it. Poor soul felt badly. She stayed about 2 hours. I was happy to see her.

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Our unenviable situation could be much better. We have been living on borrowed money from strangers.

Babe's first case was June 19th and after a hard night's grind, would come home and look after me. She does special duty at a hospital out here.

Three days on one case, ten days on another, seven days on still another. There are short and long stretches of waiting between cases. Nursing incomes are not steady, but helps a lot nevertheless. For Babe to go in for general floor duty in a hospital, and be on the regular nursing staff, hardly pays.

They pay so little and allow nothing for living out. Besides Babe would lose time because of her frequent migraine.

A headache every ten days and out of Commission each time for 48 hours.

This interferes too much with hospital routine. When specializing, she can always get a relief nurse. When a headache comes on, on days when Babe has no case,

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there is nothing to worry about except to nurse her headache. On non-earning days, she can sing that old song, "I got plenty of nothin'." Any yokkel her Fleckel can get along on plenty of cometin'. These are lean days for us. Haven't been to a movie in 15 months. A loch in Schtott und allehreich Meiter. I need not tell you Schmeiter, that not having earned a penny in the last 13 months and having those hospital bills to pay and extras and to keep going so many special nurses in eight and twelve hour shifts and paying our big shot Consultant \$200 for twenty minutes visit. All these and then the wages and feeding of ~~a~~ my personal attendant (a male nurse) at home for four months, all this knocked the bottom out of our savings. We were so broke that the last hospital where I was laid up for fifteen weeks, I was

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obliged to become a Charity patient. Bessie + Babie swung it for me. Bessie knew the doctor in charge and the social service. Babie knew the superintendent. She nursed at that Joint hospital 10 years ago. Well this hospital helped me considerably, even though meals were terrible and some of the nurses not so hot. Just a year ago, right after the amputation, the stump began to act up. The guy who removed the leg, said he could do nothing more and sent me home on the 18th day. From then on began my troubles, as if I hadn't enough from ~~signatures in words~~ hell for eleven weeks at Northport and Huntington prior to the amputation at Mount Sinai. Then the rounds back and forth to New York began, seeing one doctor after another. Some fifteen excellent men were seen. All having different ideas and no ^{one} offering anything constructive. The immediate problem was exhaustion. Not any sleep for

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Twenty five nights. Well I was fixed up again for a time, but soon down again with pain in the stump. The end result landed me in that Joint Hospital above mentioned from which I was discharged ~~last~~ February 22, nd 1937.

See-when I come to think of it, I spent an awfully long time in bed since May 11th 1936. There were 27 weeks in hospitals and 20 weeks in bed at home, constantly in bed, unable to stand or to get around. Have forgotten what it feels to be normal. Such a state is becoming a lost art with me. No longer qualified to Tango my way to Spain, no not even to Coney Island. Mein Liebochen wasa willst du noch mehr.

Dear Babealeh had her share of it. She even knew hunger in ~~this~~ the midst of plenty on the government Post. I at least was getting my meals at the Joint Hospital. Babe would stint every penny towards her railroad fare, when

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(8)

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she would come out to see me. The rent to Uncle Sam for the apartment had to be paid every two weeks. Babs would order nothing from the grocer. Our neighbor told me that she noticed our ice box empty most of the days. She would tactfully invite Babs to a meal. There were other invitations that Babs would not accept on the spot. She was living on bread and milk. Worry and lack of nourishment reduced her to skin and bones. At the same time all her teeth were going to the dogs. ~~With her present situation~~ The uncertainty of not knowing just what my status would be. When she will be forced to move. Where would she move? It cost money to move. Friends and some relatives would not believe ~~the person~~ such things if told. Those who have never known want, will not understand. Human nature is selfish that way. ~~he~~ So you will ^{be} back to your Bungalow where poor Sasha used to be. Yes, it's kind a tough. The heart break futility of

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2362

it all. His last moments. Had he been alive, he probably would have been dead by this time on some Spanish battle front, or murdered in the interior. He reminds me of Silone's, "Bread and Wine." Don Paola, the hero, a fugitive from Italian justice. He was quite ill, but went back to Italy in the garb of a priest. When he felt a little better, he took all sorts of chances. He would establish contacts with a handful of comrades. He would not then wear his priestly gown. He would change quickly. In the small hours of the morning, they would write on walls of such public places as would attract the eyes of marching regiments. Great words would stand out, as "Down with the tyrants, down with the war." The Fascists were tipped off. Who is this mysterious priest? They were on the look out. Don Paola made his escape to the mountains and was lost in the storm. Dear Schuster, dear Sacha, you are every inch that luminary Don Paola, the symbol

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(10)
of that eternal freedom and excellence
of dass menschliches Geist. In der
heim obher zollst du bleiben, der
herst mein Schwester. I am not going
to write a book, because I know in
advance that you will not don the
holy garb of a Priest. You will not
even do in the make up of a ~~Marasch~~
menaschenkeh. I wish to god you
were here with us again and to stay
here. No tachless, this wandering
in strange lands. If I ever meet
Sam, I would retire you on a
pension, worth while. Since your
physical activities as well as mine
are ^{so} greatly restricted, why not be
fancy free and soar on the wings
of hope. Let's not give in to this
drab Copsy-turvy world of ours.

On the 15th, you, Barbara and I
will have a drink together. The rest of that
geburtstag-geschainke will go towards a
new electric iron. The one we have is
fifteen years old. Barbara's uniforms must
look spick & span.

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(11)

23630

Henceforth I must write my own letters. Babie is on a Secretarial stand up strike. In spite of all her hardships, her sweetness, warmth and mental balance have been preserved. At times she can become quite moody and sad, but soon enough the Peter Pan prevails and she is a joy again to the nth degree. Life would be quite lonely and meaningless without her.

Bleib mir gesundt darling mine. I love you and Babie loves you. You know we do. We both kiss you and take you around.
Maische.

The enclosure is a Comprehensive report on my case. The doctor who operated on me wanted to know how I was coming along since he saw me last September. He is probably writing up my case for some medical journal. He wrote and thanked me for this ~~long~~ report and said he would examine my other leg when ever I am ready.

The Emma Goldman Papers

900117014

[Letter, 1937 Aug. 12, Knoxville, Iowa to Emma Goldman, Paris (enclosure)] / [Morris Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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June 29, 1937.

Dear Dr. Silbert:

Thanks for your recent inquiry.

It can be a long story, but on account of my present condition I will try to make it as brief as possible, and you will be just as well pleased. I will begin at the end and re-sume at the time you saw me last.

Five weeks ago, on May 25th, I sustained a sudden attack of severe substernal pain, lasting several hours, accompanied by vomiting. There were no radiations. My wife observed a peculiar discoloration of cheeks, nose and lips, a cold, clammy skin, perspiring freely, pulse weak and hard to get. Dr. Aaron, out here, arrived and called it shock. As the night went on pain diminished in severity. Breathing was a little difficult. The next morning, temperature 101.8, WBC 12,000, Polys 80%, trace of sugar in the urine. Elevation of temperature, and substernal distress persisted for three days. Further urine examinations negative.

I have had several attacks of congestive heart failure since 1930, and have been fibrillating since November 1934, but this was the first time I suffered pain beneath the sternum and presented symptoms above mentioned. Obviously this was something different. Two Electro-Cardiograms since this recent illness confirmed the clinical suspicion of coronary occlusion. Have been sentenced to the usual six weeks in bed at absolute rest. Dictating this note is no exertion.

You saw me last towards the end of September 1936 at Mount Sinai, when I was Dr. Ginsberg's patient for another condition, possibly some vascular accident to the left kidney or spleen. There was reflex paralytic ileus, tenderness and pain in the lower left back. Abdomen ballooned and tight as a drum; much discomfort. When you arrived above symptoms had disappeared.

I wanted your opinion about the misbehavior of my stump. You said you did not understand the problem and that I would have to suffer it out. On the tenth day I left the hospital. The stump continued to act up. There was painful tightness.

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Page two.

in distal half during the day, and more so at night, awakening frequently with clonus and pain; would have to grab stump with both hands to stop clonus. This kept up and got so bad that on November 12th, three and a half months after amputation, was taken to Hospital for Joint Diseases, where I remained fifteen weeks, under care of Dr. Harry Finkelstein, Orthopedic man.

Therapeutic procedure: Weekly epidural injections of Novocaine in saline 40 to 100 cc. for three weeks and adjunct measures such as steam and warm and cool continuous stream under moderate pressure to the stump. Epidural injections gave only temporary relief, from two to seven hours; the fourth week all treatment discontinued; fifth week blocking of sciatic (perineural) injection with 2 cc. of alcohol at site high up in mid-left buttock. Reaction: Suffered severe pain in phantom foot for twenty-four hours. No more injections were given. Further hydrotherapy in the form of the whirlpool was kept up three times a week for three weeks more. Eight weeks have now passed since admission, with no improvement. The ninth week began with Pavex to stump one hour a day for fourteen days, and discontinued because following each treatment sense of constriction and discomfort greater than ever. Eleventh week noticed pain in stump diminishing, but clonus persisting, and annoyance enough to wake me up several times a night. Began at this time a series of fourteen daily intra-muscular injections of Karacton (muscle tissue extract). General condition improved much, gained weight and felt stronger. Had been a bed patient the first eight weeks, then began to use the wheel chair and crutches. Had been using crutches before admission to Joint Hospital, but had a bad fall, coming down with full weight on stump and bruising soft tissues of same. Lost confidence in crutches. Had difficulty with proper fitting of artificial limb, stump too fat and flabby. Mechanic advised long period of shrinking, until the circumference of stump was same as normal thigh. There were repeated fittings, and mechanic became ill, and there was a delay in finishing limb.

The last three weeks at the Joint Hospital, learned to walk with artificial limb and with help of one cane, walked on yards and climbed one stairway twice a day.. Clonus of stump at night still continued to this very day, eleven months since amputation. Have learned by experience to diminish annoying jumpiness by applying Ace bandage at night. Stump free from pain for the past five months.

When I left Hospital February 23, fifteen weeks after admission I felt fine and my general condition was excellent. It was believed that the alcohol blocking of the sciatic did the trick, and that all other treatments probably did not matter.

Since my return to Northport on February 23, to May 23, date of coronary trouble, have been up and around with wooden leg more or less, reaching it on sidewalks, curb stones and highways, and now and then climbing stairs.

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Page three.

During this time my so-called good leg began to give me trouble. At the Joint Hospital on one occasion, complained of funny feeling in the big toe, a sort of numbness. Dorsalis Pedis was faintly palpable, the posterior Tibial O.K. An Oculometric check-up was ordered; I did not complain again and heard nothing more about it. With the increased use of my leg at home, on getting up from a chair entire sole would feel as if gone asleep. In shuffling along about half a block, in step would hurt just proximal to the ball of the foot; the foot would tire easily and I would have to stop. Tried a metal arch support for three weeks, without relief. The foot is usually cold, color O.K., but the under surface of the great toe would show a purplish hue, occasional numbness and prickly feeling at night while in bed.

These past five weeks while bedridden, the foot feels much better - sometimes warm, sometimes cold. The big toe shows better color; only occasional tingling in all toes. Dorsalis Pedis not so easy to get; the number of beats picked up are 54 per minute compared with the rate at the radial and apex beat, which is 80.

As I now look back, I recall distinctly the first episode. It was in the early part of 1935, several months after a very serious attack of cardiac decompensation, when, while at work, I felt a sudden twisting pain in the lower left back, radiating down left thigh and leg. The left ankle and foot became cold and white as snow, there was no sensation, and I was unable to move the foot. The right foot was simultaneously involved, but no radiations from above as on the left side. The condition in both feet shortly cleared up and I was on the job again.

Soon after, the left foot began to tingle, walking was difficult, especially up-grade; could not bear weight on left leg without pain from hip down. Was hospitalized for thirty days during the months of February and March, 1935, with a questionable diagnosis of sciatica. Returned to work and kept going for a year, left leg never feeling quite up to par again.

Then came the second episode. Suddenly while at work on May 11, 1936, a similar clinical picture as above, with both feet involved, except that the right limb cleared in a few days, and the left leg went on to gangrene. The rest you know.

Dear Dr. Silbert, in the light of the above happenings, I feel that I have every right to be vitally interested, if not apprehensive about my leg. Often I regret that the Mount Sinai Laboratory made no pathological study of the leg that was removed. Just as soon as I am able to get around, I am going to pay you a visit; will either write or phone you for an appointment. I

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Aug. 12, Knoxville, Iowa to Emma Goldman, Paris (enclosure)] / [Morris Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I started with your letter in your hand
reporting that it would not be possible to
I hope your patience has not been too long.

Again thanking you for your inquiry.

Most cordially yours,

Please note change of address.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

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[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 13, Paris [to] Monica Whately, [London?] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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~~xxxxxx~~ Paris August 15th 37

Dear Monica Whately. I am sending this via Ralph Barr as I had to write him to day. Thanks for your letter and the copy of the one sent to Mujeres Libres. For safety sake I am writing them and also will inclose your copy. The censorship is so rigid in Spain now one does not know whether letters reach their destination or not.

I so glad to know one can go from the French, Spanish border direct to Geneva. That certainly will save a lot of expences. I hope my splendid comrades will arrange everything so as to be in Geneva in good time. I will be with them in thought even if I can not be with them in person. I am sending you the current issue of *Mujeres Libres*. It is amazing that such work can be done under the frightful conditions in Spain. The danger not only from Franco. But now also from Stalin's satraps. I suppose you have read of the murder of KIM, the POSE leader. It is really bhrowing that such acts can go on without even a protest of Labor and Liberals. The War and Bolshevism have blunted human sensibilities to a frightful extent.

Next week will be our free Show of our film. I think you may dear should make the appeal at the end of the film for contributions to enable us to send the film everywhere through England. You are a splendid speaker and I feel sure your appeal would bring results. Please make it.

Give my love to comrade Foot.

Sincerely

Affectionate greetings to Molly. Indded I too am looking forward to seeing you again for your own good self and also because of my plan to reach the women of England in behalf of my heroic women friends in Spain. They sent me a mandat to represent them. So I will be able to act officially ~~in their~~ for the great work for women they are doing.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 15, Paris [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. —
2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

XXXXXX Paris August 15th 37
London

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dearest Ethel. I have your letter. Your description of Regie's condition, the trip from Denmark and the night in your cottage is so vivid it made me feel as if I were a witness to it all. I am only sorry ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ it was only a definite impression and not a fact. I could at least have saved you sitting up all night. I am so afraid your grief and your anxiety will put you on your back. y, dearest dear you must get someone to help you nurse Regie, ~~ixx~~ else you will have a breakdown. Please, please do. You already seem frightfully fagged out and your nerves on fire. You must not continue without competent help. It will do you both harm if you go on as you have the last three weeks.

What a callous beast that English physician in Copenhagen must have been to tell you so brutally and bluntly about Regie's condition. As if the medical profession were not guilt of any number of mistakes, as if they were not always groping in the dark. Damn fool that doctor and hard boiled to boot. He ~~ixx~~ was right in one thing though—need of every sort of prevention against the least sign of t.b. Nowadays there is no need of neglecting to catch the disease, or even the least symptoms in their earliest stages. I am glad therefore that you were sensible about consenting to Regie's going to the hospital for a few days. After he has been under observation and some tests it will be possible to know just what is the real cause of his hemorrhages and to begin a cure immediately. Please keep me informed about the result of the observation.

Yes, darling I feel Regie's sudden illness terribly because he impressed me as among the very few true revolutionists in England. There are so few able people, who feel the social struggle keenly and have the courage to give to it their all. But Regie's value to the revolutionary movement important as it is is not the only reason for my profound regret that he should be stricken when perfectly worthless and useless people enjoy perfect health. My regret is also because he means so much to you. Dearest there are so few successful love relations it always warms my hearth when I come across two people who find happiness in each other without enslaving and binding each other. I know what it means to have to be on guard all the time against the invasive tendency of another, usually more invasive and possessive the more one is loved. I could never submit to such claims and infringement.

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I have become so obsessed by Spain that nothing else matters. I would go no matter what dangers were awaiting me. Unfortunately my going does not depend on me. And those on whom it does depend do not seem all too efficient in getting me the possibility to go. It looks hopeless yet I cling with every fiber of my being to the hope that I may yet go. This week will decide the issue. Meanwhile I have ordered a seat on the evening train to Nice Thursday. I have never known such travel as now. One must make reservations two weeks in advance. I am not even certain the seat will be available for the 19th. Needless to say I will not go to the South if I should have the permission to go to Valencia. I fear though I will probably have to go on and wait ~~there~~ in St Tropez for definite information in re ~~my~~ Spain. I simply cannot face the possibility of having to give up the idea. No one can possibly guess what the Spanish Revolution and my visit to Spain had meant to me. It came on the heels of Alexander Berkman's tragic end. It seemed my life too is at an end. Then the call came from the CNT-FAI and life began all over again, it was a reprieve from a death sentence. Then my visit to Spain, the feeling that what I had propagated for so many years had also come to life, was bearing fruit. I walked on air and wanted nothing more but to end my years in Spain. And now the collapse of the ~~Spanish~~ Revolution due ~~almost~~ largely to the timidity of my own comrades, to their affiliations with government and the ~~barbarous~~ Stalin gang. The blow has quite shattered me. It is only that my faith in the Spanish masses continues. And it is for this reason that I yearn to get back, if only I could. Yes, I know the danger is great. The damnable Stalin satraps have an old account to settle with me. They would do it without the least compunction. But I would take a chance though I should hate ~~to~~ ~~to~~ ~~to~~ ~~to~~ ~~to~~ throw away my life to satisfy the sadism of the Moscow gang.

Dearest do not add your anxiety about me to the other
you have to carry. I will be alright. If not, well I have done my
work and I am not so keen on hanging on to senility, or dependence.

You can still write me here if you have the time.

With much love

The best of wishes for Regies speedy recover.

I am quite willing Auntie should have her "happy twittering world of make believe". It would kill me. ~~Frank~~ I love Auntie but I could never stand her surroundings in Venice for more than a day or two. In a way it is good to go there for a short period. It helps one to see the utter emptiness of the Capitalist system, and the idleness of its adherents. It makes me hate the system more when I am with Auntie's "friends" for a day or two. The pathos is that most of her friends would drop her like a hot potato if they knew she had a single idea that is likely to threaten their wealth and their comfort. Norman Douglass I think really cares for

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 16, Paris [to unknown recipient, London (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 21 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

XXXXXX Paris August 16th 37

My dear nurse, cook and general bottle washer.

Thanks for your two last letters and inclosures. Your letter of the 10th was forwarded here from St Tropez. As you wrote that R. is going for two weeks to Barcelona and Valencia I wired him that he must not fail to see me on his way through Paris. Then I learned from Souch that both R. and V. were in London and said nothing about going away. Yes, it is just like the Spanish ten per cent and way of doing things. They are such crazy optimists they definitely take the thought off the dead. Therein lies the cause of all their blunders and compromises. They actually believe that no matter how much they have lost from the ground they will recapture it and will come out on top. It is all right to be so childish in ones own individual life but in world affairs or a revolution it is disastrous as is proven by the events in Spain. I don't say the Spanish masses will not eventually conquer. But for the present our people have no more to say in their country as you and I. They have been stripped naked of their power and their strength. I don't care what they say. The facts speak for themselves.

Souchy, my dear he is not only weak with the I.L.P. He is by nature a weakling and without his own definite opinion. He is a nice boy and I have always liked him as a comrade and a worker. But I could never reconcile myself to his everlasting political wire pulling, his willingness to hitch up with anybody and every body no matter how remote from us and our ideology. Fancy the fool saying he would let Fenner edit his brochure or book or whatever it is to be. I am sure Souchy did not realize how humiliating for an Anarchist to do such a thing. I am seeing him again this afternoon before he goes back and I will most assuredly stress the need of independent activity in England. That is to say if the CNT-FAI wants me to continue the bureau. They must make up their mind that it is impossible to succeed in anything if the work goes through many hands and organization that have no bearing on our efforts. So you can rest assured it will either be the bureau or not at all.

About my visit to my Southern friends I have no faith in it. They have achieved nothing so far. Souchy insists I should stick on in Paris. Being here would drive the comrades to intense effort. Rosa tells me to go to St Trépez as I should cure my

The Emma Goldman Papers

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17017
knew. If Roca were not among the most efficient Spanish comrades I should act upon Souchy's advice. But Roca will do whatever in his power though that may not be much. Anyhow I am definitely leaving for Nice next Saturday, and early next week for St Tropez. You can therefore still write me here until the end of the week then to the Amer can Express 2, rue du Congrès Nice. But not later than next Tuesday or Wed. the 24th and 25.

The two German letters you sent are from Danish comrades who it seems have been drained by that parasite Fey and who refuse to do more. I will write them when I will find time. Fey is of course in Paris. As first he told the German comrades he needs no money only a place where to live and some apper that would enable him to remain in Paris. Yesterday Therese, Souchy's girl told me he had been to her place of work and had told her he is broke, he and the child are starving and all sorts of lies similar to what he told us. Strangely enough Therese got the same impression as we that Fey is drilling the unfortunate child to play a scene when ever he is in the presence of those Fey wants to use. Well, I only hope he will not find out my whereabouts. For I will definitely do nothing for him. I feel terrible about the child but the only way to help the boy is to forceably take take him away from that awful father.

Dear you must never take anything for granted about things being sent to me direct. I receive nothing from Spain because everything goes to my place. So please forward it to me whatever you get, papers, bulletins, etc. I miss them very much.

How wonderful about Havelok Ellis to attend the talk of Souchy. I did not know ~~xx~~ he was in London or I should certainly have suggested ~~xxxxxx~~ an invitation to him. I hope it was sent and that he will attend.

Dear, call up Bacchioni, give him my greetings and tell him if it is still time to have something about Sacco and Vanzetti in the next issue of Spain and the World. The 22nd will be ten years since they were murdered. I would have written something but it is impossible to do anything being always on the run, or crawl in my case all day. I hope it is yet time to have something in the next issue of the paper.

The film, certainly James will have to insist that the Kodak people improve on the sound of our 16.m.m. film. Else it will hardly be of use. I had another letter from Frank which I inclose. Also a wire telling me it is alright about our film he expects no royalties on that. He still harps on ordering more films in New York. But I don't see what we would gain. He paid twenty pounds duty on the film, granted that ours would be less it would still be ten, then the cartage and cost of making the film. He said that would be \$60, £12. By the time it would reach us it will cost about the same £35 and then the long wait and uncertainty. I see no gain. Do you? I am looking forward to your account of the show on Friday. I think that is the day, isn't it. And also the folder. The cost of the picture taken for it is high. But if Fenner or S. and the W. wish to use it they must contribute something to its cost.

I am not quite clear about Winnie, has she been discouraged

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1937 Aug. 16, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. — 1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 22

BARCELONA

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Barcelona 16 Août 1937.

**Comrade EMMA GOLDMAN,
18, Castletown Rd.,
LONDON, W.14.**

Chère camarade,

J'ai viens de recevoir une lettre d'un Monsieur nommé Philip Beppstein - 182^e Adelaide Rd. - London, lequel nous demande le bulletin d'information en langue espagnole et la littérature anarchiste espagnole. Nous l'avons envoyé le bulletin et quelques brochures et l'avons fait connaître le nom des auteurs anarchistes espagnols.

Nous l'avons communiqué aussi que s'il désire obtenir d'autres renseignements de s'adresser à vous.

Recevez mes salutations bien fraternelles,

Martin Gudell

INFORMACION EXTRANJERA
C N T - F. A. I.

32 Vía Laybana 24
BARCELONA - ESPAÑA

The Emma Goldman Papers

900117004

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 17, Paris [to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

33762

XXXXXX Paris August 17th 37

Dearest Jeanne.

At last I got together with Julia and Lucille. They arrived in Paris Sunday night and sent me an express letter asking me to phone which I did. They wanted to take me to the Exposition. But as that was out of the question for my painful knee I met them for dinner and spent the evening with them yesterday. Julia told me she could not understand why you did not mention my trip to Canada. She said you had seen her several times before she and Lucille sailed. And it seemed strange that you never referred to Canada and the need of raising money. However she feels it should be done. She did not think it would be difficult to raise enough for my return trip and also the \$500 I have to show on arriving. She said when she gets back in Sept she would take it up with you and a few others and she would do what she can to help raise such a fund. So that, that as they say. It will be up to you, my dearest to clinch Julia's interest which she certainly expressed to me last night. The trouble will be that Julia and the others will naturally assume that I can go tourist class. Nothing would suite me better. Unfortunately, I always had to travel second class, or cabin boat not to arouse the Canadian authorities. You know how it is always with people who can travel first or second class. They are never grilled or worried so much as the Tourists or third class. And as I cannot afford too much scrutiny, or questions I always went cabin boat. But that is nothing. After all the Canadian charges will raise a little. I will use that in addition to what ~~ex~~ will be raised in Chicago between you and Julia to get a return ticket in a cabin boat.

You might ask why Julia did not offer to let me have some money right away. Well, some people mean well but do not know how to go about. And I could not possibly ask for anything from Julia. I just told her the situation and as she seemed very interested and thought it is the wisest thing to go to Canada and work for an A. visa from there I said no more. I am seeing ~~her~~ Julia and Lucille again this evening and possibly tomorrow. They leave for England Thursday and I for St Tropez next Saturday. So please write me there until about Sept tenth. I intend to get back here about the 20th of next month. And back to England around the 23rd my old address 18 Castletown Rd. London W.14. In St Tropez it is Bon Esprit Chemin St Antoine. St Tropez Var. until the 10th of Sept. Then to Paris c/o Collier's until the 23rd. Then London.
With love to you and Jay.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Aug. 19 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / H[arry] W[einberger].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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August 19, 1937.

Mrs. E. G. Colton
10 R. Carr
106 Canningham Road
London E. 12

My dear E. G.:

Sorry to hear from Fitzie that you wrenched your ligament and hope that by the time you receive this you will have fully recovered.

What are your plans about coming to Canada?

I understand the Spanish trip is off and that you feel you cannot do much more in England as far as Spain is concerned.

It certainly is a mad world and there is not enough moral force in the world to stop the despicable Japanese. Everyone is afraid of dictators, not realizing that the bullocks grow by the fear they put into the hearts of other nations.

There is nothing else very much now except that the strikes have subsided in the United States. Roosevelt protests that he is now not in favor of dictatorships and regimentation. Prosperity more or less for a great section of our people, is still around the corner.

I enclose a little check and hope you will use it for pleasure and not for necessities.

Sincerely,

HT:BW
Enc.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. [26?] Nice [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Nice August 37.

Dear Harry. I was glad to hear from you but very sorry indeed to hear of your trouble of your eyes. Harry Clemens had told me that Sonia had heard from Rachelle about your eyes. You did not say the nature of your trouble. I do hope it is not too serious. Though I am far away from the American scene I am not unaware of its complexity as far as my chances of being admitted is concerned. I dare say our friends are right that it would be no use trying anything now. Well, there is no great hurry. I don't know when I shall get to Canada. Before I go I must be back in Spain. I have been in such turmoil since the May events I have had no peace or rest. The frightful collapse of everything our comrades had undertaken in so short a period is beyond my grasp. And while I have all the data, the latest the inclosed copy of Abe Bluestein's letter, I am not satisfied that our people are not the selves responsible for the counter-revolution that is rampant in Spain to day. I must be there and see our people, see the work ~~the work~~ so wonderful when I was there before I can go on with my activities for the C.T.F.A.I. Well, I got my visas, French and Spanish. I tried for the English visa on the ground of a letter I got from C.W. Daliel, my publisher, to go to Spain and get material for a book on the new school system. That helped me not at all. I was told at the foreign Office that the Non Intervention rules do give visas to journalists but not to writers. Stupid discrimination, isn't it? So I went to Paris to see what I could do from there. I succeeded better than I expected. Through Squchy I got the French visa, through a Spanish comrade the Spanish. Now you might well ask why did I not go then. Well, for two reasons, first it will take at least a week to make the arrangements for me to fly to Spain and to be received by some of the comrades ~~in~~ position is still recognized so that I maybe saved falling into the hands of Stalin's Cheka in Spain. The risk is very considerable as it is. But I am determined to chance it. I have always considered myself with the fact that one dies but once but one lives a hundred lives. However I am not an alarmist. I do not think anything will happen. After all I am "His Majesty's" subject, that makes a difference, and also I am not so known to the Chekists in Spain. I must wait though until our comrade in Paris has organized my going by plane. The next thing is that my kneed knee badly bruise and the torn ligaments get some sunbaths before I start out for Spain. Lastly I must finish with Don Cesarit, get rid of it if possible. All these factors made me go South. I am here since Sunday visiting with Honore Weissier one of the best French comrades I have met. Sunday she is taking me in her car to St Tropez where I will await the instructions of the Spanish comrades in Paris and Marseille who are looking after my trip to Spain.

Dear Harry, I must ask you that you keep my going quiet for the present. Any announcement and publicity will only prepare Stalin's gangster to "receive" me in their humane and comradely fashion. Naturally I do not want to give ~~that~~ such an opportunity. I don't mind Leah, Fitzi, Pauline or one or two others of our intimate friends to know. But no one else please. I will only go for a month to have a talk with the leading comrades and also with the rank and file. And I will try to go over the ground I have covered while in Barcelona. I think it will enable me to judge

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[Letter, 19]37 Aug. [26?] Nice [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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law
of the
better and more adequately how far the Montseymeyns and the
Clivers are responsible for the complete collapse of the revolution
and the strategic point of the CNT-FAI. I do not think I will need
more than a month for that. So I expect to be back in England not
later than the end of Oct. I will certainly be better informed
than I am now about the situation in Spain. I absolutely need that
if I am to continue my activities for Spain whether in England or
Canada. Then I will decide whether to sail for C. or remain in
England until the spring and sail then. Nowadays it is impossible
to make plans too long in advance.

You will be interested in Abe's letter. It is very
thoughtful and understanding. When you are through with it send it
on to Van, his address is 419 East 5th Street. I think the Freie Ahr
Stimme hears from Abe direct. Besides I will have copies made when
I get to St Tropez and I will send a copy to the VALGUA D.

About writing me, it will be best to write me c/o Ralph
Barr. He will know how to reach me though I will have to be most
careful with my mail. In as much as the blackest counter-revolution
is rampant in Spain now the censorship is deadly and may make
it difficult for me to get out of Spain. However there will be
a possibility to reach me through a Spanish comrade in Paris. As
I said Ralph Barr will know. I have written Stella about my going
to Spain of course. But no one else. I think you could still reach
me to St Tropez if you write by return mail. I want very much to
know about your eyes.

Kind greetings to Leah to Linna, Elsie
and the comrades.

In St Tropez I will prepare a statement in case
the Stalins blood hounds should get hold of me. As I have hardly
anything of worldly ~~possessions~~ fortunes to leave behind I want
our comrades and my own life long friends among whom you have
an abiding place to know that any charge made against me by the
Moscow gang in Spain will be lies from beginning to end. There
will be no "confessions" from E.G. no cringing in the dust, no
apologies for my attitude to Bolshevism, or my deadly hatred of it.
I will go as I have lived true to our ideas and with my undying
faith in its ultimate triumph. I will send you a copy to be made
public only if something happens to me while in Spain.

Affectionately.

Emma

Ralph Barr

166 Coningham R.

London - W. 12

Please mail
the enclosed card
to Dora.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1937 Aug. [26? Turø, Denmark to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez] / Karin Michaelis. — 1 p. ; 32 x 23 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23424

KARIN MICHAELIS
THURØ / DENMARK

Thurs August 1937

Dearest Emma, friend for ever

I am here, but not for very long. In some few weeks I have to go over to New York again, where I am to begin my lectures in Town Hall 9th of November, but I must soon over in order to have some lessons in English. I met over there one of your friends, Roger Baldwin, he is a good man a lovely nature, and he is a true friend friend of yours.

I cannot go to Kopenhagen, I have not one hour to spare. Just as I came back from America after two months terrible illness there, I had to go to Paris to some Congress. This took a fourth night out of my time. Fine to know you in St Tropez, to stay in Spain now must be every hour to be ready for a bomb or something still worse. I came to Paris just before the many journalists and authors came there for the end of the congress. It was very interesting. Among them also was Andersen Nexs, everybody was enormously impressed by what they had witnessed of extraordinary courage and suffering in the Spanish people.

Oh, if they cannot keep up. If the Fascism is going to win.... I dare not think of it.

I will tell you some terrible and still funny thing. Some days ago I (I!!!) had to write two letters. The first one to.... Goring, in order to try to save a German condemned to death. His wife wrote me from Paris. His name is Stamm. I got an answer from Goring (from his Secretary) that he alas could do nothing, only the Fuhrer could begnadigen! Therefore they send my letter to him and hoped he would do it. Now we shall see.

The second letter was to... Stalin, in order to try to save the life of my friend Arceff, the president for V.O.K.S. you know the man who invites well known people to Sovjetrueland. I have known him since he was Sovjetgesandter in Praha. From Stalin until today no answer.

It was terrible for me to write those letters, but I felt I had to because sometimes we really have helped some condemned to get free.

This for today - with all my love. Yours Karin

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 26, Nice [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman].—
4 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

~~London~~ Nice August 26th 37

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dearest Ethel.

I hope this finds you ~~rested~~ back from your trip, rested and more at peace than you must have been when you left. I also hope you found Regie in better condition and with a reassuring result of the tests taken in the hospital. I am led to believe that Regie is better because Auntie told me she had a letter from him ~~saying~~ if a place in Venice can be found for Sept and Oct. for both of you. I don't know whether you have written me because all my mail went to St Tropez. But I am hoping fervently that Regie's condition has improved and that he is on the way of recovery.

I came here only for a few days, but I remained for a week. We have a splendid woman comrade in this city and she insisted I must visit with her for a week and that she would take me to St Tropez Sunday in her car. I consented because I was completely worn out from my stay in Paris. So many people to see and so much trotting around to do. My knee was in pretty bad state when I reached here last Sunday. But just the hot Southern air has already improved it. So I think a few weeks sunbaths will bring complete relief.

While my stay in Paris was strenuous it brought results. I actually have the French and Spanish visa for Spain. I was assured that I did not need an English visa of which I was much relieved. I feared if I do go to the British ~~Consul~~ Consul I will be refused. You may well wonder why if I got the visas I am still in France. Well I wanted to go at once but two factors made ~~me~~ postpone it until Sept 15th. First my knee, I could not face the ordeal of getting about in Spain with ever present pain in the knee. I thought two or three weeks would make considerable difference for the better. Secondly and that was most important the Spanish comrades wanted me to go in safety (as if that were possible with the murderous Stalin gang in power) they insisted that I must go by plane and that some of the leading comrades should receive me on my arrival and bring me to a place of comparative security. And that would take them a week or ten days to arrange they said. I decided therefore to use the time in St Tropez to bake my knee and settle about my place if possible. The 15th of Sept will be just a year since I went to Spain. What hopes. What expectations. What supreme inspiration. A new life seemed to open before me. I went with a song in my heart and with my spirit aflame. What I found on my arrival far surpassed my wildest dreams. The ideas and ideal I had held high

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~~xxxx~~ for so many years, in actual bloom holding out the promise of golden fruit for the masses in Spain. I had but one thought to end my years in Spain, to dedicate every moment of the rest of my life to the work there. How could one imagine that all will be lost in eight months, that the credentials of the CNT-FAI that had opened all doors for me would become anathema in so short a period? Yet that has happened. This time I may not even bring a piece of paper that would connect me with the CNT-FAI, at least I must have nothing "incriminating" at the border I was told. Can you imagine how I feel. Oh, I still have undying faith in the spirit of the CNT-FAI and the mass of workers with them but I know the Revolution is temporarily lost. Counter revolution is in full swing and all libertarian achievements are fast being destroyed. So I am going with a heavy heart and with no illusions about the place of my comrades, or their influence. Yet I feel I must go. I have been in a fearful state of turmoil since the ~~my~~ events. I could not continue the work for the CNT-FAI whether in England or anywhere else unless I do so and see for myself the awful collapse of everything and why it had to be. I realize the dangers awaiting me. But as I have never stopped before danger I cannot do it now. There is no one in Spain except Stalin's satraps I need worry about. They would of course not hesitate a moment to put me out of the way. Yet there is no ~~xxxx~~ cause to fret in advance. I am only going for a month or so. I maybe able to keep under cover for that time. I am not going for any kind of public activity, besides it would be impossible now since everything is prohibited. I am only going to have a talk with the comrades and see if anything of their marvelous constructive work is left, or completely demolished.

Darling I don't want it generally known that I am going to Spain. I ran into Maxton unfortunately when I met the man who was getting the French visa for several people going to Spain and for me. It never occurred to me to ask him not to say anything about my going. Then I heard from Ralph Barr that Penner had told him he had heard about my getting a visa. Poor Ralph was hurt because he heard the news in a round about way. I did not write him because I was still uncertain about the Spanish visa. I asked Ralph to see Penner and tell him to keep my going to himself. You see there is no need to prepare the damnable Moscow gang for my coming. Sufficient unto the day. My presence in Spain may have to be made known sooner than I should like it. I mean if the Cheka should get busy. I am not at all deceived that anybody in England except yourself and my own few comrades would get busy in my behalf. Even the I.L.P. did hardly anything to save Lin. They surely would not go out of their way to do anything for me. I asked Maxton why the campaign for the POUM victims was so lukewarm. His answer was truly that of a politician. "We are not strong enough" he said, "and the British public cannot be awakened to any wrong in ~~xxxx~~ Spain, it does not even care for wrongs committed in England." In other words we must remain indifferent to the inhumanities and barbarism committed in Russia and in Spain because we are not strong enough. I suppose Maxton means by strength more votes. More I.L.P. members returned to the House of Commons. It is disheartening. In any event I do not expect any help from the I.L.P. or men like Maxton should I get into trouble. But I am indignant at such lack of solidarity with the POUM men who are in the gravest danger. It is simply appalling how deteriorated Socialism everywhere has ~~grown~~. *Calum*

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I don't know whether Ralph wrote you a report of the private Show of the film. His report to me sustained what you and he and I foresaw. The damned respectable labor and other people who attended, only about forty people, Ralph wrote ~~xxxxx~~ had the ~~imp~~ gall to suggest that the text of the film should be changed. Ralph justly told them that we will never consent to such an emasculation. I have since written him, Sonia and James Harrison that I will not consent to any kind of changes. The film remains as it is and those who do not care for it need not support the venture in any shape or manner. Should the I. L.P. branches also refuse to hire our film we will run it ourselves according to our means. I mean to write Fenner to this effect to day. I am sorry I will not be present to the first public showing in connection with our meeting. In Conway Hall we have decided upon at our last session. I think it is to be the 23rd of Sept. I wrote Ralph to invite Fenner to attend and say a few words if he wants to but more than Fenner I want you dearest Ethel to be present and make the appeal to enable us to take the picture to the provinces. You will do it won't you darling if you are going to be in London for that occasion? No appeal was made at the private show. I don't know why. We will certainly need some working capital if more copies are to be ordered and the film widely shown. Of course when I get back to England I will take the whole thing in hand. Ralph is a dear, a true and faithful comrade and a sincere worker. But he is rather tame when it comes to any decision or to convince others of the necessity of a determined and energetic stand. I really depend on you, my dear to "put your foot down", so to say, until I come back.

There is something about your agent who sent me the ticket I meant to write you and forgot. He simply did you out of fifty percent of the fare which in return did me out of the same amount for travel in France. You see owing to the Exposition everyone coming to France was entitled to a reduction of fifty percent. My fare to London should therefore have been only £1-7-6 or thereabouts. The agent should then have made the provision for me to get the special permit of a fifty discount on all tickets I would buy in France. Everybody had such a permit by paying an extra four or five shilling at the border. I naturally thought the ticket you ordered for me contained that proviso and as I was not bothered at the border I completely forgot to ask about that permit. I only realized it was not provided in my ticket when I got to Paris and then it was too late. The result was that I had to pay 400 francs instead of two hundred second class to Nice, and that I will have to pay the full amount.

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519602

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when I get out of Spain to reach Paris and ~~fix~~ finally to get back to London. I don't so much care about the loss though one hates to feed the railway companies, but I do not think your agent acted ~~right~~ in not giving you the benefit of the fifty fifty arrangements. Even if you did not mention it to him he should have arranged the transportation accordingly. You had better talk to him and tell him that he must at least not charge you the full price for my fare.

I am very very anxious about Regie and about you my dearest. I am looking forward eagerly for a letter from you how you found him and how you enjoyed the trip, and your little girl. I read the reports of the Salzburg Festival with more interest since I knew you were there. We can none of us escape the personal interest, nor should we. I discovered much to my chagrin that I cannot find the list of the contents of my 18 boxes of stuff I have in St Tropez. I will therefore not be able to find my notes on the Heroic Women of the Russian Revolution which I wanted you to have for your book. I hope you have enough material. How have you been progressing with the work? Please write me soon.

With love.

Emma

Greet Regie for me.

Please my sweet Ethel do not misunderstand about your agent. I don't care about the loss. But I do think you should not have to pay the full amount for my fare to Paris. eg

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 26, Nice [to] Fenner [Brockway, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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XXXXXX

IX Nice August 26th 37

Dear Fenner.

Ralph Barr wrote me you had received word from Paris that I have been given a French visa. I suppose it is James Maxton who had written you about it. It never occurred to me to ask him to keep the fact to himself. Not because I did not want you to know about it but because I do not want the Spanish Cheka to be prepared for my coming. I naturally want to avoid them as much as possible as the pest that Staline Chekists are. That is why I asked Ralph to see and explain to you to keep the knowledge of my going to Spain to yourself. By the way when Maxton wrote you that I had the visa there was still the Spanish to be gotten. Without it I could not have come anyway. I have it now. You will be wondering how it is that I am still in France and in the South when I should have gone to Spain. Well, my going involves some difficulties others does not. Especially now when the CNT-FAI is pretty much anathema and when my connections with my comrades is not the best passport to get about in Spain. It is tragic indeed that this should be the case with the CNT-FAI who had been such a power only 9 months ago. Under the present decline it is necessary to prepare my mode of going and to stay in Spain which will take a little while and also there is a heavy tax to get in condition. For these reasons I decide to go South. I am leaving for St Tropez Sunday and just as soon as all arrangements will be made I will go on to Spain. It will not be with the same high hopes or the same high hopes of last year when I went with you in heart. But I still have abiding faith in my comrades of the CNT-FAI and the Spanish workers. I hang on to that insight of the counter-revolution and the fightfulness in Spain now.

According to comrade Barr's report Ethel and I were right when we considered inviting to respectability to see our film. We knew they will not want it because it is entirely CNT/FAI. R. Barr writes me someone suggested changes in the text. I must say that party whoever it is has no influence. What value would the film have with a changed text? It would be ensaculated utterly bereft of its revolutionary appeal. Needless to say I will have none of it. I can say frankly the anti/fascist war has lost all meaning to me. For I see no difference and never did between the

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Bolshevism and Fascism. They represent the same thing. It was for
the anti-Fascist
Revolution, of the constructive

lution, for the constructive achievements of the CIT-FAI. It is
therefore the events presented ~~by them~~ in the film that counts
with me. Take this away and the whole meaning of the film would
be lost. Moreover, I find that now it is doubly necessary to present
the Revolution when it was at its height as shown in the film
to show to the workers of England. It will help them see what
is really being destroyed in Spain now. I have to insist therefore
that the film remains as it is. It's the only just and important
way.

Will you write me what your comrades who saw the film at
the school thought of it. And are they going to hire it from us?
I think it was a mistake not to have made an appeal at the private
Show. We will certainly use some working capital to make more
copies and send them to the provinces. Well, it will have to be
done at the public Show which will be connected with the meeting
at Conway Hall we decided upon. I believe for Sept 23rd. I hope you
and your comrades will help in the publicity of the meeting to get
a large attendance. I wrote Ethel just now to ask her to make the
appeal if she will be in London at the time. If not I hope you
will do it. I will not be back from Spain in time to participate
in the meeting. Ralph Barr and Sonia Clemens will do their utmost
to make the meeting successful. Do what you can dear Fenner.

Write me to St. Tropez under E.G. Colton Bon Esprit
Chemin St Antoine, St Tropez Var, France. I will be there until the
15th of Sept. Send me the New Leader please.

Fraternaly.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870929352

[Letter] 1937 Aug. 28, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, St. Tropez / Augustin Souchy. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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A.I.T.

F.A.I.

NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
ANARQUISTA IBERICA

COMITE DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

Barcelona 28 de Agosto 1937

Emma Goldman
BOULEVARD
Chemin St. Antoine
St. TROPEZ

Liebe Emma,

Deinen Brief vom 21-8-37 habe ich erhalten.

Ich habe mit Mercedes und den anderen Frauen gesprochen, die
werden eine Delegation nach Genf schicken.

Ich nehme an, dass Du ohne weiteres das Flugzeug nach
Valencia nehmen kannst. Du musst vorher an das Nacional Comitè,
4, calle Grabador Esteve, Valencia telegrafieren. Sie werden Dich
abholen und auch fuer einen Interpreter sorgen. Wenn Du dann nach
Barcelona kommst, werden wir uns Deiner schon annehmen.

Mit herzlichen Gruessen

Augustin Souchy

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870929437

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 28, Barcelona [to Emma? Goldman?, St. Tropez?] / Teresa Aragón.— 1 p.; 17 x 12 cm.

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20647

Barcelona 28-8-37

Querida socia: De parte de todos los socios del "Club Ginesta" le comunicamos que estamos muy agradecidas de su visita tan agradable y de categoría y por este motivo hemos cumplido su palabra de copiarle los reglamentos en castellano como usted deseaba. Reciba el afecto de todos los socios que deseamos muchos años de vida y salud.

La junta directiva

Presidenta ~~Anita~~ ~~Hern~~

Vice-presidenta ~~Maria Montoro~~
Cañero. M. Vives

Secretaria. Teresa Aragón

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Aug. 30, St. Tropez [to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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St Tropez August 30th 37.

Dear Van, I got here yesterday and found a lot of letters among them also yours. My getting here was somewhat delayed because I remain in Nice longer than I expected. I cannot write you at length to day I will when I am somewhat settled here. But I must rush this because I do not want you to do anything in regard my trip to Canada with the people whose names Stella sent to Harry K. Great heavens, I should think between the comrades of the Federation, and Toronto comrades the fare should not be difficult to raise. The people of the lists were to be used only if any campaign for my getting to the States is to be started. Since everybody writes me that now is not the time I prefer not to have the people who backed my coming last time approached. Sufficient unto the day. Please bear this in mind. If the Federation will do nothing it will have to be without them through individual people who care enough for me to help and who can afford to do so. But I want no one outside of our ranks approached until it will be absolutely imperative. In other words my dear you need not burden yourself for me now that you have so much to do without me. Just go after Freedman. he has not even replied to the Preface for Sasha's book about Anarchist Communism the Fre. Arb. St has undertaken to set out in a new edition. The comrades in the States, especially the Jewish comrades write only when they need anything. Otherwise they seem to give a damn how one lives.

I cannot write anything for the S.R. but I am sending you a copy of A. E. Bluestein's letter to me which is very interesting and shows considerable objective treatment of the Spanish situation. Naturally his name should not be mentioned. But you might use a lot from it for an article. Being at a distance I could not do as well as Abe.

Yes, the Communists are frowning at the youth every where. More reason to expose them for the corrupt gang of murderers they are. Keep it up my dear. It is tragic enough the rest of our comrades don't do it. In England they are willing enough but too few of to be of any count. However I mean to expose the Moscow gangs no matter at what cost.

Dear Van I hope you did not buy the papers you sent. I see how hard pressed you are, yet you send me Cl. I appreciate it more coming from your poverty stricken means more than if others sent me ever so much more. Thank you my dear. But don't do it again and don't buy papers for me. By the way, Stella sends me the Sunday Times and the Nation so you certainly do not have to do so. I only asked for some copies or rather the clipping in the Times and the Evening Post that contained my letter.

This will have to do for to day. I hope to write you again in a week. I think you had better address me c/o R. Barr 106 Coningham Rd London W.12. My movements are very uncertain. But he will know where I am and how to reach me.

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[Letter] 1937 Aug. 30 [London to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 2 p.; 20 x 17 cm.

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Sunday August 30th 1937

16970

Dearest Emma,

I had yr letter from Nice when I got back here on Sat. — the day Heg came out of Bart's hos. Well, they said the same as the Copenhagen people that its not t.b. and attribute the hemorrhages to his high blood pressure, which is in turn the result of a gland working wrongly: they took every conceivable kind of test, and took a broncoscopy, which is a horribble thing; as I expect you know, but he stuck it very well, and altogether his two days in Bart's has been well worth while, for this Professor Witts who looked after his case is really a brilliant man, and he got first-class treatment such as would have cost an enormous amount in a nursing home — in fact he couldn't have got this particular attention (from the great Witts) anywhere except at Bart's, so I am very glad we arranged were sensible about him going there, though I felt awful going off to Austria leaving him in hos. and not knowing when he'd be out.... and some friends of his have had the check to write and express the hope that I am now returned from abroad ~~that~~ that I will make Heg's health my first consideration. I rather expected that a few people would have something to say about my going off whilst Heg was in hospital — regardless of the fact that I could only have seen him for two hours had I stayed. It meant a great deal to Jean my going, and if people want to be spiteful they must just get on with it.

Salzburg is a most lovely little town, but one should never go there during the music Festival, for then its full of the worst kind of rich Americans and English dressed up in Tyrolean costume and showing off about music. The break didn't help me much, I fear, for I was so worried about Heg all the time, not even knowing whether he was still in hos. or not.

Well but that's all over now, and I saw him safely off to his home in Somerset this morning, and have rung up and ascertained that he arrived safely, and I am still wondering whether we couldn't use your villa in October, now that he's not t.b. ? We'd take care of it, and could pay any expenses on the place for you, and maybe the weather's not too bad for ordinary folks — better than an English winter anyhow, isn't it ? Or is it a cold spot and would we hate it ? We'd surely get more sun than in England even if not as mild weather as in Venice, perhaps. And we'd have seclusion, wouldn't it ? I begin to wonder whether we could stick Auntie's friends ? She's a dear, but I fear her friends may not be... and really we'd sooner be left quietly alone; we don't need diversion. I am inclined to urge that we have your place (if its likely to be available) rather than try Venice, or anywhere else, unless the weather and the mistral would be too tiresome ? I don't see, really, why it should be any different at St. Tropez than at Hyeres or Cannes or Nice — I know all the coast from Toulon to Mentone, and have no illusions about a Riviera winter, and still prefer it to an English one. But if St. Tropez has worse weather than other Riviera places I suppose we must rule it out... anyhow, tell me, dear, and whether you'd let us have the place if still free; we'd take it right on till March probably if we took it at all (if that suited you, I mean).

I've written Dean and Dawson's today. I am very annoyed, and I don't

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16971

think they gave me the 50% reduction I was entitled to on the German part of my ticket to Vienna, that's true. Dear Emma, let me pay your fare back to London from Paris, and please call on me if you get stuck for money... the position is that I have been driven to living on the money set aside for the Spanish ship, but I won't spend anything like all of it till I get some more, and as I've had to dig into it for myself I might as well for you, and for further money for the Spanish film, and will gladly do so.

And as to the Spanish film, I've written Barr and also to Edith King that on no account should the commentary be altered by a single syllable; Edith King wrote saying they were arranging for an estimate for making a new commentary: I told her the committee needn't bother, for the trade could go to the devil: I also told her I would attend the next Cttee meeting; I feel I should - if only to back Barr up. But Barr wrote me very strongly, and I don't feel he'd filter. Anyhow it's your film, Emma, you are handling it for Frank, and only you or he can possibly authorise any changes in it... and I know you neither of you would.

I will of course make the appeal after the Sept. 3rd showing of the film. Tell me the best line to take, Emma. It's just to ask people to give money to help get the picture all over England, isn't it, taking the line that if they have been moved by it, etc. etc. I think I could do this quite well. I did a lot to help Nancy Price's production of The Insect Play by making appeals after the perfs. Also, as in the case of the Insect Play, I feel so strongly about this film (far, far more, naturally, than about that play) that I feel that inadequate as I am as a general speaker I could really do this effectively - and perhaps almost better than a lot of people.

I suppose you were sent the meetings of the last Cttee meeting? In case not I send them herewith.

Dearest Emma, I can manage without further material for my book where the Russian women are concerned, but I do desperately want some stuff about the Spanish women in relation to the revolution - my book won't be complete without it. I feel so worried about yr going to Spain, dear Emma, but I know you can't be happy till you've been there and talked with the comrades and got the position at firsthand. Oh my dear I wish you had gone and got safely back. You need not fear that some of us would not get busy if anything happened to you - even if we had to charter an aeroplane and come and kiss you - we'd act... only take all possible care, my dear, for you are precious to many of us as a comrade as well as dear to us as a person, my gallant Emma.

Darling Emma, I beg you not to hesitate to come on me for money if you need it: I've a few hundreds that miserably last out till next March when I can straighten things out, and I want to share it with you, and to use it wherever it can be useful: whilst I've got money let's use it in a comradely fashion - and since it was originally dedicated to Spain who has better right to it than you, my very dear? I am putting down some of my commitments until I get straight again - in the meantime, whilst I have any money, half of it's yours for the asking, Emma, and when it's all gone, well, surely by then, I'll have managed to earn some again!

I don't start a fresh sheet. I hope you are not being unhappy amongst

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INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY

Chairman: J. P. [unclear]

Telephone: Central 3196

Telegrams: Nipon, Ltd, London

30th August, 1937.

Mrs. E.G. Coulton,
Bon Esprit,
Chemin St. Antoine,
St. Tropez Var,
France.

Dear Emma,

I was glad to hear from you. We have given no publicity to your proposed visit and I have only told your close friends.

The film was greatly appreciated by our Summer School students and I have no doubt that it will be booked at a number of places. I have sent out a letter to all our Branches with the printed leaflet about the film and urged that it should be booked. I have also got from the Miners' Federation a list of their secretaries with a view to the film being shown at the Miners' Institutes. The Film Committee is working well and I don't think you need have any doubt about the success of the Conway Hall show. If Ethel cannot make the appeal I suggest that Monica Whateley should do it. She did it admirably at the private showing the other evening.

I need not tell you that I do not want the revolutionary aspect of the film to be restricted in any way. Indeed, my one disappointment about the film itself is that it does not portray the revolution, but only the war. The spirit of the revolution is, however, there and this is what gives it its value. The criticism of the commentary is not that it over-does the revolution, but that it is inclined to be heavy, over-American, and irritating. These defects did not impress me greatly, though I recognise that an English commentary, which might well emphasise the revolutionary aspect more strongly, would be better for England. Anyhow, the film in its present form has gone to the censor for a licence. If he is prepared to licence it, well and good. In any case the present commentary will be, of course, maintained.

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[Letter] 1937 Aug. 30, London [to] Emma G[oldman], St. Tropez / Fenner [Brockway]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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for the non-film. copy which will be shown by working class organisations.

I don't think you are right in saying that the war in Spain has no more meaning. One might say this if one were driven to the conclusion that a Communist terror will replace a Fascist terror, but this is a prospect which I am not yet prepared to accept. I know the C.N.T. is still powerful and that in the U.G.T. there is a strong Left section which is opposing Communist domination. The revolutionary fire also still burns among the soldiers at the front and the defeat of the Fascists will see a big upsurge of the revolution again.

I am having the "New Leader" sent to you. Maxton arrives back tonight. I see that "Soli" contains a Open Letter from Vazquez expressing appreciation of what the I.L.P. has done. I welcome this and want still closer co-operation with the C.N.T. I see you also mention the Street Home. It goes well. Souchy was delighted with it. We are badly wanting children's books in the Spanish language and if you can help to get these sent we should be grateful.

Yours as ever,

Fenner

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1937 Aug. 31 [St. Tropez to] Martin Gudell, Barcelona / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19717

31st August 1937.

Martin Gudell,
Oficina de Propaganda Exterior,
Casa CNT.-F.I.
Via Durruti 32,
Barcelona.

Dear Comrade,

I have your letter of the 16th August and note the information it contains about Philip Bernstein. That comrade is known to me, and I have written to him.

I have a comrade who has been assisting very greatly in the work of the CNT-FAI in London. His age is 28. He is very anxious to come to Barcelona in order to get an understanding of the actual working of Anarcho-Syndicalism. He is by occupation a Hotel Cook but not what one would call a chef. His name is William Ferrer, and Augustine Soucky may remember meeting him when in London. It was the comrade that asked Comrade Soucky a good many questions in the cafe after Comrade Soucky had spoken to a meeting of Comrades. I think it would be of value to the movement in this Country and for your propaganda if this comrade could be sent to Barcelona to work in the Hotel Synaionte. He has a good theoretical knowledge but lacks experience.

If it necessary to get the consent of the National Committee could this be done please.

He would pay his own expenses to Paris if arrangements could be made for him to be sent to Barcelona from there.

Would you please let me hear from you as to this.

Also would you remind Comrade Soucky that I have not received a reply to my letter to him of the 16th August.

Salud.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880726493

[Envelope, 1937? Sept.? London? to] Emma Goldman, St. Tropez / [author unknown].— 1 p. ; 13 × 16 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1937 Sept., Madrid [to] La Protesta, Buenos Aires / Emma Goldman.—
1 p.; 14 x 12 cm.

Obtained from the Biblioteca Popular "José Ingenieros," Buenos Aires, Argentina.

A los camaradas del "Fraie Arbeiter Schtime" les envió estas líneas que traducimos

Queridos camaradas:

Los acontecimientos de aquí lo embargan a uno, y lo dominan de tal fuerza, que es absolutamente imposible sentarse y escribir sobre ellos en el momento cuando uno no se encuentra en pleno seno de la lucha española. Ustedes recordarán los "Cuarenta días de Musadon", de Franz Werfel, el heroísmo del pueblo y de sus dirigentes. Todo eso no puede ser comparado siquiera con la lucha sobrehumana en que vive Madrid. Madrid representa conmigo una apuesta de capacidad humana para sobrellevar sufrimientos y de grandezas sobrehumanas. Aquí ve uno el espíritu ardiente de un pueblo que lucha por su causa justa, y el genio de nuestros camaradas que continúan su obra constructiva y creadora, a pesar de todas las dificultades que los rodean. ¡Ojalá vinieran aquí más compañeros nuestros!, así verían con sus propios ojos la obra extraordinaria que aquí se lleva a cabo, y se planea. Entonces, verían claro que frente a tales realizaciones los errores y aún inclusive ciertas debilidades pierden su significado. Yo, al ver tal capacidad para sobrellevar sufrimientos, tal determinación y disposición al sacrificio no puedo pararme y criticar.

Mi corazón y mi alma están llenos

de impresiones perennes de una ciudad heroica, cuyos habitantes conducen una lucha contra las fuerzas unidas de todos los gobiernos criminales. Mi pluma es demasiado débil para comunicarles siquiera una parte de la epopeya heroica admirable que lucha para libertad Madrid y España entera de las garras fascistas, aún cuando pudiera hacerlo en la forma que lo merece el heroísmo decidido del pueblo español y muy especialmente el espíritu valiente de nuestros compañeros, estoy segura sin embargo, que en mi corazón jamás se despertaría deseo alguno de criticar sus fallas y sus debilidades ¿qué valor tienen todos esos errores y debilidades en comparación con su fuerza, su fe ardiente y su abnegación completa hacia su finalidad? Y ahora más que nunca arde en mí el deseo de permanecer aquí con nuestros compañeros para participar en sus luchas, sufrimientos y esperanzas, para lanzarme entera en su lucha heroica.

Debo ir al exterior, porque allí seré más útil; allí espero poder realizar más, aun cuando lograra solamente contar la verdad verdadera sobre nuestros camaradas españoles.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Madrid, septiembre de 1937.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 1, St. Tropez [to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

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St Tropez Sept. First 37.

Dearest Dorothy. Your letter of August 16th reached me to day. I have the evening free so I want to answer your letter and also write to others whom I owe a reply. I don't know what letter you are referring to I only know I heard nothing from you after the gathering you had and which you said you would report. I can see from what you write in yours ~~report~~ of August 16th that there is no great interest in my coming to Canada. It is sad but has to be faced. Of course people were away for the summer. Perhaps when they return they might show some interest. But it probably will not be very much. That I can already judge. People are queer. They seem so keen and willing when one is on the spot. But when one is away, especially for a long time they forget, or do not care sufficiently to respond. However, that would be no draw back for me. First because a few American friends are trying to raise some money for my trip to Canada. Then I had a letter from Marion Seltzer that their group would raise fifty dollar. And there maybe others. Well, my trip is still far off, I mean the one to Canada. I am set on another trip, that is Spain.

Yes, I know all the drawbacks under the present situation in Spain. Counter revolution in the fullest sense of its meaning is rampant there and the murderous gang of Stalin is in control. Yet I am determined to get there if only for a short time. My London publisher gave me a letter to the effect that if I succeed in getting interesting material on the new education in Spain he would publish it in book form. Well, I went to the Foreign office. I was told there that the Non Intervention ruling gives visas to journalists but not to writers. Can you imagine greater stupidity? Well while in Paris someone got me a French visa, and a Spanish comrade got me the Spanish visa now imperative if one wants to enter Spain. The question now only is the ~~arrangement~~ for my going by plane which the comrades are working on now. I hope to be able to get away by the 15th of this month. It will not be with the same glowing hope and the same intense aspiration as last year when I went to Spain. For well I know that the Revolution is being undermined and the great achievements of the workers of the CNT-FAI are being destroyed. And tragedy of tragedies the lack of ~~dix~~ determined action of our people in Spain is much to blame for the collapse. The question for me only is how far they were forced to the compromises they have made and how far their own lack of judgment and childish faith in Stalins solidarity ~~are~~ responsible for the debacle. It is to find out that I have determined to go whatever the cost.

No, ~~xxx~~ I am not unaware that there is great risk. The gangsters who swear by Stalin and his orders kill by day and night. They will not stop at my life. But the risk must be taken. I am going very quietly and I will take no part in anything while in Valencia and Barcelona. Also I do not intend to remain there long. To think that only a year ago the comrades were so strong and so able to welcome everybody. Indeed to welcome their very detractors who misused their freedom to their own ends. All doors were opened to me and everyone else. Now I will have to go under cover, a sad end to a great beginning. Isn't it? Just because I must go quietly I must ask you not to make it known about my trip, at least not right away.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 1, St. Tropez [to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarborough Bluffs, Canada] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

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states and questions to all the comrades

A few comrades of course. But I am concerned that my going should not get into the press. I am planning a statement before I go in case any thing should happen to me. The murderous Moscow gang in Spain shall have no chance in charging me with "confessions" recantations and dealings with enemy powers". Nor will I ^{get} ~~go~~ in the dust and plead for my life. Of course, one never knows what physical torture can do to the strongest of us. Still, I believe I will hold out whatever the sadists do to me. However, I will try hard to evade them. Revolutionists have succeeded under the tsar to evade his henchmen. Why should it not be possible under the iron hand of Moscow in Spain. But it is a painful commentary that one should have to hide and conspire in the country where our comrades held such high moral position only ten months ago. It is this more than any consideration of risk which makes me so ~~unhappy~~ unhappy about my going to Spain. Of course there may yet be a hitch and my trip maybe interfered with from the very beginning. I will keep you informed. In any event it will be no use writing me direct to Spain. Better address me c/o Mollie she is in touch with the Spanish comrade in Paris. She will get me through him. Only be careful what you write,

Dearest, while I think of it Mollie told me you had given ten names for the colored albums from Spain. She turned these addresses over to a Spanish comrade who is not very reliable and I could not get at him to take the list of names. It happens that I have a lot of Albums left and I can supply them on a basis of 33/00 discount and the postage. We are selling the albums at five shillings and the album of photographs called the 19th of July at 2/6. If you still want them send the names to comrade Ralph Barr, 106 Coningham Rd. London W.12. I am giving him instructions to mail the albums to you when he will receive your order. I am afraid we will also have to charge you the postage. You understand it is not because of any personal profit. It is because we sell them for the work for Spain, or rather the CNT-FAI.

My dear, after the experience of our comrades in Spain with their co-operation with different political parties I can not see what the comrades in Toronto hope to achieve by their co-operation with the League for a Workers Revolutionary Party. It will only mean once more that the Anarchists will pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the Marxists who by whatever name they go remain politicians. Of course your co-operation may not be of any deeper significance like ours in England when we invited members of the I.L.P. to speak ~~at~~ from our platform, or when the CNT-FAI defends the POUM. That is a co-operation which can have no evil results. But co-operation on a common political platform is quite another matter. I hope the Libertarian Group will realize that before it is too late.

I asked you for the Nesbit address because you gave me the impression some time ago that they are back in Toronto. Naturally I do not need it or have you go in search for it if they are in Florida,

I have followed up the stupid stand of your liberal Premier in re the C.I.O. It takes a politician to imagine he can keep back the waves of the ocean with a broom. Not that I consider the C.I.O. revolutionary. I cannot imagine Lewis standing for anything fundamental. But it has taken the wind out of the sails of the I.W.W. and it is sweeping the country. And no effort on Hepburns part will keep it out

By Canada. Please send on the greeting to X. I have my offer. I will make her soon. Take care.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 1, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez] / Emmy [Eckstein]. —
4 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23639

Paris, September first 37.

Emmy Eckstein
16, Rue Fermat
Paris XIV

Dear Emma:

I hope that you have arrived safe and soundly in St. Tropez and that the sun is not enough to have taken you the sun-bathes. Also--- the intestines, I hope do not give you any trouble anymore. Let me know how you are.

I am looking for work since you left and have nothing so far, but I hope when I come back from Kay Boyle there will be work for me.... Until then I must economise that is all there is to be done.

I was, my dear Emma, like usual very sad when you left, because there is something within you that gives me the feeling of cold reserve that I felt with me for all those long years with Sasha. The same feeling why never and never had there come a ray of sunshine in our friendship. I not only can feel this with you but those you are with. Yes, Emma, I cannot hide to tell you this feeling, I never was a hypocrite and never can be one....

You are--- within your heart, I am convinced, dear girl, my friend. That I can see when it comes to my welfare. I can see that and that relieves me and did so when I was with Sasha. But the way to this "end" is hard to endure if one is clever enough and sensitive enough as I am.

Your way of acting is alright, so far ^{as} I ever saw, re me. But the way of writing about me, talking about me, was, is and will be one of the tragedies of MY LIFE. I have to tell you this, my own Emma....

Already during Sasha's life, when I tried my hardest to be to you like a daughter, when I gave up all my personal desires and wishes to go on with Sasha and you..... you never showed the right spirit... Oh, Emma, Sasha saw it, and he grieved so.....

What is it, that now, when he is gone, there is STILL the same way within your attitude? Is it MY FAULT that beloved Sasha took me into his life and I loved him so dearly??? Or is it my fault that I physically am weak and could not earn our bread? You said all those years long, to anybody that you had to keep Sasha and me, but now, you should not say it anymore, when your great Boy has gone. For his sake. Dr. Cohn told me this distinctly and I SAW MYSELF IN LETTERS THE WAY YOU SPEAK ABOUT ME. I am "the burden". I am "the fool", I am what not.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 1, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez] / Emmy [Eckstein]. — 4 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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- 2 -

Oh, Emma, I suffer from this more than I can tell you. I want to see you as THE GREAT WOMAN. The next day of Sasha's death you told me into my face "A nice burden Sasha left me". And then, there was not a question of having helped me or helping me, my parents having helped me and I am Modest. What a man this Modest. Never a word about his generosity..... Emma, have you never been in a position to accept help? Well, I suppose we all have been.....

I said to Sashaenka once: "Do you think if life should take you away from us firstly, that Emma would be kinder?" "Emmy when that could happen, you will be surprised, she will be more than a sister to you and she will take you with her, knowing how devoted you can be". "I doubt it". And that was the end.....

I was right.

When the terrible thing happened I felt when I run in my distress to the phone to call you, Sasha's greatest friend, to Nice: "Oh, that is my nearest person in life now, and all that happened between us has to be wiped out". THE MOMENT YOU ENTERED our home I had the second big shock in my life. Your hard, critical attitude towards me, even towards my dreadful sorrow re seeing Sashaenka's stockings, things etc.... That was an unforgettable shock, Emma.

I want to tell you, that from YOU I had not the least consolation, but just the opposite. Aggravation. When you stood up in Venice before all the strangers, lifting your glass and saying: "Now, Emmy I give you an allowance of 50 dollars a month and if that will not do, you will have to see to it". (About like that, but the sense of the words) Emma, I almost went into the ground with shame before all those people, who after that looked at me somehow estranged. And you know yourself, that until the last two months, outside of the help for my teeth I never asked for one cent from YOU. Why, anyway blow all that into the publicity.....

I can see, dear Emma, that deep within your heart you are lonely and would like to have me. Never mind if I talk too much, because in spite of that my friends like me dearly. You know that. If I talk so much, it is my nervousness sometimes, but one word will make me quiet. But what I can feel distinctly, that YOUR ATTITUDE IN LIFE TO ME IS SO that you can take me with you. Of that I am convinced.

You never need to feel I will be a "burden". I made some money this winter with the Theatre, I typed an English novel, darling Modest helps and also my sister here and then.... And I would need the half of what I would need alone..... But your attitude in Venice was worse than ANYBODY COULD SHOW ME. Hard. Oh God, so hard. And now, when months have passed it is quite the same.....

Emma, I must tell you that I am grieved beyond words and only have one satisfaction: That Sasha does not know it..... He SAW THE LETTER you wrote to Stella about me "Emmy's love

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 1, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez] / Emmy [Eckstein]. — 4 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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is a double edged sword". In this hot-house atmosphere *of alteration* ~~is~~ I do not want to stay". Before I want a love as Sasha gets from Emmy I be ter want none."

Now, Emma, this you wrote THE SAME DAY when you embraced me and told menas well as Sashenka in hospital that "Sasha you are a lucky devil, Emmy's love is just wonderful".

THAT IS THE REASON, Emma, w hy Sasha told me, that "we are not going to have Emma with us anymore and at her birthday I will not go". So I tried to convince Cohn to take us with the ship along to St. Tropez. My beloved Sashenka d d not want to.... "He looked at me and said, "well, Emma writes this to Stella, it is alright". He had tears in his eyes.....

Well, Emma all that I have in my heart. I have to tell you this.... What is life, after all, you know but a chain of deceptions??? I am, I want to tell you, so grievd about your estranged attitude towards me, that I have about the same feeling as ~~it~~ when I lost Sashenka..... You were a part of him. And you are getting further from me than ever. Without my doings. If ever I tell people how unhappy I am ~~about~~ your attitude, they have a right to tell you. I do it with this intention that may be you will think it over.... but all you want is SYMPATHY for you. You and You and YOU. That was so since Sashenka died.....

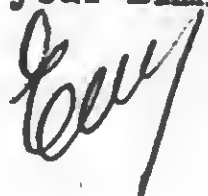
Emma, I cannot be angry with you. I cannot. I never really could. Sasha said sometimes that I am too sensitive re you. But it is so. I love you when you are away, because then I figure you as I would love to have you.

But this time, your estranged look when Senia and Molly were about especially, not so when you were alone..... gave mena terrible blow.

Dearest own Emma, I believe that at least there ~~should~~ be frankness between us, and at least I have that conviction that you never have been small that way, as far as one tells you one's mind and feeling.

In this sense I embrace both of your hands and give you a dear kiss, that never until now, in all those years you have given me a chance to give you. Here it is.

Always your EMMY



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Dear Friend,

you can see how
dirty this letter is - I
had it in my bag long before
sending to you.

But I will be
much freer when I
ret. Therefore
don't in-
be spite of all
love ever.

Wade County

given me, I have to give you. Here it is, dear Kate, just never mind now, in a few minutes I enclose copy of your letter.

"Oh, a mind and feeling.
 You never have been smelt. That was, as far as one thing you
 distinguish between me, and at least I have that conviction that
 Denies of our times. I believe that at least there exists a
 state where people grow.
 were upon expectancy, now so when you were alone.....
 But this time, your estranged look when Santa and Molly

then I think you say I would love to have you.
 Now. But it is so. I told you when you are away, because
 cent. I have said something that I am too sensitive to
 think I should be sure. I think I cannot.

Kon and Kon and KON! They was so nice Seefelma glee.....
Will you be it over.... but Gidon want to EXACTLY too Kon!
to tell Kon! I go it with the intention that he be not
now Gidon! I was out Kon again! they have a night
be then over. without my going. It even I feel happy
Kon were a kind of him. and Kon was better than Kon from
spent the same feeling as if when I lost Seefelma.....
spent Kon, entrusted different to Kon me, that I have
of Seefelma! I am, I want to tell Kon, so Gidon
there.... Next is the, after all, Kon know not a Gidon
well, same all that I have in my heart. I have to tell Kon

to Stella" if it is alright." He had been in his class..... so.... "He looked at me and said, "Well, Emma wanted him the wife along to go. Brother. My beloved grandma of not wanting I will not do." So I tried to convince him to take me with not going to have Emma with me because she of her friend. THAT IS THE REASON! Emma's my secret told me, that "he was

"You are a funny devil," Emma's love in that moment said.
"We had told each other well as partners in mortal life," said
now, Emma, "but you wrote the same day when you expressed
fate from Emma I do feel with none."
"I do not want to stay," before I want to love as partner
in a gentle aged sword". In this hot-temper atmosphere

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 1 [London to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez] / E[thel Mannin].—
2 p. ; 10 x 16 cm.

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Sept. 1st 1937

1937

Dearest Emma, since writing you I have spoken to Sonia on the telephone, as I have had two inquiries for the film. I mentioned about the cutting, and she says that it would be a pity to miss opportunities of showing it (such as to some Miners organisation she spoke of) because the commentary making it impossible; she says the film will speak for itself... which of course is nonsense. Without the commentary the film could be the ordinary Gov. fight against Fascism: the whole point of the film is that its very much more, and in showing it to the public, surely, we must point that out, that there is more to the Spanish struggle than the Gov. forces drive against Fascism. She urges that we should see what the Censors say, and see what cuts he wants made, and then have a meeting to discuss it.

What I want to know, Emma, is, supposing the cuts are of a minor nature - do we in that case compromise? Let even as I write this I feel they can't be of a minor nature; that they must envisage the whole point of the film. Else the censor wouldn't want them made, since the whole point of the film is the revolution in Spain.

I was right about Sonia, you see: I told you I'd no faith in her (politically) and that of the whole bunch I trusted only Barr.

Sonia says Barr reported incorrectly; that nobody suggested cutting the film, it was only that Miles Mailson said it would never get past the censor uncut. But all the same she and Edith King, to quote only two, seem to

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think we should cut it in order to get it past the censor, because
it would be upby not to show it as widely as possible, even with a
cut commentary.

Well Emma my own view is that if we cut that commentary we betray the
people who made the film!

They didn't make it just to show troops fighting Franco, but to show
the workers struggle not merely against fascism but for the revolution.
or that's how I understand it. I feel there's no point in showing it
if not as originally conceived and
produced.

Write me quickly, dear.

I ~~wasn't~~ won't write more now as I wrote you at length the other day.

My devoted love as ever



The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 2, St. Tropez [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. —
3 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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St Tropez Sept. 2nd 37.

My dearest lovely Ethel.

Thanks for your photo. I love it though it is too smoothed down. It does not bring out the strength of your character. But it does your gentleness and your compassion. I am so glad to have it. ~~Thank you also for the copy of the minutes. Imagine no copy was sent to me. Shouldn't you think Sonia would send me one, if not Miss King who hardly knows me. Not that I care. But it is a bit stiff to keep me in ignorance about the decisions of the very thing I have called the members together? For some reason Ralph also neglected to send me a copy. I suppose he took it for granted that Sonia would. Well, it does not really matter. One thing does matter the silly suggestion of a change in the narrative. I did not doubt for a moment that you would feel as I do about it. Yet if you will be in London the 23rd I beg you to attend the meeting. Ralph needs support. He is unfortunately too timid and make a decisive stand. You can tell the Committee for me that nothing a single iota will be changed in the narrative so long as the film remains in my charge. I am certain Frank too would be absolutely against it. But even if he too would agree he could not change the film he gave me. I am sure he will be as indignant as I am at the ridiculous proposition. I ~~consider~~ would consider it a betrayal of the 19th of July and the ~~max~~ the heroic spirit of the comrades to make such changes as the Committee or who ever it was who made the suggestion wants to do. Please stress this for me at the Committee gathering.~~

Yes, I am sure you can do splendidly with an appeal on the 23rd after the film is shown. I am certain the audience will agree that the film ought to be shown through the length and breadth of London and all of England. To do that we need more films and we need a working capital which must be raised by means of our meetings. Naturally, if more is raised than the expenses it will go for the defense of all the comrades now imprisoned in Stalin's Spanish Cheka and prisons, whether the victims be CNT-FAI men and women, members of the POUM, or even Communists who dared to own their soul. Stress this point darling, and I am certain you will move the audience to contribute.

~~reassuring~~ Darling, if I began my letter with the film and not with the ~~reassuring~~ news your letter contains about Regie you must not think ~~max~~ I do not feel deeply about him. It just happened to think of it for the moment. Actually, I was overjoyed with your report. Of course Regie will need rest and care for a long time. But the fact that his condition does not show t.b. is already a tremendous gain. Especially in his age t.b. would have been fatal. I can tell it to you now darling when the danger is over. But I repeat Regie must not think of any work or any exertion for some time. And that brings me to St Tropez, or rather Bon Esprit. My own sweet Ethel you could have the house for nothing if I do not sell it. But the climate here is so uncertain it is difficult to say whether it will be possible to live here or not. For instance the two winters I was here straight through when I worked on Living My Life were so mild except for Feb when St Tropez

The Emma Goldman Papers

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had the first frost in "forty years" as the natives assure me. Emily Coleman, my secretary and I felt quite comfortable the first winter she was with me. And so did Sasha, my niece and her little son who were with me part of the winter. Then for several years it was awful, down pour all the time and terrific mistral. Regie could not sustain such a winter. Last year a comrade who lives here told me was very mild. So you see darling I can not say with certainty how it will be in the winter. The rain begins in Oct, and increases in Nov. though it may not be the case this year. Then it becomes beautiful again until after Christmas with my roses in full bloom. Actually many people come here for Christmas and then again for Easter when it is also pleasant. But all this is mere speculation. What I would suggest is this: unless I call the house both of you could come and install yourselves in it. The house is simply but comfortably furnished except for blankets and the poile a small wood fire stove that I always put in my room during the winter. The kitchen and a smaller room are heated by the kitchen stove. I will give you a note of introduction to very nice neighbors of mine who are in charge of the keys and who would find you a native woman to do the house work, look after the fires get your provision and do the cooking. Then you could try it out. ~~xxxx~~ If you and Regie find the weather is too bad for him you can leave the house. Perhaps it would even be better if you went to the hotel on your arrival and took up to Bon Esprit to see for yourself whether Regie would be comfortable. As to privacy and quiet one has to go a long way to find such a place as Bon Esprit for that. The village is only 15, slow walk from the house. And the view from the terrace beautiful beyond words. I will let you know before I leave here whether the place has been sold. I have two buyers bid for it, both at an awful loss. But in as much as I could not possibly live here again for any length of time, not all alone anyhow I do want to sell it. But if I fail of course you can have it any time.

The dead past has come to life since my arrival. A thousand memories of Sasha have assailed me. Indeed his presence is so vivid and so alive he seems nearer than ever. You see he loved this place more than even I. And the only peaceful hours he had ever spent here. He used to relish to dig in the soil and ~~xxxx~~ take care of every plant. He often said he had missed his vocation, he should have been a farmer. All this is haunting me now and holding me in its grip like a vice. That's why I have to get away even if Spain were not uppermost in my mind. After all forty seven years are no small matter. True, Sasha was in prison sixteen out of the forty seven we were closely knit together, more so than lovers because the last fourteen years Sasha lived with a woman thirty years younger than he. But neither she or any man in my life during the years ~~xxxxxx~~ had the least effect on our lives our work and our comradeship. So it is not any superstitious or mystical feeling when I say the memories have come alive and are haunting me now.

About Spain, I am terribly anxious because I have not yet heard from the comrade in Marseille who has been intrusted to arrange for my trip by plane, and from the comrades in Valencia who are to meet me. The Spanish are so slow they would drive a saint to drink. Waiting is no joy when one strains with every nerve to get to a place. Yet I must be patient..

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[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 2, St. Tropez [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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Darling, generous friend it is ~~grrrr~~ loving of you to offer to share your money that you have earned by hard mental and physical labor. To thank you for it would be banal. I will take whatever you wish to contribute for the film. But I cannot accept your offer for myself. True, I am anything but flushed. I received a gift from an American friend who was in Paris. That will feed me for a while. If I sell the house I will be secured though not for long. There is Sasha's girl who is an invalid and has not been able to earn anything since his death. And there is my most beloved of brothers who had always contributed to my needs and is now incurably ill and incapacitated. I will have to take care of these two. Still, I will be alright for two three years. One can not think so far in advance. If I do not dispose of the house I will go to Canada I can always make ends meet through lectures. I never succeed in doing that in England, and never will. So I will be forced to go to Canada though I feel I have made an inroad in England and I should stay on. We will see. Just now I can think only of Spain until I am there and out again it is futile to think of how to live in Europe. Just the same your friendship and your sweet solidarity mean ever so much more than I can express in words.

The reduction of fares only applies to France I think. But ~~my~~ ~~that~~ ~~it~~ ~~should~~ ~~make~~ ~~good~~ ~~on~~ ~~that~~ ~~difference~~. By the time I return to England I will go the ordinary way, by Low Haven Dieppe my knee is very much better and I hope it will be entirely cured when I leave here so I am not going to waste your money or mine in going by the expensive way.

Now dearest I must close. I must write Ralph, had a letter from him saying you sustain him in re the film and how glad he is about it. Oh, yes about the Spanish material in regard to the revolutionary part of women. The comrades never replied to my request. If and when I get to Barcelona I will certainly get some data for your book. It's hopeless to expect anything from them by mail.

I embrace you tenderly. With love

Emma

Affectionate greetings to Regie.

I am sure you will never be able to stand the people who surround Auntie. They are violent fascists, they hate the masses and would willingly see everybody who is in their favor massacred. One English "noble man" told Auntie he would shoot us himself. And those who are not Fascists are just empty and waste their substance in drink. There are exceptions, like Norman Douglas, at least he can write and thus give something to the world. But the rest, no you could not stand them. But Auntie is a dear full of charm and fun. I am very fond of her but I never could endure her coterie for very long. Still it is possible to live in Venice and be far apart from the parasitic group.

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[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 3, St. Tropez [to Ethel Mannin, London] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 22 × 18 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

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18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
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London
xxxxxxx St Tropez Sept 3rd 37

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dearest. I wrote you at length yesterday. I sent it ordinary mail because it could not have reached earlier than tomorrow. I hope it will do that. To day at noon when my mail arrives I got your letter in re your telephone talk with Sonia. Before I got your letter I had written Sonia though not yet mailed that I will submit to no cuts in the film. I am sure Ralph reported correctly. The cuts are to be made to pass the censor. In other words the film is to be emasculated. Strangely enough a letter from Penner does not mention the censor. Penner writes that he is as much opposed to eliminating the revolutionary spirit as we are. In fact the film "does not stress the revolution enough," he writes. But the commentary took objection to the "heavy over-American and irritating part of it". The argument about the English language in the U.S. and England is as old as ~~the American~~ the American revolution. There is much British snobbery involved in that. But that's neither here or there. For myself I think that for a film like MURDER OVER SPAIN the rugged American English is by far more expressive. However that is not the point. The point is that the respectables who came to see the film want the revolutionary spirit eliminated, they want to make an anti fascist war film out of it. I have already written Penner last week that as long as the anti fascist struggle represented the revolutionary values I was for it. Now it has become a national war as all wars, only for the purpose to replace Franco by Stalins rules. (To me they are both deadly to any attempt of the workers to emancipate themselves from dictatorship whether black or red and from the capitalist yoke). In other words I do not want a war film. I want our film because it is so strong and shows the spirit, the valour and the determination of the workers to go beyond war. Anyhow darling I am absolutely with you and Ralph that no cuts of any sort ~~is~~ ^{are} to be undertaken. As to the commercial film while I am sure that Frank will not consent to any cuts I am writing him just the same. Just as soon as I hear from him I will notify Ralph, you and the rest. Meanwhile you can stress the fact that the film has been given to me for the work for the CNT-YAI I have been doing in England, that I will not give my consent and that you feel as Ralph and I do about the film in its present form. I have written Sonia all that so she will be prepared.

I am frantic with the anxiety about my going to Spain. It is two weeks since I left Paris, the trip by plane was to be

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arranged for in a few days. It is two weeks and no word. Perhaps I should have stuck it out in Paris. The Spanish are so slow they would drive one mad. But if one is near to poster then they do move a little faster. Anyhow the uncertainty of my going and the ever present shadows hanging over my place and my thoughts make my stay here anything but a rest or joy. Ah, if you were here and Regie. It would be different I am sure. At least my place would be of some use, it would give R as much sunshine, quiet and rest as he needs. And you my darling could invite your soul for work. But for me it has lost its meaning. I must get away as soon as I know about my trip to Spain.

What an outrageous thing to do of the people who suggest ^{they} what you should do about Regie's condition. How can they know the agony ^{actual} you went through in Denmark and when you went to ~~the~~ ^{then} people empty themselves usually have the gall to suspect others of the same emptiness. I hope dearest you did not mind their idle prattle. It is not worth while.

With love. *EG*

~~acc~~ me posted about the session you are to have with the others of our committee though what the latter has done so far I do not know. That is entre nous. I am only too willing people should help or think they do so long as they do not expect me to compromise.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Sept. 4, St. Tropez [to] Fenner [Brockway, London] / E[mma Goldman].— 3 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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B

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xxxx

St Tropez Sept 4th 37

Dear Fenner.

Thanks for your letter of August 30th. I am glad to know **FURY OVER SPAIN** was appreciated by the folk who attended the I. P. Summer School. That should bring us considerable demand for the picture. I am also delighted to know that the Miners Institute wants to show the film. As to the suggested changes of narrative your version does not quite tally with what the others of the film Committee seem to want. You say it was the "heavy, over-American and irritating phase of the narrative which some commentators objected to while Ralph and Ethel write that such cuts have been suggested that will not ruffle the censor. I am sorry indeed to find that my comrade Sonia Edelman is in favor of such cuts. That is quite different from your report of the matter.

First about the "over-American" suggestion. You will forgive me my dear when I say this excuses once more the British snobbery towards the English language in the U.S. It is not new. I am therefore not surprised though I can not see why this should effect the film. After all The English language in American films does not effect the success of American films nor the large attendance of English audiences of these films. Why anyone should take objections to the "over-American" narrative in **FURY OVER SPAIN** is something I cannot understand. Fact is, the rugged American English is precisely suitable to a revolutionary film more than let us say the Oxfordish English. However this objection is not really very important. What is much more important is the suggestion of cuts to satisfy the censor. I cannot consent to that dear Fenner. I have already written Ralph, Sonia and Ethel about my decision to have the film remain as it is.

I am glad you think the war in Spain still has meaning and that the revolutionary spirit also still burns in the soldiers at the front. I have not doubted that. Nor that the CNT may still be strong though it is very painful to admit that my comrades have unfortunately lost much of their former position. Where you and I differ is in your belief that the "Communist terror" has not yet replaced the "fascist terror". Forgive me my dear but it seems childish naivety not to see that Communist terror has already replaced Fascist terror. I don't see what else you call the present regime in Spain, the arrests and disappearance of our comrades yours and mine, the murder by day and night, the suppression of press and speech

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[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 4, St. Tropez [to] Fenner [Brockway, London] / E[mma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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17A19

and all the other repetitions of the dreadful regime practiced by Stalins henchmen in Russia if not Communist terror. I certainly did not go to prison for my stand on war to be interested in the war in Spain which is being that has already introduced into Spain the blessings of the Soviet regime. That you and your Party still see in that regime a particle of the Russian revolution shows how hard a and painfully a lie dies. However we need not argue that now. But we must understand each other dear Fenner that any change in the narrative of FURY OVER SPAIN will make a war picture out of it, a war picture for democracy and the "legitimate government" which is now slowly destroying the achievements of the Spanish revolution as assuredly as Bolsheviks has destroyed the Russian revolution. Frankly I would rather not show the film than have it thus emasculated. I quite agree with Ethel do so would be a betrayal of the Spanish workers, the CNT-FAI, the revolutionary elements in the U.G.T and your own comrades in the POUM. For goodness sake lets not be guilty of that.

You are right about Monica making an appeal at our show the 3rd if Ethel can not be present. I know Monica speaks very well indeed and I listen to one appeal she made which was splendid. But Ethel has revolutionary fiber and revolutionary feeling and she was deeply and passionately stirred with the film. That's why I suggested her. But of course if she should be away by all means ask Monica Whately.

Thanks for the New Leader. It arrived to day. I was interested in Trotsky's article and your reply. Trotsky's grievance is ridiculous in view of the terror he carried on when he was in power. Not that I believe one should add insult to injury. Trotsky is persecuted now so I do not care to add more to his lot. But I know his past, I know the part he played in the Kronstadt extermination of the sailors. I know how he drove the Anarchists out of their headquarters with machine guns. I know the lies and columns he spread against Machno, and I confess I have no tears to waste on his lot. Besides I am certain he would do exactly as Stalin in Stalin's place.

What is the matter with Maxton? Is it merely for the press that he waxes so hot over the "unity" which exists in Spain. Or does he really believe in its existence? Some unity with the Communists working overtime to exterminate their Left opponents and making overtures to the Fascists in Spain. And the assurances given Maxton about the trials of the POUM members. Does he actually believe it will be carried out? I hope he maybe right. Yet I cannot divest myself of the fear that the lives of your comrades are at stake. And they are at stake precisely because of the childish faith of Maxton and others of your comrades that justice will be done by the comrades of Stalin.

I suppose I should have gone to Spain when Maxton did. But evidently my comrades think I will be much more anathema

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to their Communist allies than Fenner who is after all an H.P. and a good Socialist. And they have not for twenty years exposed the ~~situation~~ Soviet myth. That's why they are taking time to arrange for my trip. Whatever the reason I am terribly impatient to get to Spain. Every thing was to be ready by the 15th of this month. I hope it will be.

I am not sure whether I will not have to leave here any moment you had better write me c/o Mrs. Renore Leinsier, 14. Boulevard Mac-Mahon, 10e A.D. She will know how to reach me.

Yr. cordially.

eg

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E A S

20448

xxxxxxx St Tropez Sept 5th 37.

My dear, good Comrade Salud.

I was glad to get your letter and to learn of your longings and your dreams. There are so few outside of Spain at your age who have dreams and aspirations for more than the routine of life so few indeed in every country. That is our tragedy. If only we had many more, comprising a real movement we could have done so much for our comrades in Spain. As it is very little was done. True in the sense of material aid America has done and is doing a great deal, a thousand times more than I succeeded in England. But it is not so much material ~~that~~ our struggle in Spain needs as moral aid, real direct action to force the rotten powers to stop the support of Franco. But we are every where few and far between and we have no spiritual influence. And because my pain was so deep and so ever present because of my helplessness I can understand how you feel dear comrade. Being tied when you long to rush to the side of our heroic and ~~valiant~~ comrades valiant comrades is ~~sure~~ torture. I do not think therefore that you are selfish to hope that the struggle will continue. My dear whether we wish it or not it is inevitable that it should continue. Even if the dreadful war were at an end the struggle of our comrades would only begin. For, it is certain whatever the outcome of the war our people will be balmed and everything will be done to interfere with their realization of our and their ideal. So whenever you will join them you will find work to do and your proper place where you can best give from the fulness of your heart and your ability to our glorious cause.

Yes, I have the visas but that has not yet taken me to Spain. You know how slow our comrades in Spain are, how nerve-racking it is to get anything done at their end. Well, Roca wrote me after I left Paris that he had instructed the comrade stationed in Marseille to arrange for my trip by plane to Valencia and that he had also written the comrades in Valencia to meet me. That is ~~the way~~ was nearly two weeks ago. Not a word have I had either from Marseille, from the National Committee or from Roca. I am simply frantic with anxiety about my trip. I am beginning to think I made a mistake to come on South. I should have remained in Paris and I should have kept after Roca I might already be in Spain. Now there

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when that is going to be. I see our dear optimistic V. even has lost patience with the comrades at Valencia. They simply do not realize how difficult and exasperating they make our work outside of Spain by their neglectfulness. One thing I know if I cannot make better arrangements with our people about further work in England I will have to give it up altogether. I don't see what else there is to do. For the present I cling with every fiber to the hope that I may soon be able to fly to Spain. I count the hours I can tell you.

Has comrade Ralph told you about the suggestion that the film FURY OVER SPAIN should undergo cuts to satisfy the censor? It was painful indeed to learn that our comrade Sonia C. is among those who thinks the cuts should be made. Well, not as long as I have some thing to say about the faith of the film, I will not permit a single part to be eliminated. I should consider it a betrayal of the CNT-FAI to consent to such an outrageous proposition. Why the film speak loudly for the glowing faith of our comrades, for their gallant struggle for their complete and utter consecration to the Revolution. Why it would be a travesty to consent to changes. I have written Ralph, Ethel Mannin, Brockway and Sonia that I cannot consent to such a thing. I am glad to say Ethel is entirely with me and so is Ralph of course.

Dear comrade, please send the enclosed letters to their destination. I have no English stamps left. Please stamp them for me.

With kindest greetings fraternally.

Please greet your family for me. I do hope V. will see the Valencian comrades for me as well as for himself.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 5 [London to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez] / Ethel [Mannin]. -- 3 p.; 20 x 16 cm.

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Keep for
me.

Sept. 5th 1937

17154

Dearest Emma,

I had been anxiously waiting yr letter. I am immensely glad to know that there is no question of compromise over the film. Reg wrote to me 'for God's sake stick to your guns about not changing a word. But for the commentary it might easily be a film of Franco's brave lads repulping the wicked Reds.' He also points out that if the LCC do want the working change, we ought to raise a stink, as the LCC prides itself on being 'socialist', and Herbert Morrison talks about 'socialising' London, and all that nonsense. Reg also points out that the LCC have no power outside of London, so may get away with the film but for public exhibition in the provinces.

I am waiting to hear the date of the next Cttee meeting and will of course attend, and I will of course attend the film show on the 23rd and make the appeal and make the point you suggest about if there is any money over and above the expenses of the film.

I rang up Sonia the other day to ask her two points unfortunately not made clear in the leaflet - whether a hall in which the film ~~xxxxxx~~ is shown needs to be specially wired, and what the total cost, including projector and services of operator is, per showing. Several times I have had these inquiries passed to me. ~~xxxxxx~~ I interested a group of post office workers in the film and suggested they showed it at one of their meetings and they got in touch with her on these points; she promised to let them know; I also consulted her myself as I had interested the local ILP branch; I am still waiting to hear from her, and I am also still waiting for some leaflets she promised to put into the post for me, as I haven't any, and could very usefully use some. I hope she lets me know soon as our next Branch meeting is Tues. next. I rang her last Wed. and today is Sat. and I've not heard not received any leaflets; I have now asked Barr to send me some. I can't ring her again as I gave away the one leaflet I had, and her phone number was on it. She was very keen on getting quotations for ~~xxxxxx~~ the film - they all seem to be. Well, let them waste their time if they must. ~~xxxxxx~~

I do think its outrageous not sending you a copy of the minutes. I don't know if anyone has sent you the enclosed from the News-Chronicle? I wonder very much who wrote it. You see that they go on about the commentary. ~~xxxxxx~~ Fancy saying the film is not realistic. I haven't been so moved by anything for a long time.

Yes, Emma, its impossible to plan far ahead. I can't and don't try to. I don't think any of us in whose lives so many things are continually happening possibly can. For you the immediate thing is Spain. After that we can think again. You know that if you get stuck for money so long as I have any at all you can call on me for half - if its only half of my last remaining quid!

Don't worry about the film, dear; its going on its travels untouched - or if its it'll be over the dead bodies of comrades Barr and Mannin!!! I will put some more money into the film, too, but I don't want to let it

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be known that I will, as when people know someone is behind a project they don't make efforts of themselves. Also I must first get Reg to work out how much I've got, how much I can expect in between now and March, and how all this works out in correspondence with what I must pay out between now and then. I'm not such good at figures myself.

For your sake I hope you sell the villa. As to Reg and me we wouldn't have it without paying at least the expenses on it - the taxes, for example. But I fear you're right about the winters at St. Tropez. Another friend says that when the mistral blows there its hellish, and that its notorious for the bouts of mistral it gets. But we might do as you suggest and stay at the hotel and go over and have a look at it, and as you say we could always quit if the weather got bad. I will discuss all this with Reg this weekend when he returns from Somerset.

I think it must be dreadful for you at the villa with so many ghosts. I do feel for you about that. It was what I dreaded must be when you spoke of going back there. It must have taken immense moral courage for you to have gone at all. But that is what you've got so much of, and immense physical courage too.

There's an article in the current issue of SPAIN AND THE WORLD on women and the revolution. I want to send you the current controversy as there's an article about the experience of someone who joined the International Brigade and got popped in prison, which will interest you, but I want Reg to see it first. Apparently there are any amount of Communists stuck into gaol by their own party on trumped up charges. This chap was sent to prison for daring to criticise the difference between the way the officers lived, and the men, in a so-called workers brigade.

Dearest Emma you must let me pay your fare back to England, please, as the agent messed up the arrangements before and you had to pay out. I enclose his letter. It seems very odd that one should have to ask for the special reductions, doesn't it? Naturally now one expects any reduction that's going.

We - Reg and I - had a letter from Auntie urging us to go to Venice, but oh dear everything she writes, bless her, makes us feel it's no place for us, diplomats galore are there, it seems, and Robert Nichols (whose politics are too fascist-flavoured for words, though he calls himself independent) and all sorts of 'amusing' people, only we don't want to be amused, but only to be left in peace and quiet, for Reg to rest and me to get on with some work, so devoted as we are to dear Auntie we both feel that Venice is out of it for our purpose this time.

I have just done a fierce article for a Scottish paper that attacked you and me jointly: will send next week when its printed. ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ They said that such is my anti-Stalinism that had I been as voluble in 1921 as I am in 1937 of the subject of Russia I'd have been joining in hysterical chorus with you opposing Leninism. I wrote and said they never said a truer word, but that unfortunately I was only 20 in 1921, but have made up for not attacking Leninism in my youth by

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attacking the Stalinist regime in my maturity.... The article was obviously written by a Communist.

Dearest Emma I will pick up on this now. I hope you'll write again soon, and that soon there'll be an end of yr waiting and you'll get to Spain - though I shall be immensely relieved when you are out of it again.

My devoted love.



Maxton's report on his visit to Spain is very poor indeed. I think I must enclose it - or rather send it with Controversy. He also went by land.

All this is very horribly typed, Emma dear, but you know it carries my utmost loyalty and devotion politically and personally

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[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 6, St. Tropez [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

xx ~~London~~ St Tropez Sept. 6.37

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Ethel Dearest. I had good news from Paris. The Spanish comrade who has been working on my trip to Spain wrote that a comrade from Valencia had arrived and he would accompany me to Spain. He is also among the most dependable Spanish comrades. So you can imagine I feel greatly relieved that I will have the opportunity to go in his company. The comrade stationed in Paris wrote me to hold myself ready to join comrade Herrera in Marseille. We will go by plane for there to Valencia. I am therefore leaving for Nice Thursday. It's rather out of my way, St Tropez being on the direct line to Marseille. But I left all my clothes ~~there~~ in Nice I will need in Spain, so I must go back there. Just as soon as I have word from Paris to proceed to Marseille I will do so. *done*

About my place, I fear I lost the buyer who was willing to take it for a ridiculous price. And as there is no saying whether the place will be sold at all this year I would very much love to have you and Regie in the house. At least you could try it out and see how well the weather keeps. I have a very lovable comrade in St Tropez French Canadian, her name is Ray Niel and I am leaving the place and everything in it in her care. I have spoken to her about you and I have arranged to get everything in perfect condition in case you decide to come here and stay in Bon Esprit. You have but to write her the address is Mme Niel, 1. Rue Suffren St Tropez Var. She will get you a femme de menage, in fact everything you will need. I am leaving linen and my silver. If you do not decide to come or stay here May will send it on to Paris to me. If you do come perhaps you will bring it back to England so I can use it in my flat in London. Anyhow, write me what your plans are. You can still reach me c/o Mme Nore Teissier, 14, Blvd Mac-Mahon Nice A.M. After all Nice is not far from here. When you come and you do not like to stay at Bon Esprit, or the weather is not good enough for Regie you can go on to Venice easily from here. Now the way to come to St Tropez unless you intend stopping off in Paris is by through ticket to St Raphael. A bus runs from St Raphael to St Tropez. Then from the village a car can easily be gotten to bring you up from my place.

I hope I may hear from you in Nice before I leave for Spain. I am fairly obsessed by my longing to go, to see the comrades

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 6, St. Tropez [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. —
2 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

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F.A.I.

F.A.I.

C.N.T.

to talk to them, to go over the grounds I have covered last year.
If at all possible to write from Spaun you will hear from me. If not
you will have to be patient until I get out from there. You will be
among the very first I will write, or hear if there is any trouble.

Goodby dearest. I hope you can come here and stay a few
months, the place is lovely even if for me it has so many painful
memories.

Greetings to Regie I hope he is improving.

Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880726141

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 6, St. Tr[o]pez [to Babsie and] Mo[r]ris Goldman, Knoxville, Iowa]
/[Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 30 x 21 cm.

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St Tripez Sept 6th 37

My own beloved Moishele, dearest Schwester.

It was indeed a red letter day to get your letter of August 13th. It awaited me on my arrival here. dearest own Moishe your letter brought tears but also it made me laugh. Your rich humor is so refreshing. I am grateful to whatever forces there are that have equipped you with such a faunt of the comic because you could not have supported your suffering through the years since your illness first began. Darling I don't know whose courage is greater and whose fortitude more abiding, the one who battles for an ideal, or the one who goes through a thousand infernos of illness. I feel you my darling have shown marvelous power of endurance. I can only hope that you will soon be rewarded for it by some relief from your suffering.

I was interested in your report of your case. What clarity of every detail. Perhaps it would be better for you if you were less aware of your condition. It is not always good to see every detail of ones physical complications. But you were always so painstaking to analyse the trouble of your patients and your bear and dearest when they were ill. Amazing how very much like our grand father you are, mothers father. Even in illness you are like him. Didi mother ever tell you that when the old gentleman came out of the anasthesia after a severe operation by a famous surgeon in Koenigsberg he wrote up the whole conversation during the operation carried on in Latin and sent it to his surgeon. They saw him and the others present at the operation could not believe that this pious Jew understood Latin, or had enough brains to state his case with such minuteness. You are the very image of our old grand father, in your looks your character and your habits.

Precious baby brother, please do not worry about me. The devil never takes his own. My knee is nearly all well. My good doctor a very modern man was right in not torturing me with plaster casts, splints and what not. It took me a year to cure the knee when I had my first battle with it. It took only three months to achieve if not a complete cure at least very much nearer it. And that by means of massage and hot compresses, and since I got here sunbaths. I am sure I could be quite alright again if I could stay on here and continue sunbathing. I cannot do that, but I feel so much better anyhow. Oh yes, I forgot to say that added to the massage and the compresses I had to submit to six weeks absolute rest. Except for Tante Meyer I did not bud from my divan. You can imagine what that meant for your devil Schwester whose nervous energy drives all her friends to drink. Anyhow my knee is nearly alright.

Nor do you have to worry about my going to Spain. No one knows so well as I what Stalins henchmen are capable of doing. But you should know that your sister is no fool. I will outwit them. Be assured. Besides you should know my own Moishe that one lives a thousand deaths, terribly excruciating most of the time. But one dies only one death, and not before the hour comes. So do not worry, dearest

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~~sending~~ - a chance to sell Bon Esprit. Unfortunately Stein delayed sending the authorisation for his lot ~~which~~ without which I could not sell mine. It was not his fault, he had to undergo a second operation of Mastoid and so could not go to the French consul to sign the authorisation in his present. The French red tape is maddening. Four months ago I was willing to let Bon Esprit go for 75,000 just about forty five thousand less than Steins and my place cost. Now that the franc has fallen the loss is even more. But I have no choice. I am sure I will never be able to live here with all the memories of Sasha come to haunt me. So what is the use hanging on. I have therefore left the place in the hands of agents to get rid of it. You bet dear at mine if Bon Esprit is sold you and Babsie shall share with me. Mean while only a mere pittance of two buck so you and Babsie can go to a cinema if you can get about at all, or as soon as you can.

Darling Schwester what a brave kid you are to go on with nursing when you are so handicapped by headaches and so many other physical misery. I only wish Sashas girl had your guts, your determination, your splendid spirit. She too is an invalid perhaps more so in her mind than body. She is extremely hysterical which makes her condition doubly worse because she lack your doggedness. It surely takes many kinds of people to make up our rotten world. But I am glad that my own will not be daunted.

Belove Moishe, sweet Babsiken I take you both to my heart with a world of love. I cling to the hope that when I get to Canada I may also get into the U.S. if only to see you both again and the few other beloved members of our family.

With undying love.

Moishela my own precious child I know that even at best it is bitter to have to accept help from anybody, even the dearest and nearest. Yet it should make it easier for you to accept the help the children are giving because you must know that they give it out of the fulness of ~~your~~ their love for you.


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The Emma Goldman Papers

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This is only for you my dear,
St Tropez Sept 7th 37.

 Roc

dearest Mollie, dear Senya, I waited to answer your letter in the hope I would have definite word from Rosa, or the comrade in Marseille about my journey. I did have a letter Sunday from Rosa saying that Herrera had arrived and that he would take me back with him the end of this week, I should get ready. You can imagine my joy that I would be able to make the trip in such good and faithful company. I had made all arrangements to go back to Nice Thursday because Rosa had insisted she would drive me to Marseille whenever necessary. But it seems to be my fate never to have anything go smoothly. First of all I received a wire from Rosa ~~last night~~ at 7.0/0 last evening to get to Marseille this morning where Herrera will be waiting for me. He reminded me of the news I had from Nice at 2.30 A.M. to rush to Sasha. Evidently people do not realize that after 7.0/0 one cannot even send a wire from here let alone get out by train or bus. If at least Rosa had stated the time of departure of the avion this morning I might have reached Marseille by leaving St Tropez on the first bus for St Raphael at 5.30 A.M. then catch the first train to Marseille. But he did not specify the time and I dared not risk arriving in Marseille after the plane had departed. I tell you I was sick to lose the chance to go with Herrera. I would have saved me trouble and anxiety. I have wired Herrera begging him to let me know if he can wait until tomorrow. I expect a wire back. If he does I will leave for Marseille with the last train to night. But I have little hope he will. I have also wired Rosa to get after the comrade in Marseille to make the final arrangements ~~with~~ for me.

This shock not being enough I had another from Rosa. As I wrote you I was she who insisted on her bringing me to Marseille. She even prevailed upon me to leave all my clothes in Nice because she would bring me back there. This morning I got a heart letter saying that her friend Louron had unexpectedly been called to Spain *Ukraine* and she is going with him. She will be back the 15th. But I should go to Nice make myself at home in her apt and all my clothes will be ready for me. Some disappointment, eh? Of course there is no object my going to Nice merely to pick up my clothes. I can go to Spain with whatever I took with me here, or send Sasha to Nice for the things. I am therefore going to hang on here until I have word from Rosa to go to Marseille for my departure ~~with~~ with Avion. But isn't it funny how things do conspire every time I have to carry out some plan?

No end of trouble about the sale of Bon Esprit. The man who wanted to buy it at a loss of 45,000 francs could not wait any longer. The agent insists it is not his fault and that I must pay him two thousand francs if some other agent sells Bon Esprit. If he finds another buyer I will not have to pay him more than the original five percent. The trouble is the summer is gone and people are fast leaving St Tropez. There is little hope that a buyer will still be found this summer. Such are the consequences if an Anarchist owns property. I was right, eh? As you know I have never been bound by material considerations, nor will I this time. Some day Bon Esprit will no doubt be sold. I could not live here anyhow though the place remains fascinating. But the memories are too strong and they give me no peace. So why hang on to the place?

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Roc

Your contention that there is something wrong with Anarchism because Kropotkin failed our ideas in the war, and because the leading comrades in Spain failed Anarchism seem to be very faulty reasoning. In the first place, the failure of one or several individuals can never take away from the depth and truth of an ideal. In the second place, Anarchism in Spain far from having failed has actually proven consistent and realizable. I have in mind the constructive work begun by our comrades which was the greatest achievement in any revolution any period. By their constructive efforts the CNT-FAI have demonstrated to the whole world that Anarchism is not only a theory, a wild irresponsible fancy, a destructive force. But that it applies to life and the innermost needs of the people. If the Spanish revolution had given no other proof for its justification this one fact should convince those at all capable of thinking that Anarchism is a practical ~~theory~~ theory of a new social order. Even if the CNT-FAI have actually lost all ground, their grand efforts ^{comradely} destroyed which I do not believe for a moment, ^{not at all} they will still have given a splendid example of the work done in the face of war and Revolution.

You may suggest the price was too high. And you may ask why the Spanish comrades had learned so little from the Russian Revolution to permit Stalin's gangsters to rob them of the fruit of their wonderful beginning? Well, while it is extremely painful to admit it even to ourselves we yet have to look facts in the face. And they are that neither the people en masse or the individual ever learn anything from the experience of another. We rarely learn from our own experience. If we did we would not go on repeating the same blunders all our lives. But we certainly never learn from the experience of others. Why then be surprised if the Spanish comrades have not

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Rec

learned much from the Russian revolution. Besides it is not true that they have learned nothing. In point of fact they went much further than the Russian revolution. They did what was sadly neglected in the Russian revolution. They immediately proceeded to construct whereas in Russia everybody, including the Anarchists did nothing but destroy. I do not mean this to detract from the part played by our Russian comrades. I mean it only as a historic fact. Another important point, by no means of small importance is also the fact that our comrades in Russia were never at any time surrounded by so many diverse political enemies to be forced to decide whether or not they should align themselves with them. And yet many of our best comrades justified the alignment with the Bolsheviks and defended them until the Kronstast massacre.

You will ask if that means that I justify the alignment of our comrades with their political enemies? Of course not. Truth to tell I opposed it from the very beginning when you and Sena asked "what should our comrades have done"? You speak of taking a stand. I have done that, dearest Mollitchka, in my article WHERE I STAND. I have specifically stated that I stand to day where I always have. That I am just as opposed to Anarchist participation in any government whatever its tendency, and every political party whatever its pretense. But while I stand firmly on my life long ground I refuse to join in the condemnation of our comrades, because as I have already stated, ~~anyhow~~ we none of us learn from the experience of others. Whatever the price our comrades are paying in Spain they evidently had to have their own, they had to act according to their own lights and not according to ours. Moreover I am not so sure that we in their place would have been any less sure.

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constant than our comrades. Don't you agree that there is a large amount of vanity in everyone of us to think that we would have acted otherwise? We ~~may~~ insist on our superior knowledge and understanding ~~of the world~~ ^{and independent of} ~~the world~~ ^{of human action in private life and in large} social issues? We ~~are~~ ^{are} never willing to admit that we actually do not know how we would act were we in the place of those we so readily hold up ~~for~~ ^{on} scorn and condemnation. The older I grow the ~~surer~~ ^{more} I become that it is extremely difficult to decide a mode of action for either ourselves or others. ^{until a given emergency arises.} All we can really be sure of is that we mean to try honestly to act in keeping with our ideas and our faith.

However, there is something else. Something I have been thinking about very deeply since the May events in Spain. It is whether we Anarchists have not taken the wish for the thought. Whether we have not been too optimistic in our belief that Anarchism had taken root in the masses? ~~The facts since~~ ^{The facts since} the war, the Revolution in Russia and Spain ~~have shown~~ and the utter failure of the masses to stand up against the annihilation in all countries of every vestige of liberty have convinced me that Anarchism even less than any other social idea has not penetrated the minds and hearts of even a substantial minority, let alone the compact mass. Actually, there is no Anarchist movement anywhere in the world. What we have got is so insignificant, so pifling it is ridiculous to speak of an Anarchist organized movement. In other words, everywhere the soil for our ideas has proved sterile. In Spain alone has the ground ^{more} been fertile. ~~and even in Spain the~~ ^{and even in Spain the} ~~soil has proved sterile~~ ^{soil has proved sterile}

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and the harvest promising. ~~As soon as the harvest is in, the young plants will be subjected to the storm and stress, the drought and winds. We admit all this in nature. But we were not willing to admit these forces in that beset the social growth. My dears, my dears, think of it, in a country in the grips of Feudalism and the Church almost to the moment of July 19th we Anarchists imagined our ideas can be realized in one jump, ~~rise from the depths of enslavement and degradation to the very heights of full filment, come to full fruition from the hard ranks of the past of in Spain. It was our mistake and we are now paying for it in the agony of ~~our bitter disappointment.~~~~~~

I don't know whether you ever read Wm. Marion Reedy's beautiful tribute to me which he called "A DAUGHTER OF A DREAM". He said "there is only one thing the matter with Anarchism and Emma Goldman, they are five thousand years ahead of their time". I was furious with Reedy for that. And I still am. And yet what he said contained ~~some truth.~~ some truth. This has been borne in on me the last twenty years and even more forcibly since the Spanish events in May. Anarchism is still very much ahead of its time. And I am convinced it will take more than one revolution before our ideas will come to full ^{glorious} ~~realization~~. Until ^{then} the steps will be feeble, ~~our ideas no doubt fall from the heights many times and many will be the mistakes our comrades are bound to make.~~

Does ~~not~~ ^{that} mean I have lost faith in Anarchism, or that I think we ought to sit hands folded? Of course not. In point of truth I think now ~~more~~ ^{more} than ever we must strain every ~~nerve~~ ^{the cause} to bring our ideas before the world. Now ~~more~~ ^{more} than ever we must

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Rec

we have the living proof for our claims that nothing can be gained from any association with governments or political parties. Now we also have the living proof that it is possible to build amidst destruction, amidst war and revolution, that the Anarchists have been the only ones to begin such gigantic work. However, the Spanish revolution will end ~~but~~ it has already give us marvelous material to enhance the logic of our ideas. And it should also give us greater courage to go on ~~and on~~ ^{as} so long there is a breath of life in us.

Moreover, what ever the fault and shortcomings of our Spanish comrades, they alone and non other in any country have created a ~~new~~ a strongly orgnaized Anarchist body and movement that cannot but leave a lasting mark on future events. I feel, therefore, that though I cannot and will not recogile myself to the compromises of the few comrades I will not raise my hand against them so long as the hand of the whole world is raised against them ready to choke the life out of our people. If that is treason ["] against what I have ~~taught~~ taught you as Senia said, I am willing to be thus branded. But I am not willing to join the ~~band~~ ^{murder} of all the wild beasts in and outside Spain who are ready to devour our ~~people~~ people.

My going to Spain is not so much for the purpose of gathering proofs for the blunder of our people during the events of May. I have enough proof for that. It is more to get at the rank and file. To find out whether COMUNISMO LIBERTARIA still ~~has~~ ^{is} the same fiery inspiration as it ~~was~~ ^{was} last year. Every workers and peasant I spoke with had assured me it is in their blood for four generations. If this is still the case than the May events ~~would~~ ^{will} not ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~exhausted~~ ^{exhausted} this sacred spirit ~~has~~ ^{has} ~~been~~ ^{been} ~~lost~~ ^{lost} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~past~~ ^{past} ~~few~~ ^{few} ~~years~~ ^{years} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~possible~~ ^{possible} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~renew~~ ^{renew} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~again~~ ^{again} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~future~~ ^{future} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~possible~~ ^{possible} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~renew~~ ^{renew} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~again~~ ^{again} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~future~~ ^{future} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~possible~~ ^{possible} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~renew~~ ^{renew} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~again~~ ^{again} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~future~~ ^{future} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~possible~~ ^{possible} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~renew~~ ^{renew} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~again~~ ^{again} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} 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The Emma Goldman Papers

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it is no longer there then it would only prove to me that even in Spain anarchism was also a delicate plant and that, therefore, it could not survive the onslaught of war and all the evil forces arrayed against it. Perhaps, even in Spain anarchism must go through a process of gestation to gain strength and sustenance for the battle which is still to come.

Thank you my dears ⁴⁴⁴ for your concern in my ~~well-being~~ well-fare. I know I am going into the cage of ferocious beasts. And while I have no desire to end my life through them I cannot stop at the consideration that risk and danger are awaiting me. Life itself is full of risks and danger, especially the life of those who have declared war on all sham, on all falsehood and the whole criminal social fabric. I must therefore go. There is however one thing I want you and all my comrades to know that my thoughts are concentrated a great deal more on whether I will be strong enough to face our enemies with head erect and with iron will to remain true to my last breath than on the dangers ~~now~~ awaiting me. For as I already stated, no one can really be quite sure how he will act until the emergency arrives. Still, I feel that there is no force that ^{could} would squeeze ~~me~~ "confessions" out of me, make me "retract" my ideas, or grovel in the dust to save my life. Whatever charges the sadistic Moscow gang in Spain will ^{make} ~~be~~ against me to besmirch my revolutionary integrity you will know there is no truth in anything. That I will die as I lived with my burning faith in the ultimate triumph of our ideas.

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Your contention that there is something wrong with Anarchism because Kropotkin failed our ideas in the war, and because the leading comrades in Spain failed Anarchism seem to be very faulty reasoning. In the first place, the failure of one or several individuals can never take away from the depth and truth of an ideal. In the second place Anarchism in Spain far from having failed has actually proven consistent and realisable. I have in mind the constructive work begun by our comrades which was the greatest achievement in any revolution any period. By their constructive efforts the CNT-FAI have demonstrated to the whole world that Anarchism is not only a theory, a wild irresponsible fancy, a destructive force. But that it applies to life and the innermost needs of the people. If the Spanish revolution had given no other proof for its justification this one fact should convince those at all capable of thinking that Anarchism is a practical ~~theory~~ theory of a new social order. Even if the CNT-FAI have actually lost all ground, their grand efforts ^{temporarily} destroyed, which I do not believe for a moment, they will still have given a splendid example of the work done in the face of war and revolution.

You may suggest the price was too high. And you may ask why the Spanish comrades had learned so little from the Russian Revolution to permit Stalin's gangsters to rob them of the fruit of their wonderful beginning? Well, while it is extremely painful to admit it even to ourselves we yet have to look facts in the face. And they are that neither the people en masse or the individual ever learn anything from the experience of another. We rarely learn from our own experience. If we did we would not go on repeating the same blunders all our lives. But we certainly never learn from the experience of others. Why then be surprised if the Spanish comrades have not

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learned much from the Russian revolution. Besides it is not true that they have learned nothing. In point of fact they went much further than the Russian revolution. They did what was sadly neglected in the Russian revolution. They immediately proceeded to construct whereas in Russia everybody including the Anarchists did nothing but destroy. I do not mean this to detract from the part played by our Russian comrades. I mean it only as a historic fact. Another important point by no means of small importance is also the fact that our comrades in Russia were never at any time surrounded by so many diverse political enemies to be forced to decide whether or not they should align themselves with them. And yet many of our best comrades justified the alignment with the Bolsheviks and defended them until the Kronstadt massacre.

You will ask if that means that I justify the alignment of our comrades with their political enemies? Of course not. Truth to tell I opposed it from the very beginning when you and Sena asked "what should our comrades have done"? You speak of taking a stand. I have done that dearest Politejka in my article ~~WHERE~~ I STAND. I have specifically stated that I stand to day where I always have. That I am just as opposed to anarchist participation in any government whatever its tendency, and every political party whatever its pretence. But while I stand firmly on my life long ground I refuse to join in the condemnation of our comrades, because as I have already stated, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ we none of us learn from the experience of others. Whatever the price our comrades are paying in Spain they evidently had to have their own, they had to act according to their own lights and not according to ours. Moreover I am not so sure that we in their place would have been wiser and more

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consistant than our comrades. Don't you agree that there is a large amount of vanity in everyone of us to think that we would have acted otherwise? we ~~can~~ insist on our superior knowledge and understanding ~~of the events in~~ ^{of the events in} private life as well as in large social issues? we ~~are~~ are never willing to admit that we actually do not know how we would act were we in the place of those we so readily hold up for scorn and condemnation. The older I grow the ~~more~~ I become that it is extremely difficult to decide a mode of action for either ourselves or others. All we can really be sure of is that we mean to try honestly to act in keeping with our ideas and our faith.

However, there is something else. Something I have been thinking about very deeply since the May events in Spain. It is whether we Anarchists have not taken the wish for the thought. Whether we have not been too optimistic in our belief that Anarchism had taken root in the masses? The ~~facts since the~~ war, the Revolution in Russia and Spain ~~have shown~~ and the utter failure of the masses to stand up against the annihilation in all countries of every vestige of liberty have convinced me that Anarchism even less than any other social ideas has not penetrated the minds and hearts of even a substantial minority, let alone the compact mass. Actually there is no Anarchist movement anywhere in the world. What we have got is so insignificant, so pitiful it is ridiculous to speak of an anarchist organized movement. In other words, everywhere the soil for our ideas has proved sterile. In Spain alone has the ground be fertile. ~~and even there~~ But even in Spain the ~~fruit is still~~ ~~small~~ the harvest is still small. How then could we expect

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and the harvest promising. ~~and we had to see that the natural forces the~~
~~young, tender plants will be subjected to, the storm and stress, the~~
In our enthusiasm we forgot the natural forces the ~~young, tender~~
young, tender plants will be subjected to, the storm and stress, the
drought and winds. we admit all this in nature. But we were not willing
to admit these forces in that beset the social growth. My dears, my
dears think of it in a country in the grips of Feudalism and the
Church almost to the moment of July 19th we Anarchists imagined
our ideas can be realized in one jump, ~~rise from~~ rise from
the depths of enslavement and degradation to the very heights of ful-
fillment, come to full fruition from the hard rocks of the past ~~or in~~
Spain. It was our mistake and we are now paying for it in the agony
of ~~our bitter disappointment.~~

I don't know whether you ever read Mr. Marion Reedy's beaut-
iful tribute to me which he called "A DAUGHTER OF A DREAM". He
said "there is only one thing the matter with Anarchism and Emma
Goldman, they are five thousand years ahead of their time". I was
furious with Reedy for that. And I still am. And yet what he said con-
tained ~~some truth.~~ some truth. This has been borne in on me the last
twenty years and even more forcibly since the Spanish events in May.
Anarchism is still very much ahead of its time. And I am convinced
it will take ~~more~~ ^{years} than one revolution before our ideas will come to
full ~~fruition.~~ ^{fruition} Until then the steps will be feeble, ~~our ideas~~
our ideas no doubt fall from the heights many times and many will
be the mistakes our ~~conscience~~ ^{mad} are bound to make.

Does ~~not~~ ^{mean} I have lost faith in Anarchism, or
that I think we ought to sit hands folded. Of course not. In point
of truth I think now more than ever ~~we must~~ ^{we} strain every nerve
to bring our ideas before the world. Now more than ever, ~~we have~~ ^{he can}

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we have the living proof for our claims that nothing can be gained from any association with governments or political parties. Now we also have the living proof that it is possible to build amidst destruction, amidst war and revolution, that the Anarchists have been the only ones to be in such gigantic work. However the Spanish revolution will end and it has already given us marvelous material to enhance the logic of our ideas. And it should also give us greater courage^a to go on and on so long^{as} there is a breath of life in us.

Moreover, what ever the fault and shortcomings of our Spanish comrades, they alone and non other in any country have created a ~~strong~~ a strongly organized Anarchist body and movement that cannot but leave a lasting mark on future events. I feel therefore that though I cannot and will not reconcile myself to the compromises of the few comrades I will not raise my hand against them so long as the hand of the whole world is raised against them ready to choke the life out of our people. If that is treason against^a what I have ~~taught~~ taught you, as Senia said, I am willing to be thus branded. But I am not willing to join the howl of all the wild beasts in and outside Spain who are ready to devour our ~~people~~ people.

My going to Spain is not so much for the purpose of gathering proofs for the blunder of our people during the events of May. I have enough proof for that. It is more to get at the rank and file. To find out whether COMUNISMO LIBERTARIO still carries the same fiery inspiration as it ~~did~~ last year. Every workers and peasant I spoke with had assured me it is in their blood for four generation. If this is still the case than the May events could not possibly have eradicated this sacred flame and nothing has been lost by them. If

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~~xxxxxxx~~ St. Tropez Sept 7th 37

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dearest. You will have received my additional letters. I wrote you about the good news that I was to leave for Spain in the company of a splendid Spanish comrade. It seems however that everything connected with me should always be fraught with difficulties and disappointments. About 7 P.M. yesterday I had a wire from Paris to present myself this morning at the airport in Marseille where the comrade returning to Valencia will be awaiting him. There was no possibility of getting out of here last night. And as the wire did not state the hour of the departure of the plane in Marseille I was afraid to risk going there only to find that the plane had left. It really made me physically ill to be deprived of the chance of going with the Spanish comrade Herrera who is among the most dependable Spanish comrades. This shock not enough I had another this morning. Monore Teissier, the French comrade I was staying with in Nice and who had insisted she would take me to Marseille and put me in the plane suddenly decided to leave for Spain herself together with another French comrade whose name is Louzon and who had gone with Penner as a delegate to look into the POL- cases. It was ~~so sudden~~ so sudden she had no time to wire me or get my by phone. I am sure she would have gotten in touch with me, and she would have arranged to take me along in her car. Do now I am again stuck. I suppose everything will come out alright in the end. But for the present I am in a frantic state of mind because of the conspiracy of circumstances that prevents my departure for Spain. Well, I am wiring the comrade in Paris that I will stick here until I have definite word to proceed to Marseille to fly from there.

I am afraid you are only too right when you doubt Sonia. All the years she had kept aloof from the movement. It was really I who had dragged her into it. I was never deceived that her part was only a sort of desert after a good meal. It is certainly not her first consideration. It is true that she is going through a very disturbing inner struggle between her husband and her lover, and that she has three children to look after. Still if she has undertaken certain duties in connection with the film she should attend to them. Of course you cannot afford to waste time. Nor is it necessary you should address yourself to Sonia. Go after Ralph Barr. He will attend to everything and see to it that you receive prompt attention. Do this my dearest.

Never mind about the agent. Perhaps I should have thought of the discount. It is not to be expected that agents will protect one's interests rather than their own. I have a rotten experience with my agent here. Because I did not consent to the amount

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 7, St. Tropez [to Ethel Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman].—
3 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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his client who wanted Don Esprit was willing to pay, or rather because I withdrew my consent to let it go for that when the franc began to sink I will have to pay him 2000 francs in case some other agent sells my place for a higher price. The law in France is on his side. And as I ~~may~~ have always avoided having anything to do with the law unless the law shougt me out I have to submit to the outrageous imposition of paying two thousand francs for nothing. That of course in addition to the 5/00 I will have to pay to any agent if he sells my place. However, I can not stop at these material troubles annoying and disagreeable as they are. My mind is far for them and it is on Spain and on our work to ~~stop~~ the tide of reaction in the world feeble as my efforts are. *Don*

Dearest, I knew you will never stand Venice, not the people surrounding Auntie. She hates like hell to be told that her friends would drive me into the mad house. She knows herself how empty and parasytic they are. But of course she depends with her livelihood on such people. I understand that. I only never could understand why she will not see the emptyness of her surroundings. She gladly came away from it last winter to be with me. But she was not able to stand my atmosphere. She used to tell me my energy was "devastating". In other words she was shocked at my complete absorption in the work for Spain and in my intense devotion to the faith of our comrades. Don't think I am blaming Auntie. I love her for her gaiety, her kindness and her large attitude. But of course she does not fit in ~~her~~ life nor I in hers. And I am sure you would feel as I do if you were in Venice for any length of time. However that has nothing to do with the climate which maybe better than St Tropez in the winter. *my*

Darling, just now St Tropez is heavenly and from all apparence the weather is going to keep up as it is longer than usual. I therefore wish you might come here and try it out. I arranged everything with May Niel, she will have the house in order. I am living enough bed linen and table cloths. I have no towels and I have only two or three blankets rather thin ones. Also I am leaving my silver. You can bring them with you for me whether you stay here or not. Please write May, in English to let her know if you decide to come and when. ~~She~~ herself may have to go to Paris in Oct. But she will certainly be here when you come and she will arrange everything, including a ~~few~~ de ménage. In as much as I am stuck here now untill my trip is arranged you can still reach me here to let me know difinitely whether you plan to come to St Tropez. About payment darling the taxes are only 262 a year. Do not let this worry you. we will settle that when I am back in England. I shall have to call on you for a loan in case Don Esprit is not sold this year. *2*

Laxtons report was the weakest I ever read. He impr est me as a rank politician. I think I wrote you the answer he gave me why the I.L.P. was so lukewarm in its campaign to save the POU members from sure death. "We are not strong enough and British public opinion will not listen to us". Can you imagine a poorer confession of a Party? This about "unity" in Spain Laxton reported. It is bunk and false from beginning to end. I suppose he reported this to justify his clamour and that of the Party for unity with the Communists. It is sickening. *am 12*

I am glad Reg feels as we do about the film. ~~and~~ *and* pleased

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with his suggestion to bring out the reactionary part of the L.C.C. I agree absolutely that we ought to raise a "stink" if only to expose the timidity and cowardice of the Lorrison and the rest. I am particularly glad that the decision of the LCC holds good only for London.

Yes, the article about women in Spain and the world is informative. If only I could get to Spain soon I could find some data about the woman who had played as great a part in the revolutionary movement in Spain as Louise Michel in France. It will be the first thing I will go after if only I reach Spain at last. The delegate is so wearing

I embrace you dearest with love.

I do so hope Reg has improved. Affectionate greetings to him.

Emma

I will miss you much, leaving you for good. You can then write me to M. Roca 55 Avenue George V Paris 6. Be careful in what you write.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001177

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 8 [St. Tropez to] Rhee, [Bristol, England] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

8th September 1937.

Dear Mr Rhee,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 6th.
I shall be very pleased to have the article by Pablo Uribe and
will use it in our paper "Spain & The World".

Also I shall be very pleased to dispose of the
photographs as you suggest. Thanks for those you sent me.
Let me have an assortment, as I desire to send one of each to
Barcelona.

I have heard from Reg Reynolds whose name I quite
expect is known to you, that the children require a swing, and
stating that it can be erected by a local carpenter. I ~~would~~ ^{hope}
you could let me know the cost, as I should like to see if this
cost can be met. It should of course be a strong one, as we must
not have any accidents through faulty structure.

Assuring you of my interest.

Sincerely yours,
Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Sept. 8 London to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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17018

Wed

Emma dear,

I have yr letter with the good news, also one a few days earlier. I am so very glad things are moving last, though, as you know, I shall be glad when you have been to Spain and got back safely. I know how you must be 'eaten out and in' with the longing to go and see the comrades again and get all the things that have happened at first hand, and find out what is happening.

We do not plan to leave England till about the middle of Oct. so perhaps you will be back by then - you may even want yr villa for yr own use? But I think if its free we shall certainly go and look at it and try it out; we'll of course advise Madame Niel in advance. You could be sure that everything was being taken good care of if we were there, dear Emma, and I'd gladly bring your linen and silver back to London.

Our present plan is to try to go to Bordeaux by boat - it would be so much better for Reg than the train journey. The snag is that they are very moral in shipping companies and want couples to have a certificate of marriage: else they must be segregated on the voyage, which we'd both hate, and which in h's case anyhow wouldn't do. If we go by boat we shall go and see some friends of his near Carcassone very likely, and cross the Gulf of Lions to Marseilles by boat, and thence to St. Tropez.

(Over)

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2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Well, my dear, that my heart goes with you on your forthcoming journey you know, and all

the luck in the world. Don't worry about the film. My devoted love

17019

Reg is much better, and I am working on the revision of the rev. book

Did you get my letter of the 4th with the letter from E & F? That was the last time I wrote to you. I think you hadn't got it when you wrote me about the good news from Paris.

Well, dear, I do hope you soon get away to Spain; waiting is so exhausting, much more nervously exhausting than getting on with a difficult job; it wears one out far more.

I don't suppose you'll get a letter through from Spain, so I shall just wait to hear from you when you're back in France. If you get hold of any useful stuff about women in Spain even if in Spanish bring it for me, dear Emma, as I know Peter Addison would gladly translate it for me.

Reg points out to me that it is perhaps a little 'odd' dedicating my book on rev. to you because it is concerned with rev. in terms of State socialism, which he says would be anathema to any anarchist, and he feels that when you've read my book you'd not want it dedicated to you, even though it urges social evolution, gives the lives of many women anarchists, and says admiring things about yourself. Perhaps I should let you see it first before bottling the dedication? Or shall we make it clear in the dedication that it's dedicated to you as a revolutionary even though you cannot understand everything in the book? I'd be glad to hear your views on this something dear Emma.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 9, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] E[mma] G[oldman, St. Tropez] / Harry [Kelly]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25 Prospect Street,
New Rochelle, N.Y., U.S.A.,
September 9, 1937.

18294

Dear E.G.:

Your letter dated August 27 - which of course is a mistake - arrived Saturday, Sept. 4th as I was leaving for Stelton for the 22nd annual conference of the school. Yes, it is 22 1/2 years since we started the colony and ~~live~~ so many other things it is very far from what we hoped and dreamed for. When I reached there I found the conference had been postponed because of the illness of Elizabeth. I did not see her but Alexis told me she was a pretty sick woman and as she is close to 80 anything might happen.

Your letter should have been answered before this but my eyes bother me enough to make writing anything but a pleasure. During my attempts to make connections for Tish I got acquainted with one of the big eye specialists and went to him about my eyes. He made two examinations and said that my right eye is of practically no use that I have been seeing almost entirely with my left eye. There was nothing he could do but he advised me to have a physical examination which I did by Leah's brother Dr. Lowens. He said I was in better condition than last winter when he examined me and that my blood pressure was ~~low~~ a trifle low so that's that. However, I do find reading difficult and my eyes hurt a bit. Nuf said.

Judging from your letter it looks as if you do not expect to come here before Spring. I saw a news item in the paper a couple of days ago that Morris Ernst had returned from Europe but with the things you have in mind I am wondering if I should ask him to apply for that permit? What do you think?

Congress has adjourned and without passing that bill to give the Secretary of Labor more discretion in matters of deportation. However, I saw Sallito whom you will remember from the Sallito-Werero case at Stelton and he told me even if the bill did pass it would not touch political cases. I have a vague recollection of hearing that myself but Sallito has been following matters up because of his own case and as he has lived here for years, speaks English very well and is intelligent in the bargain I am afraid he is right. This will in no way interfere with you applying for a permit of entry and I will try and see Ernst and ask him about it.

The situation in Spain certainly looks bad although Abe Bluestein's letter sounds more hopeful than I had dared hope and my "prayers" are that he is right. According to an article by Herbert L. Mathews, Times Correspondent a day or two ago most of the arms and munitions come from Russia whereas I thought and hoped they came from France. Mathews has been very pro-loyalist so I am inclined to believe him but it is pretty terrible to have to depend on a tyranny as bad in its way as the Fascist one.

A note came to hand this morning from Marc Epstein asking me to speak at Morean next Tuesday at a Memorial Meeting for Vego one of the Spaniards who had been living there for six or seven years. He went over on that steamer from Mexico that was captured by the Rebels and he was shot so the poor fellow didn't even get a chance to reach Spain let alone do anything for our comrades.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 9, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] E[mma] G[oldman, St. Tropez] / Harry [Kelly]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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2

18298

I sent the copy of letter from Abe. Bluestein to Starrett as you requested. I owe Stella a letter for weeks but write very little as I told you. I see Fittie very seldom although I did see her on June 28th at a Memorial Meeting for Sasha. Pauline I see now and again as she comes to Mohegan in the summer but even her seldom. Yes, of course I will keep the matter between us.

My family are well although Leah has been upset this summer as her father was ill for a time and passed away some weeks ago. He was pretty old but old or not these things are always a shock. Elele and Nat are well and the grand daughter Jessica grows more lovely all the time. I may have told you and if not Wally has left the government service and is working as an organizer for the C.I.O. under Jake Baker trying to organize the government employees - there are 850,000 of them with about 550,000. potential members.

With love and all kinds of good wishes,

Affectionately,

Harry

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 10, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez] / [M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald]. — 7 p. ; 19 x 12 cm.

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18153



Sept 10, 1937

Dearest Emma -

Just have your letter from St Tropez. I can well imagine how painful your stay there must be. I do hope you can arrange a good sale for the little place. I hate to see it go out of your hands but since you cannot live there it is, of course, best to sell.

I arranged to have the plates of "Prison Memoirs" taken to the Freix Architects (over)

IN THE HEART OF THE THEATRE SECTION

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 10, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez] / [M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald]. — 7 p. ; 19 x 12 cm.

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18154
 Steins office. Kapp had
 them sent from Custom
 to Max Spiegel's printing
 place on 11 Barrow St.
 But they will be much
 safer in the Freiarbeiter
 Steins office as
 Spiegel is always going
 through financial
 difficulties & they might
 some how be attached
 with his own stuff &
 there would be trouble
 clearing the plates &
 getting them away.
 Therefore I wrote a
 letter to Freedman
 authorizing him to
 get them & take to his
 place.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 10, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez] / [M. Eleanor Fitzgerald]. — 7 p. ; 19 x 12 cm.

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18148



I have seen a couple
of publishers since
I got back from
my vacation about
bringing out a new
edition of the book.
but not very successful,
one was considering
it, but doubt if he will
do anything.

I have written to
Jeannette - told her where
the plates are - and asked
her to give me the name
of this representative she
knows if he is in my
IN THE HEART OF THE THEATRE SECTION (over)

The Emma Goldman Papers

870926048

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 10, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez] / [M. Eleanor Fitzgerald]. — 7 p. ; 19 x 12 cm.

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I'll see him at once. 18349
The comrade hasn't
raised a \$100 or so; may
be less toward a new
edition, but it doesn't
seem to be worked at
very hard. And at any
rate it will be so much
better to have the book
in the hands of a regular
publisher, where it can
be advertised, listed in
their catalogs, etc. Privately
printed books are sort
of buried, I think.

I'm enclosing Kaff's
letter to me Aug 11th. He
paid something around
\$60:- getting the plates over
here - this he wants
back whenever there are
any proceeds from sales.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 10, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez] / [M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald]. — 7 p. ; 19 x 12 cm.

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18150



which he is entitled to.

It does worry me to have you go back to Spain at this awful time. But I know where your heart is & you should do as you want & what brings you any peace. But I certainly hope you escape those murderous Communists!

I have attended 2 meetings about raising a fund for your Canadian trip. Van had your letter & read it last night

IN THE HEART OF THE THEATRE SECTION (over)

The Emma Goldman Papers

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It was decided to abide by
your request that no
"outsiders" be approached
for money. In writing
a few letters to close
friends & who could
not be considered
outsiders. Miss
Lawrence & Mrs
Spraker is doing the
same - so is Van.
The immediate F A S comrades
are raising money among
themselves - have about
\$500 so far. I think
\$500 ought to be raised quite
easily. which might give
you a little ease after reaching
Canada until you can
arrange lectures, etc for
yourself.
How soon I might
see you for a long
talk. — —

The Emma Goldman Papers

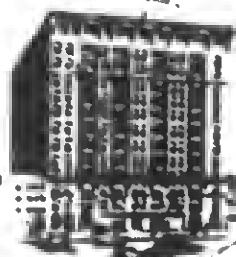
870926048

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18152

TELEPHONE BRANT 9 3000



UNDER KNOTT MANAGEMENT

Hotel Woodstock

41ST STREET NEAR BROADWAY - AT TIMES SQUARE
NEW YORK CITY

4
Take care of your self
Emma darling - I
hold you close in
my heart. Greetings
to Mollie & Sam.

Emmy is still a
great burden on your
shoulders.

It was nice seeing
our 2 brothers - but
had only 5 days there &
it was a long trip (2400 miles)
& was very tired when
I got back.

Much love always
Fitz

IN THE HEART OF THE THEATRE SECTION

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Sept. 10, London to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez] / E[thel Mannin]. —
2 p. ; 10 x 16 cm.

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Friday

I thought Trotsky's article was silly, and though I agree with him in many respects I've always thought he'd be no better than Stalin - even more militarist, in fact!

Dear Emma, I want to catch the post so must be very quick. I have yours of the 7th with the terribly disappointing news. I don't understand why you couldn't have got away from St. Tropez that night. I do hope to God you weren't held up from lack of money to hire a car if there were no trains. I do feel for you in this disappointment after disappointing. But writes me that a comrade has arrived in Paris that you may go with, but I don't know if his news is later than mine.

I wrote you to Nice, as per instructions in yr. previous letter, and when writing me the bad news you'd not have had that I hope you have it by now? I'm particularly like to know about the dedication of the book fairly soon, whether you can accept the dedication of a book which postulates state socialism, even though on a very different basis from that prevailing in Russia, but still mainly Marxist in principle. I reflect however that you supported Russia at the beginning, before the rev. developed into a bureaucracy so perhaps you will be able to accept this dedication - especially as it writes about so many fine anarchist women revolutionaries and quotes from you and is sympathetic to the anarchist ideal.

I was going to write you about Saxton's report on Spain. I was astonished at it. Three quarters of it taken up with personal

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16962

details. He could have stayed home ~~and~~ and written it.

We are determined now to come to yr villa in Oct. if it ^{is} still available for us then and see how we get on there.

I believe you will like my book, in spite of its advocating state socialism, Emma. I was thinking we could have an Author's Note, or something in the dedication itself, to explain why ~~my~~ book is nevertheless dedicated to E.G.

Barr sent me yr letters to Monica and to Fern to read. I ~~must~~ say as I wrote B I agree with you all along the line, and I think the letter to P. particularly fine; it ought to be printed in the New Leader! Bless you, my gallant Emma!

My love to you, dearest. I long for the wire to say you are off at last. I feel for you terribly. You must be most terribly overworked.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 11, Marseille [to Emma Goldman, St. Tropez] / I. da Camara Pires. — 1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C. E. C. I.

CENTRE D'EXPANSION COMMERCIALE INTERNATIONALE

SOCIÉTÉ À RESPONSABILITÉ LIMITÉE AU CAPITAL DE 25.000 FRANCS

BUREAUX : 40, LA CANEBIÈRE - MARSEILLE

TÉLÉPHONE : DRAGON 59-09

ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE : CECI-MARSEILLE

ALL CODES USED

R. C. MARSEILLE 123153

Marseille le 11 Septembre 1937

Chère camarade,

Je reçois bien ta lettre du 9. Tout ce qui t'est nécessaire pour ton départ sera arrangé par mes soins et tu n'as à t'inquiéter de rien.

Je retiendrai ton passage pour le mercredi 15. Le départ est à 4 heures du matin à la Canebière.

Si tu peux me faire savoir l'heure de ton arrivée en gare de Marseille, je te ferai un plaisir d'aller t'attendre. Sinon, tu me trouveras au bureau de 9 à midi et de deux à sept.

Je te signale que vu le peu de temps que tu comptes rester à Marseille, il sera indispensable que tu obtiennes où tu es le visa de voyage en E. sur ton passeport. Sinon, il faudrait prévoir pour l'obtenir ici, arriver à Marseille assez tôt mardi.

Toutes tes autres recommandations seront exécutées de mon mieux.

J'attends donc le plaisir de te voir bientôt et je t'envoie mes fraternelles amitiés.

for la camarade

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[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 11[-12] St. Tropez [to] Milly [and Rudolf Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.



C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

St Tropez Sept 11th
37.

TELEPHONE 1 FULHAM 6829

Dearest Milly. This is the last time I am writing from Bon Esprit. I have been here two weeks. But it seemed years because the agony of the dead past come to life has been too hard to bear. It has convinced me that I could never again find peace or joy in this place with Sasha gone. So what is the use of hanging on. True, I am forced to let it go for a song. Just 45,000 francs less than Steins lot and mine cost. Had I been able to close the deal four months ago for the same amount I would have rescued considerable more than now. But the unfortunate delay for the authorisation from Stein and the fall of the franc is cutting off a large slice of what I would have realized. Fortunately I was never held in bondage by material things. But I admit it hurts like hell to let Bon Esprit go and for good.

I had to decide about the sale because I am going to Spain. I leave for Marseille Tuesday and fly from there Wed. at 4 A.M. to Valencia. I could not be bound by Bon Esprit because I am not sure what will happen to me in the present Spain with Stalins gangsters in control. Better to have the cash in case money should be needed to get me out of Spain. One has to be prepared, my dears.

I am inclosing a copy of a letter I wrote Mollie in answer to hers. It is at the same time a sort of ~~statement~~ statement that ~~might~~ might be published in case of necessity. I don't want any publicity otherwise. Really, Milly darling, Rudolf my dear you need not worry. It is not likely the Negrin Stalin gang will let me remain in Spain long. And I will be safe for a short period. I have no intention of putting my neck in the paws of the satraps of Stalin so I will take care. Besides, a British passport and being a woman have some advantage don't you think?

As you write so seldom it will not matter to you if we have to give up correspondence for a while. I hope I shall be able to keep Mollie informed and she in return will send messages to Stella and you and a few more. Just as soon as I am out from Spain I will of course let you know.

I am so sorry that I will not see your work before I return. Is it out and has it had a good reception? I am very keen on knowing yet will have to wait because the censorship now is paralyzing. And what about the work on Anarcho-Syndicalism. Are you making progress and are you in touch with Warburg? I only add a line on Monday before mailing this letter. Love to both of you and also to the kids. If you see Harry Kelly let him read this letter or any other.

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E.A.F.

T.E.A.

T.N.C.

comrade. I have no time to write separately.

Sunday. I had a beautiful letter from you. The carriage of the 6 N. 12 & 13 stations in Marseille that my trip by plane is all arranged and that it will be met by comrades in Valencia while I am going west. I will be in good hands so there is no cause to worry.

It occurred to me that if you should want to reach me as you could write in French or Spanish you might send the letter to Rosa 55 Avenue George Washington. He will see that I get it. But use double envelope. 6



The Emma Goldman Papers

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This is only for you my dear

St Tropez Sept 11th 37.

Roc

Dearest Mollitchka, darling confusion. I waited to answer your letter in the hope I would have definite word from Rosa or the comrades in Marseille about my journey. I did have a letter Sunday from Rosa saying that Herrera had arrived and that he would take me back with him the end of this week. I should get ready. You can imagine my joy that I would be able to make the trip in such good and faithful company. I had made all arrangements to go back to Nice Thursday because Sonora had insisted she would take me to Marseille whenever necessary. But it seems to be my fate never to have anything go smoothly. First of all I received a wire from Rosa ~~last night~~ at 7.0/0 last evening to get to Marseille this morning where Herrera will be waiting for me. It reminded me of the news I had from Nice at 5.30 A.M. to rush to Sasha. Evidently people do not realize that after 7.0/0 one cannot even send a wire from here let alone get out by train or bus. If at least Rosa had stated the time of departure of the avion this morning I might have reached Marseille by leaving St Tropez on the first bus for St Raphael at 5.30 A.M., then catch the first train to Marseille. But he did not specify the time and I dared not risk arriving in Marseille after the plane had departed. I tell you I was sick to lose the chance to go with Herrera. He would have saved me trouble and anxiety. I have wired Herrera begging him to let me know if he can wait until tomorrow. I expect a wire back. If he does I will leave for Marseille with the last train to night. But I have little hope he will. I have also wired Rosa to get after the comrades in Marseille to make the final arrangements ~~which~~ for me.

This shock not being enough I had another from Sonora. As I wrote you it was she who insisted on her bringing me to Marseille - she even prevailed upon me to leave all my clothes in Nice because she would bring me back there. This morning I got a heart letter saying that her friend Louisa had unexpectedly been called to Spain *Uroce* and she is going with him. She will be back the 15th. But I should go to Nice make myself at home in her Apt and all my clothes will be ready for me. Some disappointment, eh? Of course there is no object my going to Nice merely to pick up my clothes. I can go to Spain with whatever I took with me here, or send Sonia to Nice for the things. I am therefore going to hang on here until I have word from Rosa to go to Marseille for my departure ~~with~~ with Avion. But isn't it funny how things do conspire every time I have to carry out some plan?

No end of trouble about the sale of Bon Esprit. The man who wanted to buy it at a loss of 45,000 francs would not wait any longer. The agent insists it is not his fault and that I must pay him two thousand francs if some other agent sells Bon Esprit. If he finds another buyer I will not have to pay him more than the original five percent. The trouble is the summer is gone and people are fast leaving St Tropez. There is little hope that a buyer will still be found this summer. Such are the consequences if an Anarchist owns property. ~~It~~ *It* ~~is~~ *is* ~~not~~ *not* ~~right~~ *right*, eh? As you know I have never been bound by material considerations, nor will I this time. Some day Bon Esprit will ~~be~~ *be* ~~sold~~ *be* ~~and~~ *and* I could not live here ~~though~~ *though* the place is ~~so~~ *so* ~~fascinating~~ *fascinating*. But the memories are too strong and they give me ~~no~~ *no* ~~peace~~ *peace*. So why hang on to the place?

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Roc

Your contention that there is something wrong with Anarchism because Kropotkin failed our cause in the war, and because the leading comrades in Spain failed Anarchism seem to be very faulty reasoning. In the first place, the failure of one or several individuals can never take away from the depth and truth of an ideal. In the second place, Anarchism in Spain far from having failed has actually proven consistent and realizable. I have in mind the constructive work begun by our comrades which was the greatest achievement in any revolution any period. By their constructive efforts the CNT-FAI have demonstrated to the whole world that Anarchism is not only a theory, a wild irresponsible fancy, a destructive force. But that it applies to life and the innermost needs of the people. If the Spanish revolution had given no other proof for its justification this one fact should convince those at all capable of thinking that Anarchism is a practice ~~theory~~ theory of a new social order. Even if the CNT-FAI have actually lost all ground, ^{Comrades} ~~their grand efforts destroyed~~ ^{which I do not} believe for a moment, ^{they will} still have given a splendid example of the work done in the face of war and Revolution.

You may suggest the price was too high. And you may ask why the Spanish comrades had learned so little from the Russian Revolution to permit Stalins gangsters to rob them of the fruit of their wonderful beginning? Well, while it is extremely painful to admit it even to ourselves we yet have to look facts in the face. And they are that neither the people en masse or the individual ever learn anything from the experience of another. We rarely learn from our own experience. If we did we would not go on repeating the same blunder all our lives. But we certainly never learn from the experience of others. Why then be surprised if the Spanish comrades have not

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Roc

learned much from the Russian revolution. Besides it is not true that they have learned nothing. In point of fact they went much further than the Russian revolution. They did what was badly neglected in the Russian revolution. They immediately proceeded to construct whereas in Russia everybody, including the Anarchists did nothing but destroy. I do not mean this to detract from the part played by our Russian comrades. I mean it only as a historic fact. Another important point by no means of small importance is also the fact that our comrades in Russia were never at any time surrounded by so many diverse political enemies to be forced to decide whether or not they should align themselves with them. And yet many of our best comrades justified the alignment with the Bolsheviks and defended them until the Kronstast massacre.

You will ask if that means that I justify the alignment of our comrades with their political enemies? ^{in truth} Of course not. Truth to tell I opposed it from the very beginning when you and Sena~~u~~ asked "what should our comrades have done"? You speak of taking a stand. I have done that, dearest Mollitchka, in my article WHERE I STAND. I have specifically stated that I stand to day where I always have. That I am just as opposed to Anarchist participation in any government whatever its tendency, and every political party whatever its pretense. But while I stand firmly on my life long ground I refuse to join in the condemnation of our comrades, because as I have already stated, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ we none of us learn from the experience of others. Whatever the price our comrades are paying in Spain they evidently had to have their own, they had to act according to their own lights and not according to ours. However I am not so sure that we in their place would have done any more

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Don't you agree that there is a large amount of vanity in everyone of us to think that we would have acted otherwise? We ~~may~~ insist on our superior knowledge and understanding ~~of the human condition~~ ^{and independent of the human condition} ~~in private life~~ ^{in public life} large social issues? We ~~are~~ ^{are} never willing to admit that we actually do not know how we would act were we in the place of those we so readily hold up ~~for~~ ^{on} scorn and condemnation. The older I grow the ~~stronger~~ ^{stronger} I become that it is extremely difficult to decide a mode of action for either ourselves ^{until a given emergency arises} or others. All we can really be sure of is that we mean to try honestly to act in keeping with our ideas and our faith.

However, there is something else. Something I have been thinking about very deeply since the May events in Spain. It is whether we Anarchists have not taken the wish for the thought. Whether we have not been too optimistic in our belief that Anarchism had taken root in the masses? ~~The facts since the war, the Revolution in Russia and Spain have demonstrated~~ and the utter failure of the masses to stand up against the annihilation in all countries of every vestige of liberty have convinced me that Anarchism even less than any other social ideas has ~~not~~ penetrated the minds and hearts of even a substantial minority, let alone the compact mass. Actually, there is no Anarchist movement anywhere in the world. What we have got is so insignificant, so piffling it is ridiculous to speak of an Anarchist organized movement. In other words, everywhere the soil for our ideas has proved sterile. In Spain alone has the ground ^{more} ~~be~~ fertile. ~~and demonstrates that even in Spain the masses have not taken the necessary steps to build a new society~~

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Roc

and the most promising ~~young, tender plants~~ ~~will be subjected to~~ the storm and stress, the drought and winds. We admit all this in nature. But we were not willing to admit these forces in that beset the social growth. My dears, my dears, think of it, in a country in the grips of Feudalism and the Church almost to the moment of July 19th we Anarchists imagined our ideas can be realized in one jump, ~~rise from~~ rise from the depths of enslavement and degradation to the very heights of full filment, come to full fruition from the hard ranks of the past of *in* Spain. It was our mistake and we are now paying for it in the agony of ~~our bitter disappointment~~ our bitter disappointment.

I don't know whether you ever read Wm. Marion Reedy's beautiful tribute to me which he called "A DAUGHTER OF A DREAM". He said "there is only one thing the matter with Anarchism and Emma Goldman, they are five thousand years ahead of their time". I was furious with Reedy for that. And I still am. And yet what he said contained ~~some truth~~ some truth. This has been borne in on me the last twenty years and even more forcibly since the Spanish events in May. Anarchism is still very much ahead of its time. And I am convinced it will take more than one revolution before our ideas will come to full ~~realization~~ ^{glorification}. Untill^{then} the steps will be feeble, ~~our ideas no doubt fall from the heights many times and many will be the mistakes our comrades are bound to make.~~

Does ~~not~~ ^{that} mean I have lost faith in Anarchism, or that I think we ought to sit hands folded? Of course not. In point of truth I think now more than ever we must ~~bring our ideas before the world~~ ^{the cause} to bring our ideas before the world. Now more than ever, we have

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we have the living proof for our claims that nothing can be gained from any association with governments or political parties. Now we also have the living proof that it is possible to build amidst destruction, amidst war and revolution, that the Anarchists have been the only ones to begin such gigantic work. However, the Spanish revolution will end ~~but~~ it has already give us marvelous material to enhance the logic of our ideas. And it should also give us greater courage to go on ~~and on~~ ^{as} so long there is a breath of life in us.

Moreover, what ever the fault and shortcomings of our Spanish comrades, they alone and non other in any country have created a ~~man~~ a strongly orgnaized Anarchist body and movement that cannot but leave a lasting mark on future events. I feel, therefore, that though I cannot and will not recogile myself to the compromises of the few comrades I will not raise my hand against them so long as the hand of the whole world is raised against them ready to choke the life out of our people. If that is treason against what I have ~~taught~~ taught you as Senia said, I am willing to be thus branded. But I am not willing to join the ~~head~~ ^{herd} of all the wild beasts in and outside Spain who are ready to devour our ~~people~~ people.

My going to Spain is not so much for the purpose of gathering proofs for the blunder of our people during the events of May. I have enough proof for that. It is more to get at the rank and file. To find out whether COMUNISMO LIBERTARIA still ~~has~~ ^{is} the same fiery inspiration as it ~~was~~ ^{was} last year. Every workers and peasant I spoke with had assured me it is in their blood for four generations. If this is still the case then the May events would not possibly have ~~created~~ ^{created} this ~~secret~~ ^{secret} ~~idea~~ ^{idea} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~air~~ ^{air} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~people~~ ^{people} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~Spain~~ ^{Spain} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~rest~~ ^{rest} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~world~~ ^{world} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~same~~ ^{same} ~~idea~~ ^{idea} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~air~~ ^{air} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~people~~ ^{people} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~Spain~~ ^{Spain} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~rest~~ ^{rest} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~world~~ ^{world} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~same~~ ^{same} ~~idea~~ ^{idea} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~air~~ ^{air} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~people~~ ^{people} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~Spain~~ ^{Spain} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~rest~~ ^{rest} ~~of~~ ^{of} 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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Sept. 11-12, St. Tropez to Milly and Rudolf Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 7 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Roc

It is as I have said before, that even in Spain anarchism was almost killed and that, therefore, it could not survive the onslaught of war and all the evil forces arrayed against it. But even in Spain anarchism must go through a process of gestation to gain strength and sustenance for the battle which is still to come.

Thank you my dears in your concern in my ~~well-being~~ well-fare. I know I am going into the cage of ferocious beasts. And while I have no desire to end my life through them I cannot stop at the consideration that risk and danger are awaiting me. Life itself is full of risks and danger, especially the life of those who have declared war on all sham, on all falsehood and the whole criminal social fabric. I must therefore go. There is however one thing I want you and all my comrades to know that my thoughts are concentrated a great deal more on whether I will be strong enough to face our enemies with head erect and with iron will to remain true to my last breath than on the dangers ~~now~~ awaiting me. For as I already stated: no one can really be quite sure how he will act until the emergency arrives. Still, I feel that there is no force that ~~would~~ ^{could} squeeze ~~me~~ ^{me} "confessions" out of me, make me "retract" my ideas, or govel in the dust to save my life. Whatever charges the sadistic Moscow gang in Spain will ~~bring~~ ^{make} against me to besmirch my revolutionary integrity you will know there is no truth in anything. That I will die as I lived with my burning faith in the ultimate triumph of our ideal.

Emma Goldman
Cordell de la Cruz. This is further
typing of the letter as used for
publication. You will please
delete this.

1937
Sept 12
Milly
Rocker

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 12, St. Tropez [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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St Tropez Sept 12th 37

Dearest Ethel,

This will be the last letter I will ever write from St Tropez. Yes, darling I have consented to let my place go. The reasons are many not the least that I feel I can not be tied by property any more now that I am leaving for Spain Wed. at 4 A.M. Everything is so hazardous there it is ridiculous to leave material holdings behind. But aside of that there is the fact I must face that I could never, never find peace or joy in the place Sasha had loved passionately. So why hang on? ~~True~~ condition in France may change and the price of property go up. But I cannot ~~mix~~ speculate on that. Everything in the world to day is so menacing, so critical. How can one speculate? When I wrote you last I did not know the old buyer who had offered 75,000 francs was still willing to stick by it. I learned of his willingness only Friday. He is coming here this Thursday to close the deal. So I said yes. the price is ridiculously inadequate, about forty five thousand francs less than its cost. But it cannot be helped. My one regret is that you and Reg will not have a chance anymore to enjoy Bon Esprit. I should feel very much worse than I do dearest Ethel if I did not fear that Reg ~~will~~ could not have stood the climate in St Tropez. Last day the mistral and all night the rain began. I thought of you and Reg in Bon Esprit and I dreaded the effect of the weather on Reg. True it is lovely again to day and may continue for some time. But from now on it is not at all certain. Still, I should have been delighted to know you and Reg in my place of which everything would have spoken to you of the ecstatic joy I had tasted and also of the sorrow and pain.

Since this will reach you Thursday there is no need to ~~worry~~ you though I may do so Tuesday from Marseille. I leave here Thursday morning and from Marseille Wed at 4 P.M. Yes it was very unfortunate that I could not have gone with my splendid comrade Ferrera. I thought of a car to get out of St Tropez last Tuesday. There was another hitch, I left all my ~~warm~~ clothing in Nice, and not knowing how long I will be permitted to remain in Spain, whether in freedom or in prison I could not venture on this trip in my thin summer frock without a warm wrap. It may seem ridiculous to stop at such things. That is just it life is made up of the sublime and the ridiculous as well. It is alright dearest. I had a lovely letter from the comrade in Marseille who has arranged for my trip by plane. Everything is ready for me and I will be met at the other end. So please do not worry.

Sure my dearest you may dedicate your book on Women Revolutionists to me. Your political idea has nothing to do with me especially as you are primarily the writer and my friend. You can if you wish to have an explanatory note. But as far as I am concerned it does not matter one way or another. I confess I am opposed to every school of the Marxian tendency. I cannot see how anyone who has seen its workings in every country and who loves freedom can still be a Marxian. Whatever the intentions of the best followers of Marx they must invariably deteriorate to the dictatorship and bigotry in relation to everyone who refuses to abide by their catechism. But as long as they are not yet in power I think they should have

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their freedom to go on. In your case there is the additional fact that you are not really political though you are very much socially aware. Besides, I love you for your spirit, for your generous feeling and for your friendship. So how could I object to your dedication to me. Go ahead my dearest.

At last I had a letter from Sonia, the first since I left England. She still hangs on the fact that it would be a pity to lose the chance of getting the inflammable film before the miners. I am going to write her again tomorrow to tell her for the last time that nothing can be altered in the narrative of the film. I don't care if it is to be ~~an~~ Englishized, that does not bother me though even that cannot be done without Francis's consent. I think I told you I have written him. He will no doubt reply to Ralph. If he consents, alright. But he will hardly consent to a change in the narrative itself. In any event our small film must remain as it is. I am writing Sonia again and for the last time to this effect.

Dearest I am inclosing a copy of a letter I wrote to my very dear friend and comrade Mollie Alperine in answer to a letter from her. It is at the same time my last statement that is to be published in case anything serious happens to me. You will see that I am quite frank about the state of the Anarchist movement in the world. But no one should get the impression that I consider Anarchism an impossible ideal. I have explained that too. I do not want the letter made public unless, as I said something does happen to me. Ordinarily I would not send you a copy since my attitude really concerns only my own comrades who share my ideas. But you have entered my life very deeply indeed, more than I had thought possible any English human being could. I feel you very close as a friend and that is often more important than a comrade. That's why I am sending you the inclosed. Of course Reg can read it. But no one else, please unless it is necessary I should be heard to counteract the lies and columnies the Stalin gang will spread about me.

A friend is going to Nice tomorrow to get my things, she will also collect my mail. No use writing me until I am in Spain and find out whether letters will reach me. But for your information I wish to say that you had better write me c/o Mollie Alperine 23, rue des Volontaires Paris XV. She will get my letters to our Spanish comrade Xoca who may have a way of getting them to me. In any event there must be nothing political in the letters to me. You should however write me to say where you will be during Oct.

My dear I am afraid I have put my foot in as they say in America. It seems that both Sonia and Fenner had decided after the private Show of the film to ask Monica Whateley to make the appeal Sept. 23rd. That was of course before I knew it and asked you. True Monica is a splendid speaker I heard her, and her appeal is strong. I wanted you because I know that your revolutionary fiber is stronger and your feeling for our heroic people in Spain far more intense. But I know that if Fenner and Sonia insist on the change you are too big to mind. You understand don't you darling? Or do you think I am ~~compromising~~ compromising? I hope not, I certainly will not budge one iota from my stand on the film, nor even my suggestion of you as the one to make

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Neither would I budge from the suggestion that you should make the appeal if I thought it would hurt you or hurt the result of the appeal. It is only that I will not be present and I have no time any more to wrangle with Sonia or Jenner that I am not adamant on this issue.

Thank you my sweet Ethel for all your love and thoughtfulness and your comradeship. Naturally I will write you the ~~next~~ moment I come out of Spain. I hope nothing will happen except that the damned Stalin-Berlin gang may not let me remain long enough to achieve what I am going to Spain for. Well, we will see. There is no use at all in worrying. One must meet every emergency as it comes.

I take you in my arms with devoted love.

Affectionate and true to you.

Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 12, St. Tropez [to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

xxxxxxxxxxxxxx St Tropez Var Sent
London 12.37

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Honorary Sect

Dear Roger. It is a long time since your letter of June 18th reached me. I was still in London then laid up with a badly injured knee. I have been in Paris since and have come here for a few weeks. It was a trying visit with the memories of the dead past come to life to haunt one. I am trying to dispose of my place. I knew it will never again be joy to live here. So why hang on?

The reason I did not write you sooner was that I did not want to bother you about my chances of getting into the States. Your last letter was too discouraging. Not that I blamed you. I could see from the situation in America that you could do nothing with the best of will. So there was no use worrying you about some thing you could not accomplish. However, my dogged perseverance never permits me to give up any plan or decision. I still hope to get to Canada, and I still believe you will make an attempt with the help of others when I am nearer than now. But that will have to wait. For the present I am going to another place.

Yes, dear Roger I am going to Spain. I will fly from Marseille this Wed. It will not be the same Spain of a year ago when all doors were open to me and all those who wanted to come. When my comrades were naïf enough to take everybody to their bosom including your friends the Communists. Little did they dream to what depths of political depravity Stalin and his satraps can and will go. Being innocent of spirit and heart themselves as the Spanish Anarchist are they never dreamed that Stalin's help could be other than motivated by solidarity and comradeship. They are paying dearly for their trust and their faith. Spain to day is Stalin's stronghold and those of us who go there take their lives in their hands. I am well aware of the danger and the risk awaiting me. Yet I must go. I must see at first hand what has happened in the May events and why. I must convince myself whether the spirit of the Spanish people so aflame with "Communismo Libertaria" has been broken or merely dampened for a time. As for the loss of strategic position of the CNT-FAI

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With my old friendship in spite of the fact that the gulf in Russia is growing wider between us.

just received your letter of the
 25th at long with copy of Map
 Michsams. inclosed. The latter
 sounds wry. Still I will
 urge notice to water deer and
 Map Rocked. Could you
 not type a copy & send it in

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[Letter] 1937 Sept. 12, Oak Park, Ill. [to] Emma Goldman, St. Tropez / Charles H[enry] Mitchell. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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819 Lake Street
Oak Park, Illinois
September 12, 1937

Miss Emma Goldman
Saint Tropez, Var
France

Dear Miss Goldman:

I am gathering material for a historical narrative of the assassination of McKinley in 1901, with special reference to the assassin, Leon F. Czolgosz. There are some discrepancies in the material which I have so far gathered, which I am attempting to straighten out by getting in touch with the persons who were involved, in one way or another, in the case. Ben Reitman has suggested that I write you in regard to one aspect that has been puzzling me.

In the Chicago Daily News of September 20, 1901, there was published an article reputedly based upon an interview with you. I quote the summary of this article from my notes:

Evening of July 12. Czolgosz called at Isaak's house and asked to see Isaak. E.G. and Miss Isaak were just ready to leave for Rook Island depot, where Isaak (who had taken supper with friends) was to meet them. E.G. invited C. to come to the depot with them. C. said little and E.G. did not know his name. At the depot Isaak was waiting and E.G. referred C. to him. E.G. did not ask his name and never saw him again.

In the Chicago Daily News of September 10, 1901, there was published an article reputedly based upon an interview with Hippolyte Havel. I quote excerpts of the article from my notes:

Czolgosz came to 515 Carroll Avenue at the time when both Mr. Isaak and Miss Goldman were not at home. He inquired for me and said that he read my name in one of the numbers of Free Society. He came to me and asked questions about the movement, but he was only two or three minutes in the house with me when we went together to the Ashland Avenue station of the Lake Street elevated road. It was there he saw Miss Goldman for the first time. She never had anything to do with him before that. She asked me, "Who is this man?" and I told her, "He says he is a comrade from Cleveland and came to see the comrades here." Miss Goldman did not speak to him at all only before we came to the Lake Shore Station

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Miss Emma Goldman

-2-

September 12, 1937



she asked him, "You are from Cleveland?" and he said, "Yes."

At the Lake Shore Station Comrade Abraham Isaak came to bid good-bye to Miss Goldman and I then introduced the man to Comrade Isaak as a comrade from Cleveland. I didn't speak much to the man, and I did not see him afterward. . . . On the following day I heard the man left the city without saying good-bye to any comrade. . . .

Perhaps I should explain at the outset that I am not trying to find any hidden plots or bombs or revolvers in anything I ask you. Essentially I am quite satisfied with Csolgoss's statement that he alone did the deed. The point of difference in these two versions which troubles me most is in the different characters. Did Havel go to the station, or did Miss Isaak? It is not a matter of any great consequence, of course, but I should like to settle the point so as to have the facts for that part of the narrative as true as possible.

Any other additional information you might have to offer in regard to the Csolgoss case would be helpful. I have, of course, read everything you have written on the subject, and I think that my general standpoint agrees pretty well with yours. I am not an anarchist, of course, but I believe that Csolgoss was a very remarkable personality, that he was a man possessed of many very fine qualities and of truly remarkable courage, and that the whole story of the assassination, with him as the central figure, not McKinley, will show that there was another side to the case about which very little has been told. My approach is toward Csolgoss as an individual, of course, and the spotlight will be trained pretty much upon him.

I should also like to have you read those chapters of the manuscript which deal with you and with the other anarchists in Chicago, before I send it to the publisher, if you will.

Yours sincerely,

Charles H. Mitchell

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 13, St. Tropez [to] Emmy [Eckstein, Paris] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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much of hope of
will be put
a success

17984

xxxxxx St Tropez Sept.13.37

24
Dear Emmy. If I had not known all these years that your mind is sick and your obsessions, your morbid fantasies and imaginings the result of it I would have made an end of our correspondence and our personal contacts, for no one in all my life has so ~~bitten~~ my patience to the breaking point as you have. It was only Sasha who could endure your crazy notions for ~~fourteen~~ ~~years~~ ~~for~~ fourteen years and even he as you told me yourself had to grab you by the throat to shut you up. But I know you are sick, your hysteria seems to be growing which is sad indeed. So how can I be angry or drive you out of my life and my thoughts? Your recent charge that I had "raised your glass in the presents of other" and had told ~~you~~ you ~~will~~ have fifty dollars" is as true as every thing else you say. Fact is I don't know what you are driving it. Is it that I disappointed you about the fifty dollars a month? I have tried hard to beg for you, I have written dozens of letters to the comrades, to Modest, to everybody I could think of. If not all have responded it is because they considered the tragedy of a whole people of hundreds of thousands destitute and starving children more important than you. But then, that means nothing to you. You are so self centered and so consumed with your own petty tragedies you never care how others live, much less do you care for suffering humanity. Anyhow I don't know what you are driving it in re my offense in Venice. Oh, yes, Michael Cohn. You are ridiculous to name him as a witness after ~~blackening~~ blackening his character. Well, you might as well know that I had to give Michael a police of my mind because he upbraided me for having deceived him about you. "you knew her hysteria for fourteen years yet you tried to impose her on me" he wrote me. Oh, Emmy, Emmy I do not need to tell my friends what you are. A few days with you and they find it out themselves. After all, they are not fools. You go through life fooling yourself and you think you fool others. But no one is deceived, not even your so called friends.

You upbraide me because I talk to my friends about you. One who sits in a glasshouse should not throw stones about you. You who had the nerve to tell my friends that I have never done anything for you. That you took me into your flat in Nice and paid for me even taking me to expensive restaurants, that you would rather do the hardest work than live with me. And heaven only knows what else. Surely you should be the last person to complain about my talking to my friends. him

My letter to Stella, if you had any self respect you would not

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17985

never have referred to that letter. You would have been ashamed to have dug into my correspondence. But here again it is your hysteria, your morbid curiosity, your mad jealousy that made you do it. However it is not that which worried me it is your cruelty of sticking the copy of my letter into poor Sasha's face who had just come out of the hospital. Yes, my dear I admit I wrote your love is a double edged sword. How else could you have tortured Sasha while still in the hospital with ever nonsense that passed between us. I implored you not to go to him with a long face and carry your childish grievances to him. But you did it of course and poor suffering Sasha had to ask me "what is the matter with Emmy"? Yes, you were devoted, you brought all kinds of fancy things to eat but you harassed his spirit at the same time. Well that is gone and there is no use to repeat Sasha's tragedy. Only do not try to do the same to me. You keep assuring me of your love of wanting to be to me "like a daughter". If you had the slightest regard for me you would not dig into my vitals, complain forever of how badly I have treated you. You would not try to poison my memory of Sasha as you have tried and failed to poison his friendship and comradeship for me. My dear I knew Sasha and nothing you can say will make me believe that he was a hypocrite and a liar. That he told you one thing and me another. That he told you he will not have me any more or that he did not want to go to St Tropez for the 27th. You seem to have forgotten that you told me on the 27th Sasha had taken more care than ever about his dressing. "It is Emma's birthday" he told you. And why do you suppose he dragged himself down the elevator to phone me to St Tropez? It was to assure me how sorry he was he could not be with me on the day when we had always been together if we were within each others reach. Would Sasha ever have said such a thing if he did not feel it? Well, you might stand on your head to prove this to me. I never have and never could believe such preposterous tales. But aside of what Sasha said, if you really felt even part of this love you write me about you would have had tact enough not to write me all this to St Tropez knowing as you must how miserable I must feel in this place. This place that Sasha so adored and you so hated that you could never rest until you dragged him back just when he felt at peace with his surrounding. Yes, my dear your love is a double edged sword. I repeat what I have written to Stella.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Are you so blind to your self that you imagine yourself perfect that no one must say anything to the contrary? Stella is my child, we never had any hidden thoughts between us. What crime was it to write her my impressions. That I embraced you none the less was that I have always considered you irresponsible and really mentally sick, hence could not be angry with you for long

Well, it is enough. I am leaving for Spain, in fact will be there I hope when this reaches you. Thank goodness there will be no way of continuing our correspondence. Besides I do not want you to ever write me again unless you can pull yourself together and write sensibly. It is really time Emmy, you will soon be 37 I believe it is time to grow up. I don't know when or if I will get out of Spain. I will never cease to be interested in your fate or be of help as far as it is in my power. But my life is too uncertain, too hectic, ever in danger to be pestered by your complaints and accusations. Think what effect you like of me. But don't touch my beautiful memories of Sasha, don't make him appear double faced. You will never, never get me to believe this of him.

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 14, Pittsburgh, Pa. [to] Emma Goldman, [St. Tropez] / Melville Kress. — 1 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18129

Neville Island,
Pittsburgh, Pa. U.S.A.

Sept. 14, 1937.

Dear comrade Emma Goldman:

I read in Dr. William J. Robinson's books that Peter Kropotkin was opposed to birth control. I cannot figure for the life of me why Kropotkin did not assume the same attitude on birth control as you do. Can you explain this seeming contradiction? Why would our great teacher, Kropotkin, be so narrow on this score?

I have been gathering material for a biography of Kropotkin and your answer to my query would be appreciated.

I took the trouble to ask the late James Harvey Robinson what his opinion of Kropotkin's Great French Revolution was, and he replied that he did not know Kropotkin had written a history of the French Revolution. I wrote Charles A. Beard for his opinion but received no answer. Do you know anything about the standing of our comrade's historical work on the Continent?

~~XXXX~~ I have just finished your "Living My Life" which is the first work of yours which I have read. No, that's wrong, as I read your books on your disillusionment in Russia. At any rate, let me say without the least bit of flattery that your autobiography is the greatest life story of a contemporary that I have read. I wonder what Frank Harris would say about it were he still alive. Congratulations, Emma Goldman! I was late in getting to your book, but at last I made it—and what a treat!

Fraternally,

Melville Kress,

Melville Kress

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001188

[Letter] 193[7] Sept. 15, Haarlem, The Netherlands [to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez]
/ Wim Jong. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

DE WAPENS NEDER

19726

MAANDORGAAN VAN DE INTERN. ANTI-MILITARISTISCHE VERENIGING IN NEDERLAND

ADRES VAN DE REDACTIE:
WIM JONG
HEEMSTEDE
TELEFOON No. 29262

Orchideeenlaan 23

Haarlem, sept. 15th

193

Dear comrades "m.s.",

I am so glad to hear that you have found the possibility to go to Spain. I fully understand what this must mean to you after the loss you have suffered and after those long years of forced inactivity.

We too are following the struggle in Spain with the utmost interest, and we must say the Spanish comrades are keeping us informed to the point of their ability.

Our interest is not wholly without anxiousness.

You know that we always have held that a military defence of the revolution must lead to a similar development as that in Russia, though this may be avoided only after years.

One of our main points of propaganda has always been that no worker should accept work in munition-factories or in any industry serving war purposes.

We held that in case of a revolution or of a war all munition factories ought to be destroyed with their stocks. De Jong and Muller Lehning defended this view on the League congress of the IWWA, and later on in a discussion in our press service. The discussion was to be continued first on the Madrid congress and when there was no time there, on the last congress in Paris. Muller L. in the meantime, during his stay in Spain had abandoned his former opinion, but ~~Maxime~~ de Jong defended our theses there, but they were turned down. Still, they

were generally accepted by the Dutch movement. Now the Spanish comrades in asking for arms and in calling upon the workers of west-europe to produce arms and munition to the best of their capacity to be sent to Spain, have put our movement in a difficult position. The syndicalists and also Albert de Jong have taken the view that under the present circumstances the Spanish must be provided with arms, the anti-militarist union however, and I too, have voted a resolution morally and financially to support Spain, but not to give money for arms or to help in sending arms.

We base our view on our faith in the revolutionary sentiment of Spain. If ever, Spain is in a position to defeat fascism by non violent means: passive resistance, economic action. The Spaniards are using these methods, but their call for arms shows that they rely on armed force for their victory over fascism. If therefore Spain should not be able to win, though the inferior in military means, what would be the chance for our defence against a fascist attack. We are so much weaker, that if the thing is not practicable in Spain, it would be madness here. But for all these years we have condemned those socialists who wanted to organise

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 193[7] Sept. 15, Haarlem, The Netherlands [to] Emma [Goldman, St. Tropez]
/ Wim Jong. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

*I on occasion of a manifesto, our Flemish and
French-Belgian friends (Compan, Doy) inspire
against the Brussels Peace Congress and
against armed national defence.* 19727

a defence against an invasion of Hitler. "We have said: if we can defeat our own militarism by our methods then we can defeat Hitler too, without using military methods, without organising armed resistance. The same view prevails in Flanders, Bertoni just now wrote against it in the Geneva review. You see the difficulties. Either we have to change ~~our~~ views, on armed defence against fascism, we have propagated for the last fifteen years, or ... we must base our hope for a victory of our Spanish friends on our faith in their capacity for moral and economic resistance, not on their military supremacy. I have nothing against changing a view, adapting it to altered circumstances, but I strongly refuse, and so does the committee of our antimil. union, to be led to a conduct, wholly opposed to our previous propaganda, by a ~~gulf~~ a wave of revolutionary enthusiasm and solidarity. That is what the communists have done after 17. If we accept sending arms to Spain, this must be done in the full conscience of the consequences for our propaganda here, and this propaganda here must then be changed to ~~it~~ we will have to recognise that those who have held that we cannot keep Hitler out with an egg spoon, but must have tanks and air planes and all the rest to do it. At least we must recognise that the communist and trotskyists were right in saying: your slogan must not be: down with arms, but here the arms.

The Solidaridad Obrera and other Spanish anarchist publication have, to a certain extent allowed propaganda for a forced mobilisation in the militias. And those who turned down this proposition in the columns of the same papers, wanted to model the militia on the groupes de combat of the French army, that is on the principle that for a long time have been those of the younger officers both in the Reichswehr and the British army. Of course we know that these principles are easier to reconcile with anarchist ideology than f.i. Prussian militarism in its older form, but when the communists eulogised the comradeship in the Red army, we have called it militarism never the less.

I must end, I hope that your experience in Spain, will help us, here in those countries, where antimilitarist propaganda for years has been in the centre of all activity, to decide either way. You opposed conscription in USA and in Russia, I hope you will be spared the necessity to pronounce yourself on the same issue in Spain. I hope the Spanish people will avoid the dangers of militarisation of the revolution: it will show that our cause can triumph even when inferior in armed force. yours fraternally, with the very best wishes

Wim Jong

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Receipt] 1937 Sept. 17 [Valencia, Spain to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / [Mariano R. Vázquez]. — 1 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

17 th September 1937

Ms. Colton

Honorary Secretary

Committee for homeless Spanish
Women and Childrens

18 Castletown Street
L O N D O N

Received twohundred and one Pounds, nine Shillings and four pence (201 - 9 - 4) for the Aid of our homeless Women and childrens. This amount represents the profit of the concert in Victoria Palace april 25 th 1937 which we have turned over to our Aid Section of the victims of Fascism.

The Generaly Secretary

Hemos revibdo 201 libras 9 S hallings y 4 pens para ayuda de nuestras niños y mujeres. Esta cantidad representa el beneficio de un concierto in Victoira Palace el 25

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519612

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 19, Valencia [Spain to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 x 18 cm.

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Comité Nacional



SECCION INFORMACION Y PROPAGANDA

Calle Landerers, 1 ☎ Teléfono

Valencia Sept 19/37
 Darling Ethel, I feel I have neglected
 you and that you must be getting
 about me. But it was impossible
 to write. So many impressions
 rush in and one can not settle
 down to writing letters. I am here
 since Thursday, yet I have already
 seen dozens of comrades, have
 visited several collectives, have
 attended several sessions. The
 more I see and hear the more I
 find my comrades have strength
 and their strength. An amazing
 people. Resonant, Spanish are, they take
 completely hold of me, and all the
 work and wonder. I wish with all
 of myself that they would not but
 they won't. They mustn't.

Dearest I am leaving for London
 tomorrow only for a few days. When
 I can back dear for a longer time

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then return to Barcelona. I still have
a lot to see in and about Valencia
and a great deal in Barcelona.
I will write again, perhaps at
length when I receive from Madrid.
Do not worry about me. I am
quite safe, so far anyway.
Give my fraternal greetings
to our audience the 23rd. This
reaches you in time. Tell them
everyone should come in Spain
to see the social struggle, the coming
the determination to conquer
Fascism and to save the Revolution.
Those who would come, making
you feel as I do that every thought
and every nerve should be
strained to help the masses of
the people in their gallant fight
with love. G. I hope they are
recovering. Give him my greetings -
send the enclosed to him.

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[Receipt] 1937 Sept. 19, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, [Valencia, Spain] / M[ariano] R. Vázquez. — 1 p. ; 18 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional
Trabajo J. E. España
COMITE NACIONAL

Núm. _____

Secciones que este

COMITE NACIONAL

Funcionarios

Secretaría — Teléfono 17947
Vicesecretaría — " 17981
Contaduría y Tesorería — Teléfono 17948
Sección Prensa y Propaganda — Teléfono 10668
• Político Social — Teléfono 10007
• Economía — Teléfono 10000
• Defensa — " 10071

Valencia 19 th september 1937

GRABADOR ESTEVE, 4-Teléfono 16067-Apartado Correo 411

SECCION POLITICO SOCIAL

Received from comrade **EMMA GOLDMAN**

554 Pounds

collected by her in England for our evacuated and
homeless women and Children.

The General Secretary

of the Confederacion Nacional del



[Handwritten signature]

Exigir una copia por cada comprobante
Duplicar copia correspondiente a la
relación que compete.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929186

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 19, London [to Emma? Goldman?, St. Tropez?] / Vern[on Richards].— 1 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

FORTNIGHTLY DEDICATED TO THE
ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE AND THE
SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN SPAIN

London.....19.9.37.....1937

My dear Comrade,

Please excuse the delay in writing to you. I have been so taken up ~~that~~ with the newspaper and other business that I have not even been able to arrange things with my friend in Paris!

I am writing to you, because I am indeed distressed about certain things, and should be glad to have your personal opinion. I want you to believe - and I am sure you will, that what I have to say, I do through no ambitious designs or for personal reasons. What I say is motivated by a desire to achieve as much as possible with the limited element we have at our disposal here in England. At the moment there is no cooperation, and even less from the comrades in Spain.

The first point is this: that in Paris a weekly publication is being circulated as from the end of this month. It will include two pages in English, and will be distributed widely in America and this country. I am indignant, and I express my opinion in a letter to Vasquez, a copy of which I enclose for your perusal.

The second point is the Orphans. I cannot understand both your and Barr's attitude towards SPAIN & THE WORLD'S orphans fund. You, besides handing a cheque of £50 to the I.L.P. fund and not a cent to our fund (which is just as genuine and in need of money as theirs) wish me to advertise the I.L.P. colony. Have we not enough of a job to collect money for our own children without doing the advertising for the I.L.P. Do you realize that the New Leader does not even mention its children or ask for funds. SPAIN & THE WORLD on the other has to make appeals, and I am always making contacts and personal appeals for money. It seems as if Barr and yourself are under the impression that money rains down from heaven for us, whilst the I.L.P. have such great difficulties. Further I should like to add that Barr was to-day collecting money in the park for the I.L.P. Do you call that solidarity and cooperation? On the other hand, I am glad to say we have comrades who stand by us: one has sold over 500 copies of No. 19 whilst another has collected in his collecting boxes £3 for the orphans.

I have been so disturbed about all these things, especially as we ought all to be working together rather than individually, so that the ~~sp~~ newspaper and orphans fund should gain ground every day, that I do not know how the next issue will come out. I am supposed to have sent all material to the printer, instead of which I am struggling to put two words on paper! However, if you have any news, or articles for the paper, please let me have them at your earliest convenience.

Your very sincere young comrade! W

The Emma Goldman Papers

870926047

[Invoice, 19]37 Sept. 22, New York [to] Emma Goldman, St. Tropez / Alfred A. Knopf. — 1 p. ; 16 × 17 cm.

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18147

ALFRED A KNOFF
INCORPORATED

501 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, U.S.A.

SOLD TO
EMMA GOLDMAN
ST TROPEZ FRANCE

SHIP TO
RALPH BARR
106 CONINGHAM ROAD
LONDON W 12 ENGLAND

VIA

INVOICE NO. **7375**
UNDER ORDER
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VIA	YOUR ORDER NO. AND DEPT.	TERMS: NET 30 DAYS	SALESMAN	DATE
BY POST		P. O. B. NEW YORK	RT	9/22/37

1 LIVING MY LIFE 3 00 40 1 80
POSTAGE 36
2 16

paid Dec 21/37

CHARGES PREPAID
GRAND TOTAL

Customers are requested to favor us with suggestions for improving our service.

186

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Madrid Sept 23 37

Dearest May.

I am so full to overflowing with the event s here it is impossibl
to concenstrate on one single thing. My ear, my dear Madrid is the miracle of
centuries. It represents the greatest epc in fortitude, oourage and endurance
ome read about in legends. One certainl; never expected to come face to face with
such grandeur. Yet more than even the general spirit of the people is the mar
vel of our oomrades who go on creating, bilding and hoping amidst ruins and
death ~~from the~~ It is a sight to take on's bre ath away. I tell you everyone
should come here to see the wonder that is Madrid. He would not so easily judge
much less condemn some of the mistakes of our people. After all, there is no tru
real greatness that does not err, poserity judges not by the weakenss or mist
takes committed but by the grandaots. I fervently believe that the
efforts of our comrades will be thus jged and not by petty criticism or conde
emnation. For is it not truly miraculous for people to go on with their
gigantio labors, to create and buil d under duress? and that is exactly what
oir friends are doing.

As last year so now I wish I could remain here in this heroic city, the city of such cruel destruction by the hand of all the European powers, the city where people still are aflame with their determination to win at all cost to their safety, their suffering and their very lives. Nowhere else could one feel so inspired and so lifted ~~up from the depths of one's soul~~ as here. But of course I will have to go where I can serve our comrades best, back to England that is so dead and so meaningless compared with Spain and its ~~heroic~~ gallant people. I am leaving here tomorrow for Valencia and Barcelona. I do not yet know when I will leave the country altogether. Meanwhile you can write me c/o Oficina de Propaganda Casa CNT FAI. Avenida Durrutti 32, 34 Barcelona. Please write me soon about everything. Give my love Sonia and the Sandstroms. Please ask the latter to write me as soon as possible whether everything is settled about Boi Esprit. Being here and seeing the selflessness of our comrades and the heroic abandon of the Spanish people in their fight against Fascism has lessened the pain of the loss of the little place that Sasha and I loved so much. If only he were alive he too would want nothing better than to join our comrades here and stand with them to the very end. Please translate this letter and send it to Nonore. Tell her if Louzon wants to use the part dealing with my reaction to the situation here he can do so.

With love to you my dear.

6mm4

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 23, Madrid [to] Spain and the World, [London] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 21 × 14 cm.

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

Emma Goldman In Spain

“Madrid Is The Wonder Of Centuries”

Madrid, Sept. 23rd, 1937.

You will be impatient with me that I have written so little since I got to Spain. The events are too overwhelming for letters. The days are filled to overflowing with impressions, especially is this the case here. Madrid is the wonder of centuries for there is nothing like it in fortitude and epic grandeur. One had to see it to realise its tremendous courage and spirit regardless of the danger surrounding it, regardless of what the city and the people have already endured at the hands of fascism. Greater still is the faith of our people who go on building, creating and labouring not for the hour but for all times. One can not help but set aside all doubts and all superficial criticism in the face of such wonderful manifestation of human endurance and determination to win come what may. I am so full of it all I cannot concentrate on any one impression or say what is more inspiring than the other. More than even last year I wish I could remain with our people right here in this heroic city and share in their struggle and their aspirations. But again I will have to leave much sooner than I want. We are going back to Valencia tomorrow, from there Sunday or Monday to Barcelona. Perhaps I can write more coherently from there. I only wish all our comrades so ready to judge could come to Spain to see for themselves that whatever the mistakes

made they are as nothing compared with the gigantic work already achieved. Whatever happens this will remain a lasting monument to the valor and the constructive genius of our comrades.

I am thinking of you and the others to-day and our meeting. I hope it will be a success. I saw several films yesterday, part of which we will get so Frank can complete them for our purpose. We will then carry them from one end of England to another.

EMMA.

SPAIN and the WORLD

Fortnightly dedicated to
the anti-Fascist struggle
and the Social Revolution
in Spain.

Price 2d.; For U.S.A., 5 cents.

All correspondence and mon-
eys to be sent to the Editors,
“SPAIN and the WORLD,”
Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud,
Glos., England.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 23, Madrid [to Cultura Proletaria, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 26 × 14 cm.

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

Emma Goldman en Madrid

Las debilidades y errores de nuestros compañeros de España —dice— no significan nada al lado de su fuerza y del desinterés con que se entregan a la causa que defienden.

Abundan tanto aquí los acontecimientos que uno no puede escribir con relación a éstos mientras está en medio de ellos. Os debéis de acordar de "Los Cuarenta Días de Musah Da," de Werfel, del heroísmo de aquel pueblo y de su líder. Bien, pues aquello es insignificante comparado con la lucha sobrehumana del pueblo de esta ciudad.

De hecho, Madrid representa la grandeza y la resistencia épica del siglo. No es sólo el espíritu ardiente del pueblo en lucha por su justa causa, sino más bien el genio de los nuestros, que siguen construyendo, creando y laborando bajo tantos obstáculos y dificultades.

Todo el que pueda debe venir aquí para ver con sus propios ojos el trabajo verdaderamente extraordinario que se ha realizado y el que se intenta hacer. Se convencerán de que, ante tanta grandeza, los errores y hasta algunas debilidades aparecen realmente insignificantes. Confieso que ante tal humana prueba, ante tal determinación y desinterés, mi corazón no encierra el menor espíritu de crítica. Más que el año pasado desearía quedarme aquí para participar de las esperanzas y de la inspiración de los nuestros y dar todo cuanto pueda en esta lucha heroica que sostienen. Pero tendré que salir de aquí porque creo que puedo servir mejor a nuestros compañeros en el extranjero, aunque no sea más que para corregir las opiniones equivocadas que acerca de España mantienen nuestros camaradas del exterior.

Mañana saldré de Madrid para Valencia. De allí, para Barcelona. Quiero volver a visitar los lugares que vi el año pasado, para ver lo que se ha ganado o perdido durante este tiempo. Todavía no sé cuándo abandonaré este país maravilloso y su pueblo más maravilloso aún. Quedé no salga hasta mediados del mes próximo...

Mi mente y mi corazón rebosan de impresiones emocionantes de la ciudad heroica y su pueblo que por tanto tiempo se bate contra las criminales fuerzas combinadas de todas las Potencias ligadas contra ellos.

A mi regreso a Inglaterra pienso escribir sobre cuanto he visto. Temo que mi pluma es incapaz de describir ni una pequeña parte de esta lucha épica y grandiosa para ganar la guerra y librar a Madrid y a España de los horrores del Fascismo. Pero, logre o no hacer justicia al pueblo español, y especialmente a nuestros valientes compañeros, nunca podré condenar cualquiera debilidad o falta les encuentre. Sus debilidades nada significan al lado de su fuerza, de su fe ardiente y del desinterés con que se entregan íntegramente a la causa que defienden.

Madrid, 23 de Septiembre de 1937.

Emma GOLDMAN.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 23, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman, Barcelona] / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

HARRY WEINBERGER
COUNSELOR AT LAW
10 WEST 40TH ST., NEW YORK
LOMBARD 8-8888-8888

September 23, 1937.

Mrs. E. G. Colton
c/o Mollie Alperine
23 rue des Volontaires
Paris XV
France

Dear E.G.

Your letter of the 6th to hand and Fizzie tells me that Stella received a cable that you arrived safely in Barcelona. Will be glad to hear from you as to how you find things. I do get the Bulletin of the C.N.T.

Before I ask you a few other questions I am wondering whether with the depreciation of the Franc it would not be better for you to keep holding the property and keep renting it rather than selling it. Of course if you don't expect to go back there it might be just as well to sell. But where the money keeps on depreciating it seems always better to have actual physical real estate and buildings or goods rather than money. I suppose you must have thought all around that.

Of course with conflicting desires and various groups, some having the feeling that the end justifies the means, you are bound to have excesses and with the world all afraid of war, democracies and progressive countries in particular are afraid to pick up the gage. We are having more and more wars and China and Africa are the two best examples.

All of this cross-current and fear may explain the failure of non-intervention or the fear of stopping the dictators sending help to Franco.

America seems temporarily to have toned down on strikes, sit down and other kinds.

Election is coming on and the little flower, La Guardia has been re-nominated and the possibility of our getting mixed up with the war seems to be increasing. I think, myself, that Roosevelt, not knowing the economic way out, is more and more working toward cutting down production and dictatorship.

Over the miles, all best to you.

Sincerely,

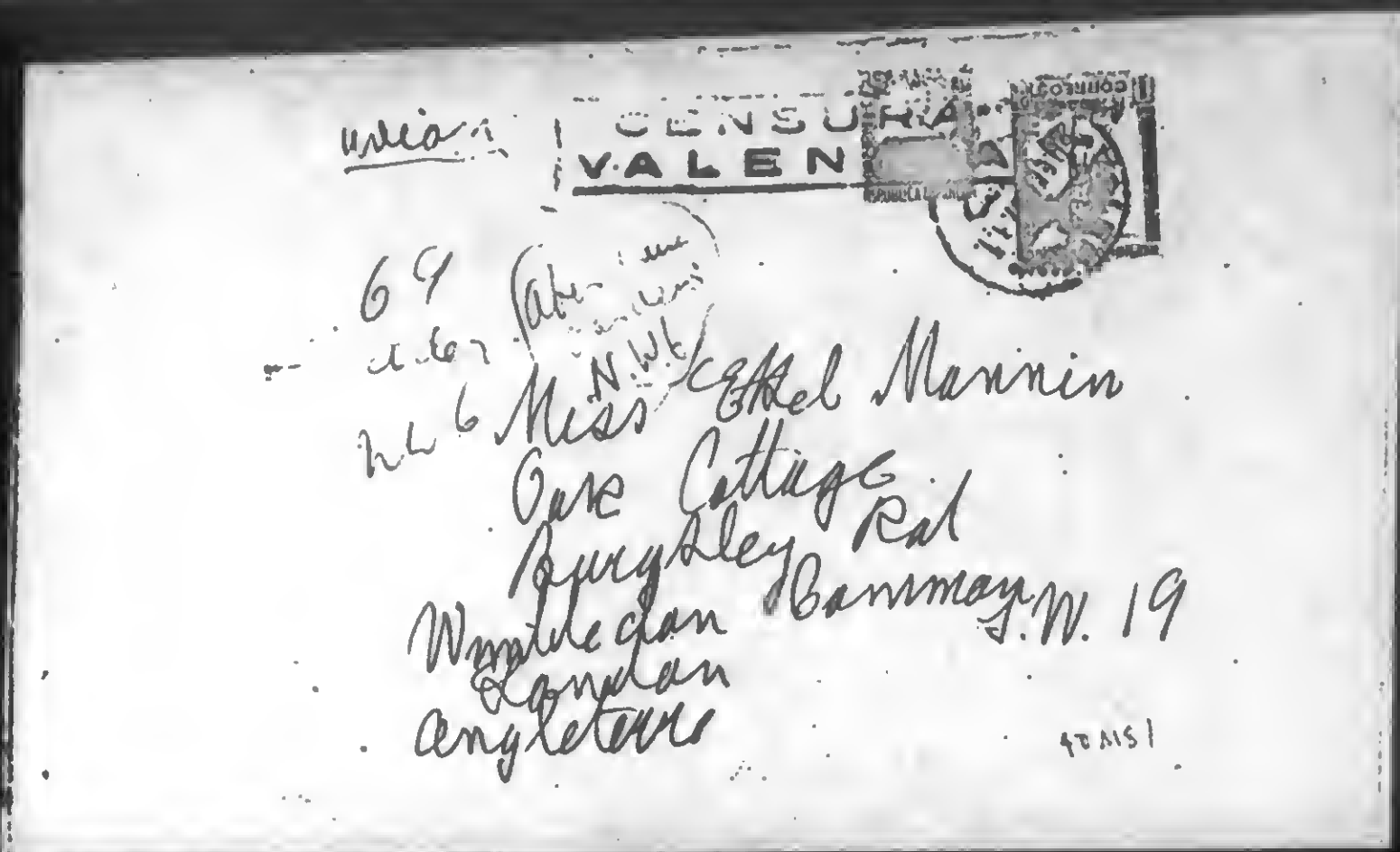


HW:BW

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 1937? Sept.? 27?] Valencia [Spain to] Ethel Mannin, London / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 11 x 17 cm.

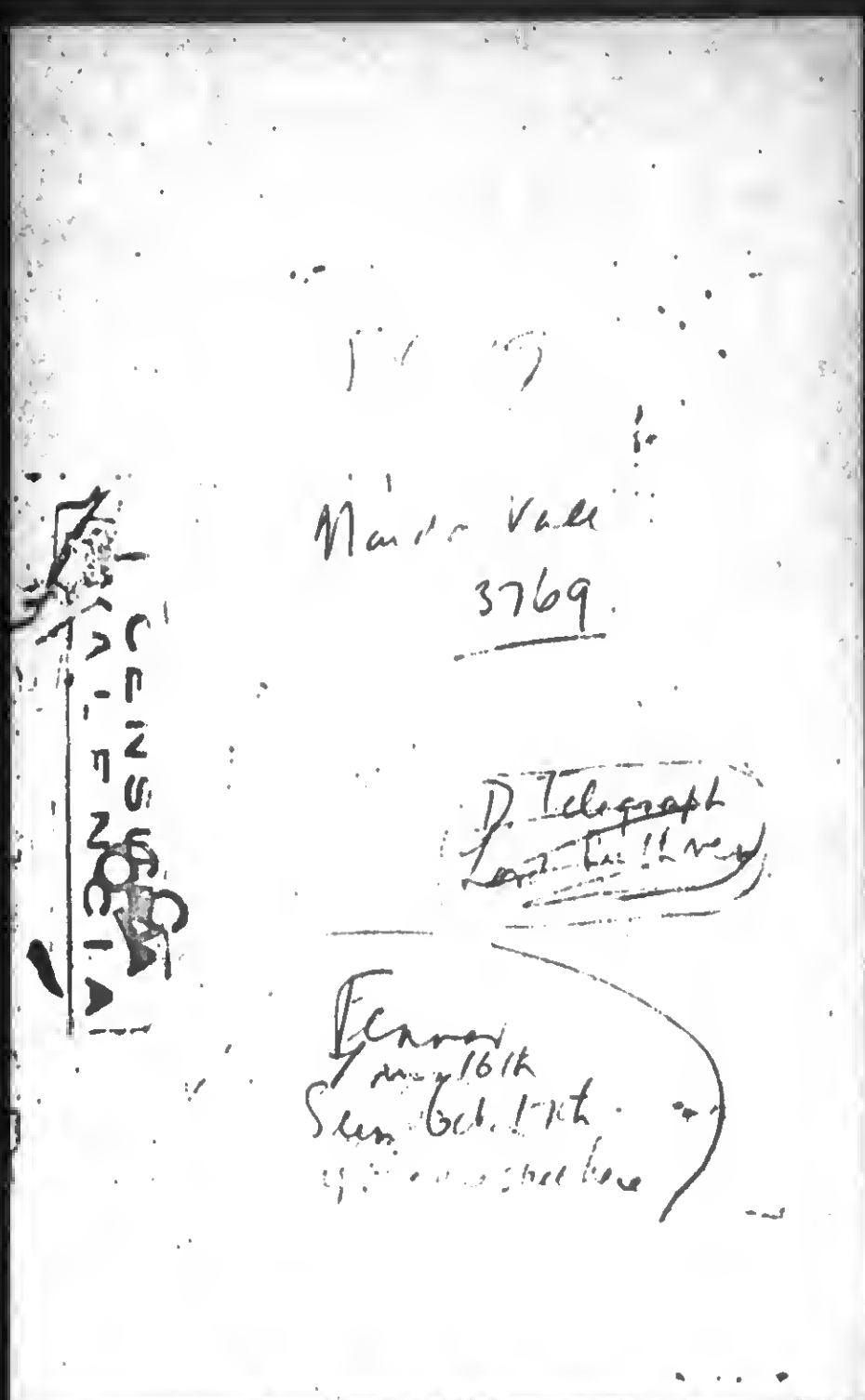
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 1937? Sept.? 27?] Valencia [Spain to] Ethel Mannin, London / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 11 × 17 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 27, Valencia [Spain to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 20 x 17 cm.

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Valencia Sept 27/37
 My Dearest,
 This is my last day before
 tomorrow I leave for Barcelona. I have only ten
 days. Then back to London for a week. You said in
 one of your letters, why
 not go to the middle of Oct.
 I should have to miss
 you. Please write me in
 London to Barcelona or
 to Paris where I am.
 You are likely to be in
 Paris around Oct 15 to 20.
 I shall see you with all my
 in England when I get
 back about the 20th of Oct.
 I have so much to say
 to tell you. But it is impos-
 sible to do so from here

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 27, Valencia [Spain to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 20 × 17 cm.

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It will have to wait until
we meet. The situation here
is overwhelming. So much
greatness, so many confusions
and agonising sides. About
everything follows an optimism
and a faith in the triumph
of the struggle, one is told
that one, having come
close to the, inhuman
difficulties concerning the
G.W.P. that I can't understand
stand before the concessions
my comrades have made
and are making. I can
not reconcile myself to some
of them but I realise that
when one is in a hurry -
nurse one does not
consider one's possessions

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 27, Valencia [Spain to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p.; 20 x 17 cm.

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one tries to jump to safety
even if it means death.
The possession of my comrade
has been been shaking quite
by their own staunch
attempts to soundamente
but they are surrounded
by consuming flames
and they feel they will
hold on to every part
of their past they would
lose everything. Hence
their complacency of mind
they are only too much
aware. In 1937 they
were able to see what I have
seen is to be carried away
as I am by the splendid
courage of the GND-IAL and

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 27, Valencia [Spain to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p.; 20 × 17 cm.

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the war in general
 In fact I feel even
 ought to come back
 go to Madrid especially
 to see the impact of
 that tragedy. It
 is all fault finding seems
 so insignificant in the
 presence of the epic grandeur
 of Madrid.
 I made my own very
 deep. I am, Emma
 had been to see
 I hope his will be bright
 again.
 Mail to Ethel M.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 27, Valencia [Spain to] Ver[n]o[n Richards, London] / Emma [Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 18 x 14 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Heiner Becker. Institutional Location: the International Institute of Social History.

Valencia. Sept 27/37

Dear Ver. Yesterday after I had completed all arrangements for a more intensive campaign in England for our people, Mariano gave me the letter in which he proposed new English publications you had written him. You need not have any society about the matter for many underestimate the importance of Spain and the world our comrades realize now that the paper must continue either as a weekly or in a surgered form to make it possible to sell. In the W. of A. I have explained it all to the N. C.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 27, Valencia [Spain to] Ver[n]o[n Richards, London] / Emma [Goldman]. - 6 p. ; 18 x 14 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Heiner Becker. Institutional Location: the International Institute of Social History.

dear and they have agreed
 to leave as the W. to the right
 of their means. I can not
 do up the matter now. But
 I will write you just
 as soon as I get back to
 Barcelona. But I cannot
 you already that the N. 6 has
 accepted my project regarding
 our activities in England
 which also includes the
 support of Spain & the War
 as the ridiculous idea
 that a paper consisting of
 different foreign languages
 will be read by English
 workers or exert the least
 influence it comes from
 the man who represents the
 G.N. in Paris - not Raco

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 27, Valencia [Spain to] Ver[n]o[n Richards, London] / Emma [Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 18 x 14 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Heiner Becker. Institutional Location: the International Institute of Social History.

mind you, ³ but the other
man whose name I don't
care to mention here. He is
as ignorant of the Anglo-
Saxon mind as psychology
is a new born babe.
In point of fact, he is
ignorant of many other
things. However I will
see Mariano N. to day. &
I will suggest that he
instruct the Paris man
to keep his hands off
the English propaganda.
I will add a line after
I have seen him.

I am deeply impressed
by the constructive work

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Sept. 27, Valencia [Spain to] Ver[n]o[n Richards, London] / Emma [Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 18 x 14 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Heiner Becker. Institutional Location: the International Institute of Social History.

our people are doing
under the most agonizing
difficulties. Verily, there is
no other people that could
or could defy all dusts,
including the ever present
danger of open death. As
for the rest my visit to
the City, Madrid as a number
of villages have strengthened
my conviction of the inner
imperative circumstances
that have caused the decis-
ions of our campaigns. Not
that I agree with them. It
is only that I understand them
better! Write me to Barcelona
Cicena Peregrina Hostels
Casa Bonita 211 Avenue

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Sept. 27, Valencia [Spain to] Ver[n]o[n Richards, London] / Emma [Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 18 x 14 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Heiner Becker. Institutional Location: the International Institute of Social History.

any other way except that
in writing to the Committee
of the C. N. D. you wrote "I
don't" instead of "I do" where
such a phrase had been
considered. Anyway I am
coming back with full
directions regarding my
work in England which also
includes the measure up
of the World.
I must Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 27, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

N.º

19734

COMITE NACIONAL

SECRETARIA

VALENCIA, a 27 de setiembre de 1.937.

GRABADOR ESTEVE. 4

APARTADO CORREOS 4M

A la Delegación de la C.N.T. en Inglaterra.
L o n d r e s.

Apreciada compañera Emma Goldman:

Para que puedas satisfacer los deseos del camarada Barr, en orden informativo del funcionamiento de nuestra Organización, voy a hacerte unas cuantas indicaciones, que, claro está, no responderán a una completa y detallada exposición de lo que es nuestro movimiento, pero que, en sus líneas generales, creo facilitará el conocimiento de lo que desea el mencionado camarada.

Nuestra Organización ha renovado su funcionamiento desde el 19 de julio. Era obligado que se produjese este cambio, para el cual, claro está, estaba en parte, preparada, por ser una Organización con ideales propios y finalidades concretas.

Antes solo teníamos la preocupación de combatir al capitalismo y al Estado, arrancando mejoras del mismo en nuestras luchas reivindicativas, planteadas por la acción directa. Las continuas represiones, las etapas prolongadas de clandestinidad, impidieron a la C.N.T. desarrollar con toda amplitud la obra de capacitación del proletariado, que, por su finalidad, tenía que llevar a cabo.

Llega el 19 de julio y no es posible por lo complejo de la situación, que la C.N.T. ponga en práctica radicalmente sus teorías. Sin embargo, cambian las cosas, a consecuencia de que el capitalismo español, complicado en la sublevación, deja los lugares de producción de la España leal, abandonados, y tienen los obreros, por medio de los Sindicatos, que proceder a la puesta en marcha de los lugares de trabajo, para impedir un colapso en la economía y la pérdida de la guerra. Tenemos entonces que situarnos en un plan intermedio, entre nuestras teorías y nuestras luchas anteriores. Sin embargo, la C.N.T. que se adapta a nuevas funciones, no pierde su base federalista. Por eso, hoy, los Comités de la Organización tienen poco más ó menos, las mismas atribuciones que antes del 19 de julio. Son simples ejecutores de los acuerdos que la Organización adopta en sus Plenos y Asambleas.

En la C.N.T. no acostumbra a haber presidentes, figura representativa que se conocen en todas las entidades del mundo. Sus funciones las ejerce el Secretario, que es el que tramita la correspondencia, firma y sella la misma y ostenta la representación de la Organización. No tienen ni el Secretario, ni el Comité, ninguna facultad determinante.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001193

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 27, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19735

a la Delegación de la C.N.F. en Inglaterra-Londres-27.9.37. 2:

Como decía antes, es simple ejecutor del mandato de la Organización.

En todos los Comités de la C.N.F. existe el Secretariado. Una Federación Local de sindicatos está compuesta por un delegado de cada sindicato, el secretario, un tesorero y un contador, que, junto con el vice-secretario, forman lo que se denomina Secretariado.

En los Comités Regionales, existe el secretariado compuesto por el Secretario nombrado por referendun regional de sindicatos, el tesorero y el contador, nombrados por los sindicatos de la Localidad en que reside el Comité Regional y un representante por cada Comité Comarcal de la Región.

El Comité Nacional está compuesto por el Secretario, nombrado por todos los sindicatos de la Nación, un tesorero y un contador, nombrados por los sindicatos de la Localidad en que reside el Comité Nacional y dos delegados por cada Comité Regional. Estos Comités hoy están estructurados a base de secciones.

En el Comité Nacional existen:

La Sección de Defensa, dividida en Sub-secciones, al frente de cada cual hay un camarada responsable. La Sección de Defensa, se ocupa exclusivamente de los problemas militares y de la guerra, mantener relación con los frentes, evitar los atropellos, el proselitismo y mantener el espíritu de sacrificio y abnegación en cuantos luchan en las trincheras.

La Sección Político-Social que se ocupa de todos los conflictos de orden público, los presos, la relación con las fuerzas armadas de la retaguardia, el problema jurídico, etc.

La Sección de Estadística, que lleva a cabo la estadística de afiliados, sindicatos, comités, camaradas que representan a la C.N.F. en los diversos cargos oficiales, Consejos Municipales, Provinciales, etc.

La Sección de Propaganda, y por último, la Sección de Economía que tiene a su cargo cuanto compete a la producción y distribución. La Sección Economía, se compone de dos miembros del Comité Nacional, uno de los cuales ejerce las funciones de Secretario de la Sección y un delegado directo de cada Federación Nacional de industria existentes. Puede decirse, que la Sección de Economía es el Comité Nacional en el orden económico de la producción y el consumo, de la C.N.F. Por eso, se vincula a ella todas las Federaciones Nacionales de Industria, como órganos de la producción.

Era necesario hacer este desglose.

Ahora, la C.N.F. cumple dos misiones: Una económica y otra política.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001193

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 27, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19786

A la Delegación de la C.N.T. en Inglaterra-Londres-27.9.37. 3º

Los Sindicatos se componen de Secciones en las que se agrupan, por especialidades, los trabajadores de la industria. Cada Sección tiene autonomía para tratar sus problemas profesionales, mientras con sus decisiones no lesiona los intereses de otra Sección ó Sindicato.

Los Sindicatos tienen su Junta Central Administrativa, compuesta por el secretario, tesorero, contador y un secretario de relaciones, nombrado en Asamblea general de trabajadores, y un vocal nombrado por cada Sección de las que componen el Sindicato de industria.

Por los problemas que permiten ser discutidos en público, pasan en orden del día a las asambleas generales de Sindicatos, cuyas determinaciones van a un Pleno Local de Sindicatos, adoptándose allí resoluciones mayoritarias que luego son defendidas en Pleno Regional de Locales y Comarcales, cuyas determinaciones mayoritarias van a un Pleno Nacional de Regionales, en el cual se adoptan, por mayoría, las resoluciones pertinentes, que el Comité Nacional viene obligado a poner en práctica.

Cuando se trata de problemas, que, por las circunstancias de la guerra no es posible plantear, ni discutirlos en asambleas generales, el Comité Nacional remite un Orden del día que en las localidades es discutido por los militantes de responsabilidad que ya lo eran antes del 19 de julio. Las decisiones de esos militantes, en el orden local, pasan después al Pleno Regional y, por último, a los Plenos Nacionales, que son, como en el caso anterior, los que trazan la conducta definitiva a seguir por el Comité Nacional. Se sobreentiende que las decisiones que se adoptan cuando no se trata de problemas concretos y terminantes ya consumados, se discute a base de trazar una línea de actuación, línea de actuación que es la que sirve de norma de conducta al Comité Nacional.

Los acuerdos mayoritarios, con la ley que tienen que acatar todos en la C.N.T.

Este es, a grandes trazos, el desenvolvimiento actual de la C.N.T.

Desearía que lo dicho satisficiera los deseos del camarada Barr. Si no fuera así, puedes hacer las preguntas y consideraciones que creas oportuno, en la seguridad de que a la mayor brevedad responderé.



EL COMITE NACIONAL.

M. R. Vázquez
Mariano R. Vázquez.

Secretario.

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205

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Sept. 27, Valencia, Spain to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Mariano R. Vázquez].— 1 p. ; 23 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

NORMAS DE FUNCIONAMIENTO DE LA OFICINA DE LA C.N.T.

EN INGLATERRA.

Se parte del principio de que la oficina no va a realizar una propaganda sectaria anarquista.

Las tareas de esta oficina deberán ser la realización de una labor objetiva de propaganda antifascista, llegando siempre a las conclusiones más revolucionarias posibles, pero ante todo, a la defensa colectiva de la guerra antifascista que sostenemos en España y que la propaganda se introduzca en la base obrera de los Trade Unions, recogiendo los elementos disconformes con la línea política reformista y atrayéndoles con simpatía a nuestro Movimiento anarcosindicalista.

La propaganda, ante todo, deberá cimentarse en la construcción de la obra constructiva del proletariado español.

Queda autorizada, momentáneamente, la salida del periódico con un tiraje de 5 ó 6.000 ejemplares, mientras no sea posible aumentarlo, con el costo aproximado de 60 Libras mensuales.

Se dedicará también unas 25 Libras mensuales para la edición de Manifiestos y Folletos, (Estos últimos que deberán ser vendidos) procurando hacer los menos Manifiestos posibles, a fin y efecto de que el gasto en nuestra propaganda sea lo más fácilmente reembolsable.

Se destinan otras 25 Libras, aproximadamente, para mítines.

Al margen de esto, quedan los gastos de teléfono, correspondencia y jornal de empleados y camaradas que trabajen en las oficinas.

100 mil francos

27-9-37

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937] Sept. [28?]-30, Ma[drid], Valencia [and] Barcelona [to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville?, N.Y.?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

ROCK

The events here are so overwhelming one can not write about them while in their midst. You remember Warfale's MY DAYS OF MURDER MADRID, the heroism of their people and their leader. It fades into nothing compared with the superhuman struggle of the people of this city. Madrid represents an epic of human endurance and a grandeur of the centuries. It is not only the flaming spirit of the people in the justice of their cause, it is even more the genius of our friends who can go on, building, creating and laboring under such stress, such difficulties on all sides. I tell you everyone who can come, must should, and see with their own eyes the truly extraordinary work done and more planned. It would make them realize that in the face of such greatness, mistakes and even some weakness, appear insignificant. I confess I can not find it in my heart to criticize in the face of such endurance, determination and selflessness. More than last year I long to remain here to share the hopes and inspiration of our people and give them all I am capable to help in their heroic struggle. But I have to leave because I feel I can serve our comrades and their gigantic undertaking, better abroad, if only to try and get our comrades right outside of Spain.

I leave Madrid tomorrow for Valencia and from there Monday for Barcelona. I want to revisit the place I went to last year to see what has been gained or lost. My mind and heart are full to overflowing with impressions of this wonderful city and its hero people who can go on so long fighting the combined criminal forces of all the powers arrayed against them. I hope when I am back in England to write about everything. I fear my pen is too inadequate to convey even a particle of the truly epic struggle to free Madrid and the rest of Spain from the horrors of Fascism. Whether I succeed or not I will never find it in my heart to condemn whatever weakness or mistakes I find. For their weakness is as nothing compared with their strength, their burning faith, their complete abandon to their aim.

Love to the family. Fraternal greetings to all the comrades.
EMMA

VALENCIA, Sept. 27th.

I write you from Madrid. I am sure you understand how impossible it is when one is on the go everyday to another town or village, each one with a wealth of impressions. You will have to be patient when I can write under normal conditions to give you the wealth of impressions of the numerous comrades I have met. One thing I can tell you that whatever concessions our people have made, they have not lost faith in their ultimate aim. Whether they realize it is another matter. The forces arrayed against them are very powerful, but if a flaming spirit and iron will can win, our people will come out on top. I have seen great courage before, I have witnessed heroic deeds, plenty of both in Russia, but never I have I seen such determination to create and build in the face of truly larger as I have met in remote villages and war wrecked towns. It renewed my hope in the future of Spain.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937] Sept. [28?]-30, Ma[drid], Valencia [and] Barcelona [to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville?, N.Y.?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

All the comrades I have met have been kindness itself and they gave me every opportunity to get about, visit the collectives and to talk with everyone freely in the trenches. I was only 100 metres from the Fascist front. I was in no way restricted when talking with the workers, peasants, soldiers, people on the streets. Prejudices do take hold of all of us. Imagine Sania wrote me my trip through Spain would be like the tourists in Russia. Absurd. No one made the slightest attempt to curtail my movements. If the war lasts long it might come to such a pass as in Russia, but as long as one comrade of the CNT and FAI are left, dictatorship will find it hard to take root in Spain. For the rest only time will tell whether our people were wise or foolish. I feel more than ever convinced that my part is to plead their cause.

I came here with Souhy and leave with him tomorrow for Barcelona. I will be there ten days, then Paris and London. My stay this time has to be short because of the work in England. CNT and FAI want me to do. I can make no further plans for the present.

My heart is full of admiration for my heroic comrades and I am deeply distressed at their danger. Send copies of this letter to Rudolf, Fitch, Jeanne Levey and Joe Dessar.

Sept. 30th

BARCELONA

I am in this city. I do not know how long I will remain, about 2 weeks. I do not intend to stop in Paris long so write me to London care of Barr, 106 Coningham Road, London, W 12. I spent the afternoon with Abe Bluestone. He is well, though thinner, but alert and observant. He agrees with me whatever happens we have to stand by our own people. I will write when rested from my strenuous trip to Madrid, Valencia and provinces. My next trip is through Catalonia and Aragon.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930413

[Letter] 1937 Sept. 28, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez.— 1 p.; 18 x 21 cm.

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Vicesecretaría - " 17981
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Político Social - T. 16067
Economía - T. 10809
Defensa - T. 10591
Contaduría - T. 17949

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

N.º

19272

COMITE NACIONAL

SECRETARIA

VALENCIA, a 28 de setiembre de 1.937.

GRABADOR ESTEVE, 4

APARTADO CORREOS 411

A la Delegación de la C.N.T. en Inglaterra.
Londres.

Estimadas camarada Emma Goldman:

Con esta fecha recibimos tus comunicados fechados en Londres el 24 de junio, 8 de julio y 24 de julio.

Nos damos por enterados de los mismos, omitiendo la respuesta detallada, ya que en tu viaje reciente a ésta y en las conversaciones sostenidas con el Comité Nacional, hemos llegado a acuerdos concretos sobre el funcionamiento y normas a seguir por esa Delegación.

Sirva, pues, de acuse de recibo a tus citados comunicados, saludándote fraternalmente,



EL COMITE NACIONAL.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

Secretario.

Escritura en esta por cada cuenta.
Dirigir todas correspondencias a la oficina que acompaña.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Sept. 28, Valencia, Spain to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Mariano R. Vázquez]. — 1 p. ; 21 x 24 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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COMITE NACIONAL

SECRETARIA

VALENCIA, a 27 de setiembre de 1.937.

GRABADOR ESTEVE, 4

APARTADO CORREOS 411

A la Oficina de la C.N.T. en Francia.
París.

Entregaréis a la portadora, compañera Emma Goldman, la cantidad de CIEN MIL FRANCOS, ó su equivalente en Libras Esterlinas, para establecer las Oficinas de la C.N.T. en Inglaterra.

POR EL COMITE NACIONAL.



M. Vázquez

Mariano R. Vázquez.

Secretario.

Escritura una carta por cada asunto.
Dirigida a la sección que compete.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Oct.? London to Emma Goldman, Barcelona] / Ralph [Barr].—
1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.
Obtained from The Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Scotland. Institutional Location: Guy Aldred Collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts Department.

My Dear,

If there is anything you think should be done to stop Aldred at his game please advise me. The man could not have known that I was in such close contact with Barcelona or how on earth did he expect to get away with such actions. Your letter to our Comrade Rocker just shows that your mistrust was justified. I rather thought last year you were perhaps a bit hard on him; but this latest downright lying absolutely knocks me over. Never no more can I trust his word, although I do not put myself forward as a Saint, nor would you like if I was would you?.

What with our known enemies and then those who pretend to be your friends and in the end stab you in the back it makes one feel mistrustful of everyone. However one gets found out in the end, unless your mistakes are unintentional and are not of great importance, but when they are deliberate I begin to suspect things.

All the best dear and let me have all the news of your experiences. You can give me all the work you like I am thriving on it, thinking I am being of some little use in this very important and great struggle. It will show where some of them stand this end and if your appeal and mine does not stir them out of their sleep, well they are lost sheep.

All the best, and my most fraternal greetings to Souchy.

*after
Ralph*

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Oct. 1, Barcelona [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman].—
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

407637
407637

~~xxxxx~~ Barcelona Oct 1st 37.

Dearest Ethel. This is only to let you know that I had a talk with one of the most able women Anarchists who is really the historian of the revolutionary movement in Spain. She is in the movement 55 years, is 72 now and she knew the great woken ~~xxxxxx~~ Anarchist Revolutionist Claramon who it seems was really the Louise Michel of Spain. She has promised to prepare some material for your purpose and to have it ready early next week. I will then send it to you without delay. It may come too late for your purpose but at least you will know that I have not forgotten my promise to you.

I wish I could write you about the contrast in spirit and activity between Madrid and even Valencia and this city. But it will have to wait until I return to London. I do hope we will not miss each other, if you go South we must meet in Paris. I cannot bear to think that you might go South before I reach Paris. London is drab enough but without your presence it would be drabber still.

Do write me my dear what your plans are.

Devoted love.

E. N. V. C.

E.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870929446

[Memorandum] 1937 Oct. 3, Valencia [Spain] to Emma Goldman, [Barcelona] / Mariano R. Vázquez. — 1 p. ; 18 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

ALT.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

N.º 20654

COMITE NACIONAL

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Vicesecretaría - " 17981
Prensa y Propaganda - T. 10168
Político Social - T. 16067
Economía - T. 10809
Defensa - T. 10591
Contaduría - T. 17949

SECRETARIA

VALENCIA, a 3 de octubre de 1.937.

GRABADOR ESTEVE, 4 APARTADO CORREOS 411

We authorise our representative in England, Miss Emma Goldman to negotiate the publication of PROCESO HISTORICO DE LA REVOLUCION ESPAÑOLA, by S. Canovas Cervantes, with British and American publisher. She has the right to sign contracts and to arrange other agreements to facilitate the speedy publication of the work.

POR EL COMITE NACIONAL.

M. R. Vázquez.
Mariano R. Vázquez.
Secretario.



Escritid una carta por cada comité.
Dirigid vuestra correspondencia a la sección que compete.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Oct. 4, Barcelona [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 21 x 17 cm.

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17168

Barcelona Oct 4th 37.

Ethel, my Dearest. Your letter of the 27th of last month reached me yesterday. It was the first word from anybody out of England, France or the States. This is my fault. I foolishly listened to the opinion that I must under no condition have my mail addressed to the Regional Committee of the CNT-FAI and that my going to Spain will prove use less just like tourist travels in Russia. Only when one lives away from Spain for a long time can one have such a ridiculous idea about the situation here. There is no doubt that the CNT-FAI have lost considerable ground politically speaking. A number of factors I can not discuss here are to blame for it. But the CNT-FAI has gained immeasurably in an ethical sense, both have their roots deeply implanted in the workers. That's why the CNT-FAI is still a moral force and is still reckoned with. In other words, mail addressed to the CNT while subject to censorship is no more so than all the other organisations. I could therefore have had my mail addressed here. Well, it ~~has~~ does not matter any more since I am not ~~staying here~~ remaining here for long. I wish I could. I dread my return to England although I am better equipped for the campaign for the comrades than last year. My one hope is that you and Reg may not be away too long. You have come to mean the one bright spot for me in the drab English picture.

Dearest mine you and the other friends must have been anxious about me when you read of the bombardment of Barcelona. Twice already the barbaric Franco gang have attacked this city, last Friday and yesterday. The Friday attack resulted in the butchery of hundred people mostly children who had been caught in a school. I have seen some photographs they are harrowing. I am trying to get some to send to SPAIN AND THE WORLD and I am hoping you might write an article ~~for~~ perhaps for the Evening Star or the New Statesman and use some of the photographs. I wanted to rush to the place struck by the bombardment a congested proletarian district when the attack happened but all traffic was stopped and there was no way of getting a car. In addition I have been under the change of the weather with a beastly cold and tie to my room for several days. However, I am on the way of recovery and I have been promised a car to go out to the stricken town to see the ruins caused by the Fascist savages. Yesterday bombardment is supposed to have killed 12 people. Oh, my dearest dear human life has become cheap in the world, human sensibilities dulled, else the masses all over the world would long ago have made an end to the frightfulness committed against the masses not only by the Fascist hords but also by ALL THE POWERS. Yet the heroic Spanish masses go on in spite of danger, in spite of everything. I tell you nothing like such heroism was ever demonstrated by ~~any~~ any people and nothing so marvellous in the way of dugged determination as the ~~Spanish~~ Spanish workers are demonstrating every hour.

I spend all day to day going over the collectivised wood industry. One can hardly credit it unless one can see it with one's own eyes ~~that~~ how the workers go on at their task producing ~~and~~ and perfecting their collective efforts ~~in~~ surrounded by ever present danger. And what optimism, what sublime faith. One completely forgets oneself and everything of a personal character amidst ~~the~~ the life of the collective spirit of the masses. There is no power to destroy that, it is ingrained in the

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very texture of the Spanish masses. This realization strengthened my hope that whatever the mistakes and compromises of the CNT-FAI the revolution is far from lost. Added to this is an inborn dignity of the Spanish people and their utter fearlessness. You may believe me dearest that I am not one to be content with the version I receive from the comrades who are at the head of the various committees in the collectives. I am too seasoned not to understand that no matter how honest and frank the best of us are responsible positions create a certain psychology which must needs differ from the man at the bench and in the field who does the hardest labors. For this reason I naturally try to find out the reaction of the worker themselves. And I was inspired to find that they give a damn who is present they speak their mind. They are not only not afraid but they simply feel their manhood too strongly to ~~shrink~~ hide their reaction to the changes that had taken place here in the state machine. They look upon them with contempt because they know ~~the~~ the political machine is transitory, the economic power of the people is the ultimate deciding factor. To say therefore that coming here is as futile as going through Russia as a tourist is sheer ignorance of the independence and ~~of~~ of the Spanish character. I am sure that the workers I spoke to ~~so~~ day and ever since my return felt free to speak out than workers in British or American factories. I was especially impressed with the replies to my ~~my~~ question as to what actually had the workers gained by the collectivization. Would you believe it the answer always was, first, ~~greater freedom~~ greater freedom. And only secondly more wages and less time of work. In the two years I was in Russia I never heard any workers express this idea of greater freedom. This seems to me to be a key to the intrinsic character of the Spanish workers, especially of the CNT-FAI. And that to me is the hope of the future development in this country.

Frank had a letter from Ralph Barr and a copy of his letter to me, but so far I have not yet received Barr's letter. I am therefore glad that you wrote me all about the Committee meeting. Sonia is absurd when she reported that I said I would consent to a "reasonable" change in the text of the narrative. What I wrote her was that I would consent to a reasonable change in the language if that were imperative to the O.K. of the censor. I quite agree with you that no such thing as a "reasonable" change is possible where the entire text is concerned. Nothing will induce me to consent to that. And I am glad to say Frank is as adamant as I am. ~~But~~ in he told me to make this clear to the Committee. As neither of us have time to write specially to the Committee ~~has~~ Frank said he would sign my letter to you and I should ask you to submit this to the committee. If you have no time to attend the next meeting Ralph Barr can read this part of ~~your~~ my letter. Neither Frank or I have any objection to read whatever Mellison wishes to write. But if what he writes in the least distracts from the spirit or realism of the struggle of the CNT-FAI, we will not submit no matter whether we can show the 35 mm ~~color~~ film or not. So let Mellison go ahead by all means.

I am sorry to hear that the sound of the 16 mm. is bad. On my own responsibility I asked Frank to order ~~the~~ copies of the 16 mm. from the original negative in America. It will cost only a third

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of the price in England and it will be more perfect because taken from the original negative. The two copies ought to arrive in England even before I get there. Frank has attended to it. By the way, Frank has started on a new film giving the various collective work. Some of it I have seen in Madrid it is splendid. From all I have seen and some other material Frank is making one film for our use. I am sure it will be most impressive and help to show the constructive side of the great work of the CNT-FAI as no amount of speeches can.

Dearest, I do not even know at this writing whether Bon Esprit has gone from me for ever. I have not heard from my friends in St Tropez. I rather think it has. I am sorry because of you and Reg whom I should have loved to have in the dear place. But outside of that I feel millions of miles removed from it now. My whole life seems to be miles removed in the stress, the travail and the indomitable struggle going on here. Nothing matters any more except the need of giving myself to the uttermost to the gallant fight the Spanish people are making. I only wish I were more at home in England and ~~and I could do so much more.~~ However, I hope I can get better help ~~I have~~ had in the past. I have a new responsibility entrusted to me which may interest Reg and wherein he may join me. It will be a full time job. I mean of course after he and you return to London. I cannot go into it now. Anyhow I mean to throw myself into the task with every fiber of my being.

Whatever you write about me Ethel darling will I know come from the depths of your being and not for effect as the stuff so many people have written about me. I am therefore sure to like what you say because I feel confident it will be sincere and friendly. I wrote you a scrib the other day that I was promised material for a sketch of the most important Spanish woman Anarchist and revolutionist. I will call ~~xxxxxx~~ up the comrade whom I interviewed in the matter Wed. and if she has it I will mail the material to you by Avion.

I hope we will meet either in Paris or London. I am sure to be in both places before you go south. In fact I must see you.

Good night dear heart. Give Reg my best. And if you write to Auntie give her my love. With love of it to you my dear.

Edith Mannin

Please forward the inclosed to ~~Mary~~ and ~~the~~ other address.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 5, New York [to] Emma Goldman, St. Tropez / Alfred A. Knopf. —
1 p.; 17 × 11 cm.

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ALFRED A. KNOPF, Inc.
301 MADISON AVENUE
New York

October 5, 1937

Dear Miss Goldman,

Many thanks for your very interesting letter of September 13th. I hope that you have had a safe and successful journey to Spain. We have sent a copy of *LIVING MY LIFE* to Mr. Ralph Barr in accordance with your instructions.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Alfred A. Knopf
Alfred A. Knopf

Miss Emma Goldman
St. Tropez, Spain

b

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]37 Oct. 6 [Barcelona to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman].—
1 p.; 18 x 20 cm.

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and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

40x934

1937

My Gr of Oct 3^y
Dearest Ethel

The enclosed is all
the material I could
get about the Spanish
pioneer and fight
in the anarchist and
Revolutionary movement
I hope you can
make use of it.

On great scale
W.R. side.

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1937 Oct. 6, Valencia [Spain] to Emma Goldman, [Barcelona] / Ger-
minal de Sousa. — 1 p. ; 21 x 21 cm.

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20678

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Calle de la paz, 25 - teléfonos T: 10867

comité peninsular
secretariado

valencia, 6 de octubre de 1937

C R E D E N C I A L

=====

La compañera, Emma Goldman, portadora de la presen-
te credencial, ha sido designada por este Comité Peninsular, delega-
da permanente de la Federación Anarquista Ibérica en Inglaterra.

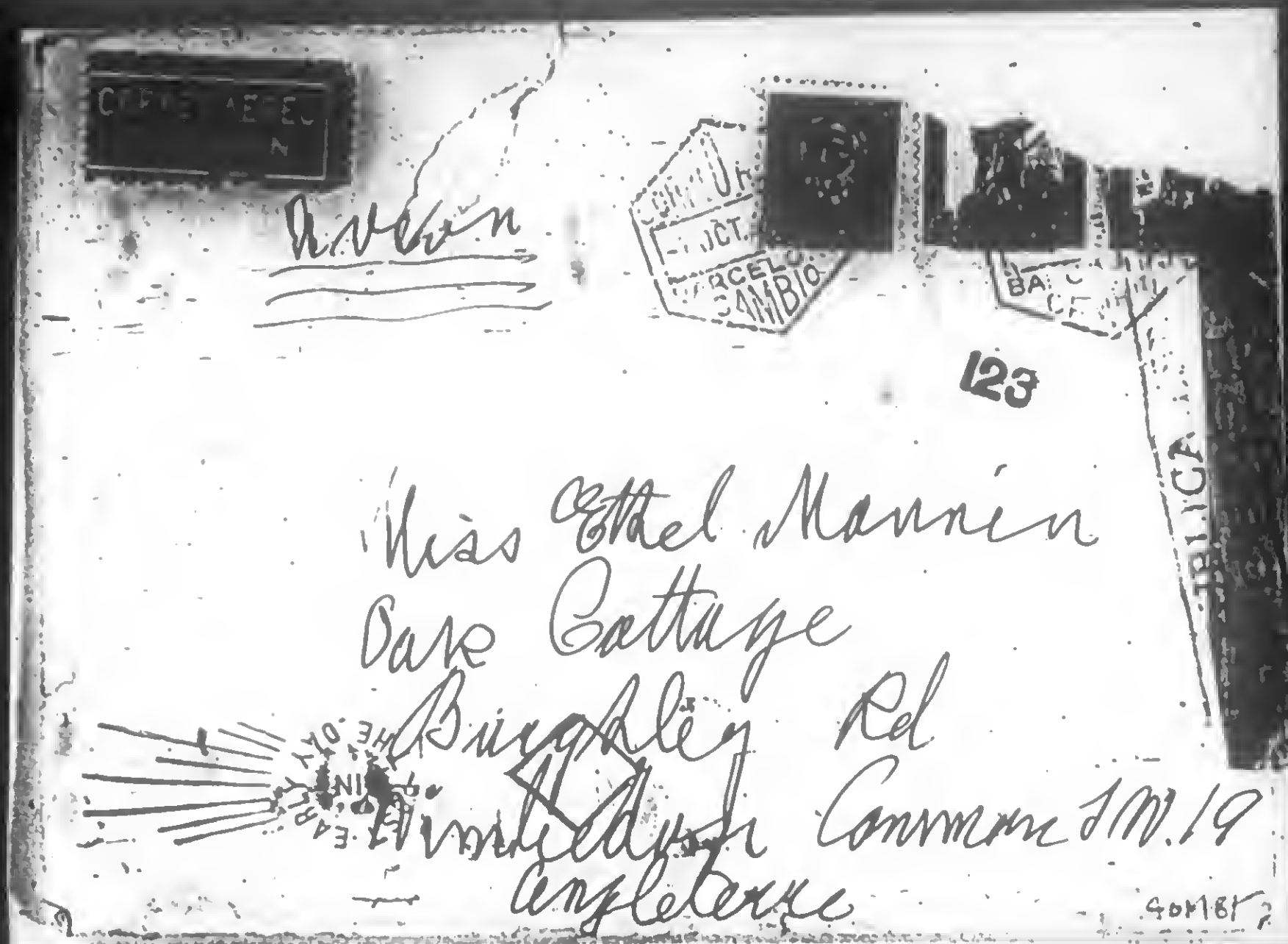
Por el Comité Peninsular de la F.A.I.

GERMINAL DE SOUSA
(vice-secretario)
SECRETARIADO

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 1937] Oct. 7, Barcelona [to] Ethel Mannin, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 14 × 19 cm.

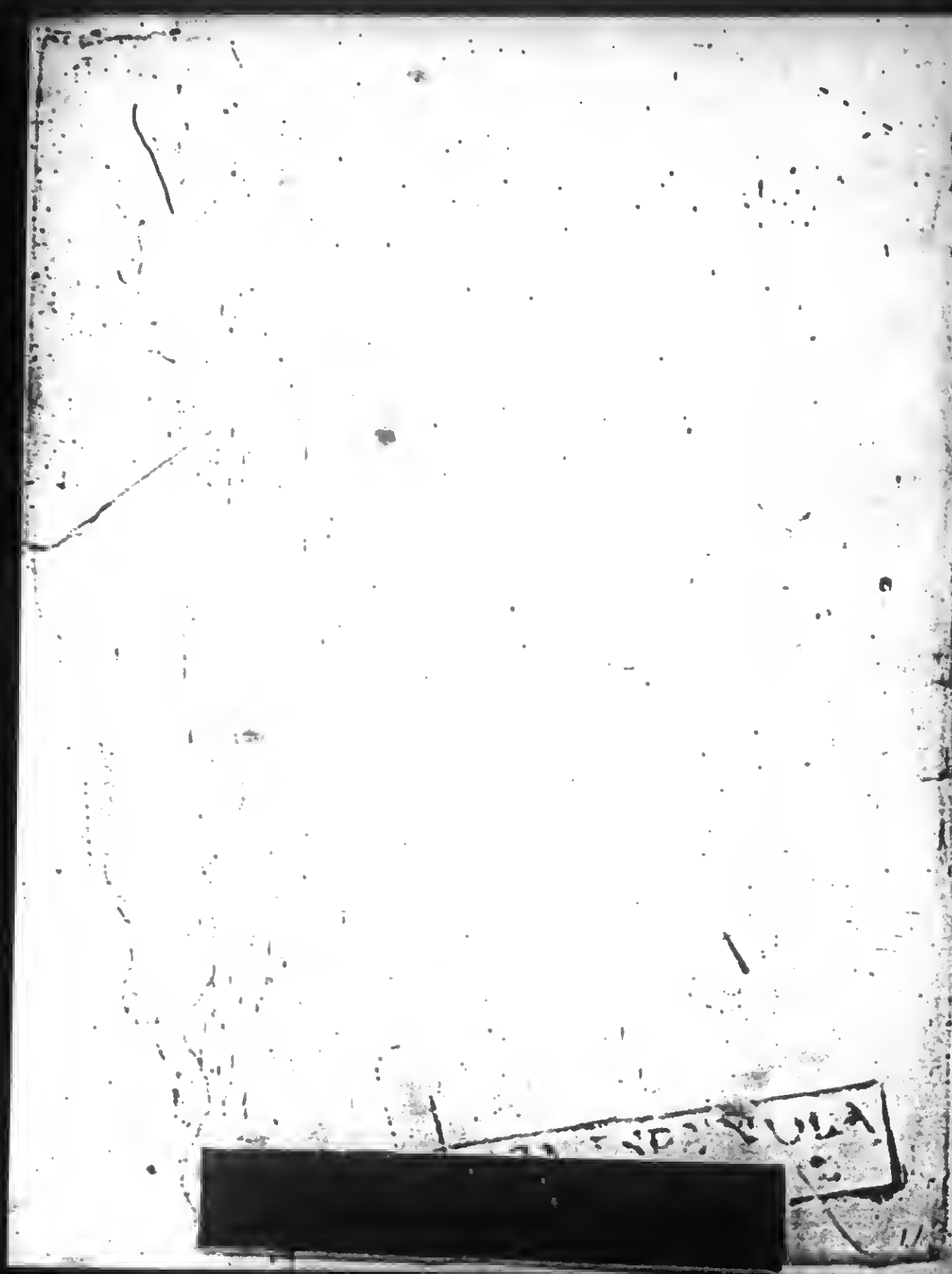
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Standardized Student

Dear Comrade.

It was bad enough last year for the CNT. to go back on its solidarity with the Russian masses whose revolutionary achievements had been betrayed by the Soviet regime, ~~and now for the CNT to~~ It was no less a denial of solidarity with the comrades in Russia either killed or still being dragged from concentration camp to concentration camp, and not the least of all it was a denial of allegiance to the memory of Kronstadt whose sailors had been butchered by the Soviet authorities. But last year there was some justification because it was a question of life and death to get arms ~~far from Russia. It was a question of life and death to get arms far from~~ Since then a year has passed in which the Soviet government has shown its hand, in which it has established its dictatorship on Spanish soil as deadly as that of Franco. I admit the need for arms is still here. But is there also need to again participate in the ~~far from Russia. It was a question of life and death to get arms far from~~ farcical celebration of the Russian Revolution with the very people who have crushed the Russian Revolution? Yet you are going to do this this year even as you have last year. Frankly I cannot understand such a policy. ~~It is not only not~~ It is not only not

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Oct. 11, Barcelona [to] Mariano [R.] V[á]quez, Valencia [Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Can you not realize dear comrades that whatever sympathy there is ~~for the struggle~~ outside of Spain with your struggle will be completely lost by your concession to the Soviet government? I am sure you cannot be aware of the complete collapse of the Stalin regime in the estimation of the revolutionary labor elements in every country including England and the U.S. Like here the Communist parties in these countries no longer have the masses, they only have the professional middle class. The workers ~~have everywhere~~ have come to see in the Moscow regime the real counter-revolutionary enemies of the proletariat. ~~Even~~ Even so conservative a body as the British Labor Party has demonstrated by an overwhelming majority that it will not permit the insidious Communist elements to get into its ranks, ~~because~~ to do so would be the ruin of the Labor Party as it has been everywhere when these people had the chance to bore from within. Yet the CNT, the oldest, ~~and strongest~~ and until recently the strongest revolutionary Anarcho-Syndicalist Organization is going arm in arm with the people whose highest aim is to destroy the CNT, surely they have already given enough proof to convince the most credulous and naïf people. Dear comrades there is no sacrifice I would be unwilling to make to aid you in your ~~fight~~ struggle. But to ~~accept~~ accept without a protest your ~~comrades~~ ~~participation in the~~ ~~hypocritical~~ ~~celebration of the~~ ~~death~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Stalin~~ ~~regime~~ ~~which~~ ~~poses~~ ~~before~~ ~~the~~ ~~world~~ ~~as~~ ~~the~~ ~~Russian~~ ~~Revolution~~ ~~would~~ ~~mean~~ ~~to~~ ~~deny~~ ~~my~~ ~~own~~ ~~revol~~ ~~utinary~~ ~~past~~ ~~of~~ ~~48~~ ~~years~~. I am sorry dear comrades but I can not do that. I am not foolish enough to believe my protest will have an effect on your action. ~~Still~~ ~~but~~ but I feel that silence on my part would mean my consent to something ~~as unnecessary and inconsistent~~ so unnecessary and inconsistent, not to speak of the cruelty against our comrades buried alive in Soviet prisons. Even as your delegate I cannot defend such action on your part. Not that I have any intention of publicly repudiating what seems to me utterly wrong. But at least I must submit my attitude to you. I hope I do still have that right even as your delegate.

There is another matter—the homes for the evacuated women and children I found in Valencia and in Barcelona. They are in a most deplorable condition, most of them filthy beyond belief, the unfrotunate children sick and neglected, the whole thing about the worst I have seen in any capitalist country. I have appealed and begged at every meeting in England for money for the homeless women and children in Spain. True, 1554 are but a drop in the ocean compared with ~~the~~ ~~task~~ ~~you~~ ~~have~~ ~~of~~ ~~caring~~ ~~for~~ ~~hundreds~~ ~~of~~ ~~thousands~~ ~~of~~ ~~victims~~ ~~of~~ ~~fascism~~. I do not expect the impossible, but I do think that competent organizers of the homes where the children and women are housed would give better results. In their present condition they are really frightfully depressing. You ~~remember~~ dear comrade Vázquez Mariano you wrote me that I should use out of the fund I raised for the women and children for our work in England. ~~that I would use whatever amount I wish spend~~ ~~will be used here for the purpose it was collected.~~ Since I visited the homes I ~~find~~ I have been beset by the thought that I have misled my audiences, that the pennies they have contributed has not benefitted a single child. I feel most unhappy about it.

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You see I will have to give a report to the committee that has helped me raise the fund ~~for the homeless and the orphaned~~. I will be unable to tell them ~~the truth about the plight~~ the plight I found in the so called homes I visited nor can I tell them lies. If only I had found one single home worthy of its name I should feel less guilty of having used money for the propaganda of the ~~CRT~~ *which* that belongs to the children. What I want to know is if you cannot do something about improving the condition of these ghastly places, surely it is not only lack of funds, it is more so lack of competent people in charge. Among our women comrades there must be some ~~who~~ *with* enough sense of responsibility and efficiency to look after the hapless children and to prevail upon the mothers who are with them to keep the rooms and their babies clean if nothing else. It would be the greatest scandal if the world outside Spain would learn of the lack of care given to the mass of humanity that had escaped the Franco hords from every front. I appeal to you dear comrades to undertake some drastic measures in the matter.

As I told you I still have part of the fund left. Let me know at once whom to give this money. I repeat it simply will have to go for the care of the women and children. Now less than ever can ~~it be necessary~~ will I use a penny for any other purpose nor will it be necessary since you have set aside the sum ~~of 10,000 pesetas~~ for the work in England. I take it that you will still want me to act as your delegate although I have taken the liberty to call your attention to your mistaken policy in sacrificing so much to the Soviet moloch. I should be in despair ~~if it were not for my passionate faith in~~ over the situation here if it were not for my passionate faith in the Spanish people and my Spanish comrades, if I did not find along with so much of a disturbing nature the most heroic spirit at the front and in the collectives. It is this which enables me to go back to England and to strain every nerve to the uttermost in behalf of your fight. Only you must not expect me to submit blindly ~~to your policy~~ and without reserve to ~~your~~ your policy which I fear is leading you further and further away from your glorious revolutionay tradition and fighting force. I am with you with every fiber of my being in your determination to crush Fascism. That is indeed the paramount issue. ~~But~~ At the same time I can not hide from you my anxiety about your wonderful achievements on July 10th which so inspired me when I was here last year. Some of them are still intact, especially the collectives. But the encroachments of the government and its Communist allies are creeping dangerous near, determined to destroy them, much has already been lost, all may go if you will not bethink yourselves and take a more militant and decisive stand. I hope fervently you will.

I am remaining here for another ten days. Please write me so I can still get your letter in response to this. ~~I will be away~~ *fast*. Let me know what you intend to do about some sort of a change in the condition of the children of the fathers who are fighting so courageously at all our fronts.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 12, Barcelona [to] Mariano [R.] V[á]zquez, Valencia / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

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Barcelona

12 de octubre 1937

Mariano Vazquez, Sec.
El Comité Nacional
Valencia.

queridos compañeros,

No creo necesario afirmarle mi devoción a vuestra lucha contra el fascismo y para la revolución. Mis trabajos en Inglaterra, para la CNT, eso es, es suficiente para probaros el hecho que no permití nada, que podría obstaculizar vuestros trabajos, los cuales como la lucha heroica de los compañeros españoles, he hecho llegar en el maximum grado posible, al conocimiento de los trabajadores ingleses. Lo hice, aunque no me es posible de estar de acuerdo con sus políticas políticas. Afin de verificar lo que leía en vuestra prensa y boletines, recrése aquí para estudiar personalmente los hechos. Reconozco mi impresión muy profunda por el espíritu de Madrid, por el gran valor de nuestros compañeros tanto en las trincheras como en los varios esfuerzos de colectivizaciones. Me ha inspirado la abnegación del pueblo que sigue construyendo en medio de las ruinas y el peligro constante de la muerte. También en Valencia saque de muchas cosas una buena impresión. Desgraciadamente, no puedo decir lo mismo por Barcelona. Las condiciones aquí por donde he pasado, mas las conversaciones con compañeros, han aumentado mi convicción que la política de la CNT esta minando lento pero seguro, las ideas fundamentales y la posición de la CNT; y si continua, destrozara por completo su influencia. Entre muchas cosas, es el renovado paso de la CNT de satisfacer las demandas insaciables del gobierno Sovietico de mas concesiones de parte de vuestra organización.

Va el año pasado, era bastante malo el hecho que la CNT abandono su solidaridad con las masas de Rusia, cuyos logros revolucionarios, fueron traicionados por el regime Sovietico. Ha sido, ademas una negación de solidaridad a los compañeros muertos o arrastrados de campo a campo de concentración en Rusia; y no menos ha sido una negación de tributo a la memoria de los marinos de Kronstadt, asesinados por los autoridades Sovieticos. Solamente, el año pasado, hubo alguna justificación, por tratarse de vida o muerte en la necesidad de obtener armas de Rusia. Desde entonces, ha pasado un año, durante lo cual el gobierno sovietico ha descubierto su juego con el fin de erigir una dictadura en el suelo español, tan odioso como lo de Franco. Se que todavía, necesitamos armas.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Pero hace falta tomar parte en conmemoracion, otra vez, de la revolucion Rusa, precisamente con la gente que aniquilo la revolucion en Rusia? Sin embargo, vais hacerlo este ano, como el ano pasado. Francamente, no lo comprendo. No os dais cuenta, queridos companeros, que pelagra de perder la sympathy en el extranjero con vuestra lucha, completamente, por vuestra concepcion al gobierno Sovietico? Estoy segura, que vosotros no estan enterados de que actualmente entre los elementos obreros de todos los paises, incluso Inglaterra, el regimen Stalinista esta completamente desacreditado? Como aqui, los Comunistas en todos los paises cuentan solamente con las clases profesionales burguesas, y no con las masas. Los obreros no ven en el regimen de Moscú, mas que el enemigo contrarevolucionario del proletariado. Hasta la organizacion reaccionaria el British Labor Party ha demostrado por una mayoria imponente que no permitira a los elementos insidiosos comunistas penetrar en sus filas, por que saben demasiado bien que de hacerlo, constituira la ruina de su partido, tal como ha sido en todas partes en donde ha podido infiltrarse de dentro. Y ahora, la CNT, la organizacion anarco-sindicalista mas antigua y hasta hace poco la mas pronunciadamente revolucionaria, van de brazo con los elementos cuyo objetivo mayor es destrozar la CNT. Conocido es, que han dado ya suficiente prueba para convencer a los mas ingenuos y credulosos. Queridos, companeros, no hay sacrificio demasiado grande, que estaria dispuesto de hacer para ayudaros en vuestra lucha; pero de aceptar sin protesta, vuestros eulogios del regimen Stalinista, seria negar mi propia pasado revolucionario de 48 anos. Lo siento, pero eso no puedo hacer. No creo que mi protesta tendra una influencia en vuestras determinaciones; pero creo que un silencio de mi parte quierria decir mi consentimiento a una cosa que encuentro tan innecesario y inconsequente. Desde luego, no tengo intencion de repudiar publicamente lo que me parece absolutament falso. Por lo menos, debo declararos mi opinion. Espero, que como vuestra delegada, tengo todavia este derecho.

Hay un otro asunto- los refugios para las mujeres y niños evacuadas, en Valencia y Barcelona. Estan en un estado deplorable, muchos estan horriblemente sucios, los niños desgraciados, enfermos y descuidados, a mi modo de ver lo peor visto en los paises capitalistas. En todas las reuniones en Inglaterra, he implorado para ayuda para las mujeres y niños refugiados en España. Las 554 Libras esterlinas, ya se, es una gota en el mar, al lado de vuestra obra de cuidar centenares de miles de victimas del fascismo. No pido lo imposible, pero estoy convencido que personas competentes podrian organizar estas casas de refugios con mejores resultados. Actualmente, repito estan horribles. Te acuerdas, querido companero Mariano, me escribiste diciendome de utilizar los fondos conseguidos para nuestro trabajo de propaganda en Inglaterra, y que los tales importes serian desembolsados por la CNT en favor de las mujeres y niños, aqui. Ahora que he visitado las casas de refugiados, me siento obsesionado con el pensamiento de haber defraudado al publico ingles, y que los centavos que han contribuido no han llegado a beneficiar un solo niño. Me siento muy desdichosa, porque ademas tengo que someter un informe al comite que me ayudo a recoger fondos, y me ve imposibilitados de contarles la situacion tan desgraciada de los llamados hogares, que visite; ni podre decirles mentiras. Si siquiera hubiese encontrado un solo hogar que merece su nombre, me sentiria menos culpable de haber empleado el dinero destinado para los niños, para la propaganda. Teneis que hacer algo para mejorar la situacion de estos infortunados mujeres y niños. Estoy seguro, no es tanto cuestion de dinero, sino la falta de personas competentes en la direccion. Entre las companeras militantes, debe haber algunas con suficiente sentido de responsabilidad de cuidar los niños o por lo menos hacer para que las madres que esten con ellos, de mantener un elemental higien en sus cuartos y a sus propios hijos. Seria un escandalo escabroso si el mundo de fuera llegase a saber la falta de atencion elemental destinada a las masas de humanidad, escapadas de las hordas de Franco. Os ruego de adoptar medidas premiantes para remediar las negligencias indicadas.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 12, Barcelona [to] Mariano [R.] V[á]zquez, Valencia / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

Casa C. N. T. - F. A. I. - Vía Layetana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

Barcelona 12 de octubre 1937

(3)

Tal como te indique, tengo todavía parte de los fondos. Quisiera saber seguidamente, a quien debo dar este dinero. Repito que tendra que emplearse para cuidar los niños y mujeres, porque ahora mas que nunca, consentiría de utilizar un centimo para cualquier otro objeto,; ni sera necesario puestoque has reservado una cantidad para propaganda en Inglaterra. Si el cuidado de los niños ya no esta en vuestras manos, y ha pasado a las manos del gobierno, preferiria contribuirlo a los niños vascos cerca de Londres, bajo la administracion del Independent Labor Party; a cuyo fin he contribuido ya 50 libras. Una nueva contribucion tendria un buen efecto moral. Ademas Spain and the World recogen fondos para 20 niños huérfanos de nuestros camaradas muertos en el frente, y quisiera hacer una contribucion a esta causa. Sea quien sea, creo que estareis de acuerdo con migo que los beneficiados del dinero que conservo en mi poder, solamente corresponden a los niños y mujeres refugiados.

Entiendo que cuerran que siga siendo vuestra delegada en Inglaterra, aunque he tomado la libertad de llamar vuestra atencion a vuestra poliza equivocada en sacrificando tanto al dragon Sovietico. Desesperaria sobre la situacion aqui si no fuese por mi fe apasionada en el pueblo español y en nuestros companeros, si no fuese por el hecho de encontrar entre tantas ~~xxxxxx~~ cosas perturbantes, el mas heroico espiritu en el frente y en las colectividades. Es esto que me capacita de volver a Inglaterra y gastar el ultimo de mis esfuerzos en ayuda a vuestra lucha. Solamente no ~~debeis~~ debeis atenderos a que apruebe sin reserva vuestra poliza, que temo, vos aleja mas y mas de vuestra gloriosa tradicion revolucionaria y fuerza combativa. Estoy con vosotros hasta la medula, en vuestra determinacion de aplastar al fascismo. Esto es de veras la consigna de mas relieve. Al mismo tiempo no puedo negar mi ansiedad referente a las conquistas maravillosas del 19 de julio, que tanto me inspiraron en mi estancia aqui el año pasado. Algunas quedan intactas, sobre todo las colectividades. Pero las imposiciones del gobierno y sus aliados comunistas amenazan con su determinacion de destrozr vuestra obra. Mucho ya esta perdido, todo seguira si no pensais bien la cosa y tomais una posicion mas militante y decisivamente energética. Espero fervorosamente que lo haréis.

Me quedo aqui todavía una semana o maximum diez dias. Os ruego de escribirme afin de que reciba vuestra carta de contestacion a esta. Quisiera saber lo que os proponeis de hacer para efectuar un cambio saludable en la situacion de los niños cuyos padres luchan tan valerosos en todos los frentes.

Salud

Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001174

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 13, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Pierre Besnard. --
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

PARIS le 13 Octobre 1937

Pierre BESNARD
25, rue Georges Guynemer
(Boulevard des Capucines)

PAR AVION

Comrade Emma GOLDMAN
18, Castletown
LONDON W.
(Angleterre)

Ma Chère Camarade,

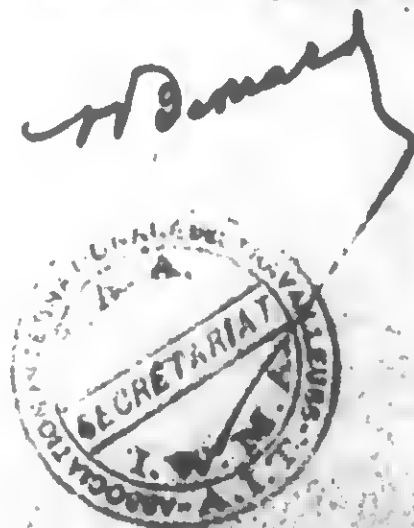
Je viens d'être informé que le camarade Emílio SARAIVA, secrétaire général de la C.G.T. portugaise, venant en France par le vapeur ALCANTARA, n'a pu débarquer à Cherbourg et a été renvoyé en l'Angleterre.

Il se trouve en ce moment à Southampton et il est menacé de rapatriement sur le Portugal.

Je vous serais très obligé de faire ou de faire faire les démarches en sa faveur pour que le gouvernement anglais ne le dirige pas sur le Portugal, ce qui équivaudrait à un arrêt de mort.

Avec mes remerciements, recevez, mes bien cordiales amitiés.

Le secrétaire général



The Emma Goldman Papers

870929466

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 18, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, Barcelona / Mariano [R.] Vázquez. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

N.º 283.

10674

COMITE NACIONAL

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SECRETARIA

VALENCIA, a 18 de octubre de 1.937.

GRABADOR ESTEVE. 4

APARTADO CORREOS 411

A la compañera Emma Goldman.
Barcelona.

Estimada amiga:

Examinamos tu grata carta del 12 cte. en la que expones, con nobleza, tu apreciación sobre algunos aspectos de los planteados en la actualidad.

No queremos discutir algunos aspectos de los que expresas. Bajo el punto ideológico, es indiscutible que debía merecer repulsión y condena lo realizado en Rusia desde el 19 hasta la fecha, pero por encima de esos escrúpulos ideológicos, hay una realidad sangrante en las actuales circunstancias, y es que, desde el Exterior, Rusia, a fin de cuentas, es el país que no ayuda, aunque lo haga por propio instinto de conservación y conveniencia, en lugar de hacerlo, como lo harían los anarquistas, por convicción de solidaridad profundamente arraigada.

Pero al margen de este motivo importantísimo, hay otros, menos fundamentales para el Movimiento Libertario. En el interior de España que nos obliga a intervenir en el homenaje a la U.R.S.S. Se trata del problema táctico.

Las adhesiones del pueblo, cuando se concentran grandes masas, tienen valor indiscutible para el desenvolvimiento de las organizaciones en el país que tiene la lucha. Nosotros hemos comprobado prácticamente, como cuando nuestro Movimiento no ha venido, no importa en qué conmemoración o fiesta de carácter popular, los demás sectores que intervinieron, muy especialmente, los comunistas, han tratado de sacar partido de ello, especulando con las masas que asistieron al acto, y diciendo posteriormente que había sido una demostración categórica de que el pueblo estaba con ellos. Ante este hecho, el Movimiento Libertario se ve obligado a intervenir en estos actos que tienen carácter popular, ya que la psicología simplista del pueblo, que no analiza detalles ideológicos, solo tiene en cuenta el hecho concreto de Rusia. Que Rusia ha prestado apoyo a la lucha que sostenemos contra el fascismo, y lo tanto, notamos que a un país que nos apoya, no puede el pueblo dejar de manifestar su agradecimiento y adhesión al mismo.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 18, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, Barcelona / Mariano [R.] Vázquez. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

A la compañera Emma Goldman - Barcelona. - 18.10.37.

2a

De no intervenir nosotros, las masas populares celebrarían y asistirían a los actos de conmemoración con casi idéntica intensidad que si intervinieramos. En consecuencia, al intervenir, no hacemos más que impedir que se pueda especular con esas masas populares que han de asistir a esos actos y concentraciones e impedir que el adversario pueda alegar que aquello es una demostración categórica de que las masas están con ellos.

Estas son las razones porque el Movimiento Libertario intervenga en ese momento a la V.R.C.T., razones que confiamos las comprenderás perfectamente, ya que ante todo tenemos que lograr que nuestro Movimiento Libertario no pierda el ascendiente ni posición alguna en el interior de España.

En cuanto a las Organizaciones del Exterior que puedan ó nó ver con simpatía nuestra intervención, lo importante es que esas Organizaciones hagan un poco más de lo que hasta la fecha hicieron en apoyo nuestro. No es con donativos ni con palabras como la Internacional Socialista y la Comunista nos tienen que apoyar, sino movilizandolos sus masas populares. Eso no lo han hecho ni lo hacen aún y no tienen, por lo tanto, derecho a censurar a la C.N.T. estos pequeños detalles mientras ellos no digan a la C.N.T. que están dispuestos a hacer cuanto preciso y posible les es realizar.

Tomamos buena nota de las indicaciones que nos haces con referencia a los niños.

Es cierto que ese problema no fué atendido hasta la fecha como debía. Sin embargo, podemos asegurarte que ahora se está poniendo en marcha, pasando todas las guarderías que tiene nuestro Movimiento, a menos de S. I. A., la cual se ocupará -se está ocupando ya- de organizarlo debidamente, para que estén atendidos como deben estarlo. Puedes afirmar, por lo tanto, que a partir de este momento, nada les faltará. Se buscarán los elementos competentes para que se pongan al frente de la dirección de esos establecimientos. Debes abandonar, por lo tanto, los escrúpulos por la buena ó mala inversión de los fondos que allá se recaudaron para los niños. Este Comité Nacional se responsabiliza a que esos fondos se utilizan, junto con otros, para el destino a que fueron recaudados y como prueba demostrativa muy pronto te remitiremos fotografías y algún rollo de película en el cual podrás comprobar y mostrar a los donantes de Inglaterra, que el dinero ha sido utilizado para los fines a que fueron recaudados.

Te saluda fraternalmente



POR EL COMITÉ NACIONAL.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

Secretario.

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230

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937] Oct. 19, Barcelona [to] Stella [Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

COPY



Barcelona, Spain, Oct. 19th

Darling Stella:

Your letter of Sept. 10th reached me only Saturday. Of course I was overjoyed to have your letter and also to know your plans. About myself there is much to say but must wait until I leave here. I had intended to do so this week but find still so much to see and material to gather that I will remain for another week. The main drawback for getting about is lack of cars and scarcity of petrol. I have been after the Regional Comm here for 10 days to enable me to get to the various collectives. I have been definitely promised a car this morning but dare not be too hopeful. The comrades are willing enough to make it easy for me to see what there is of value, but they are no longer in the same position as last year, though morally much stronger. I had an unexpected chance given me by an English woman, married to a charming Spaniard. She came to England last year to work for hospitals in the rear and homes for the refugees. I helped her then and got her in touch with a lot of people, physicians especially, who contributed food and medicines for her homes. When she came here, she heard I was here too and offered to take me about to visit hospitals, homes and collectives. They have a car and are lovely people, charming in every way. If I only had them here, I could gather a mint of material, but Mrs. Adams returned to England yesterday and I must again go begging for transportation. My patience has been tried to the breaking point but I can not forget that this is a country at war and in revolution, so I must hold out till I have gathered what I need for further work in England. One thing I can tell you that the Spanish people, particularly our comrades, are a daily wonder to me. Their undying faith in their ultimate triumph and their persistent constructive work are marvelous. Today I went through an optical collective - a triumph of organization and mutual help. Nowhere else in the world could people accomplish what the workers of this and other collectives have already done. There are many disquieting and painful aspects to the moves of our own people, yet with all their faults and shortcoming they are magnificent and I for one must stand with them to the end.

The enclosed letter will interest you. At last that our forsaken boy, Leon Czolgosz is to be vindicated. I can not tell you how pleased I am about it. Please send the enclosed letter to Mr. Mitchell. I can not give him the information here, but will when I reach Paris the end of next week. Write me to London. I will be back there Nov. 10th and send me Nation and Times. I will write in greater detail from Paris.

Love to you and the family.

EMMA.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 19, Barcelona [to] Mariano R. V[á]quez, Valencia [Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Mariano R Vasquez
Seco. del Comite Nacional
Valencia

Hotel Victoria, Barcelona
19 de octubre 1937

Querido Companero Mariano,

Por no escribir esta carta desde el Comite Regional, tango que emplear este papel en escribirte, por carecer de papel oficial. Te extranaras de que todavia estoy aqui, la razon es que no he podido conseguir un coche, ni facilidades para visitar las colectividades y otros lugares de imprescindible interes para mi orientacion en mis trabajos en Inglaterra. Me han prometido en definitivo un coche para manana, para ir a Aragon, por unos dias.

Te escribo esta carta para presentarte el companero Frank, para tratar personalmente con tigo un asunto de sumo interes. Este companero ha traído un film documental basado en las obras de la CNT, y me lo ha dado en Londres para fines de propaganda en Inglaterra. Se esta proyectando este film por organizaciones obreras, por el ILP, y otras entidades obreras y confiamos tambien que las organizaciones de mineros lo exhibiran. Este film demuestra la lucha heroica de la columna Durruti, la defensa de Madrid y consta como un testimonio elocuente del entusiasmo y el fervor de los combatientes de la CNT en el frente de batalla. Pero tambien necesitamos una obra documental de las conquistas revolucionarias de la CNT en la retaguardia necesitamos un film de las colectividades, de las escuelas y de las realizaciones sociales y economicas en el campo. En mi viaje por Valencia y Madrid he visto el esfuerzo grandioso realizado en las colectividades, los cuales adecuadamente fotografiado y comentado representaria un prestigio enorme para la CNT en el extranjero.

En Madrid he visto algunos reportajes que son muy interesante. En Barcelona hay tambien buen material. El companero Frank que entiende la psicologia de la mentalidad inglesa y norteamericana ha empezado ya montar una pelicula de obras constructivas de la CNT. Le falta mas material para completarle, y te ruego hacer lo posibles en facilitarle en todo afin de que pueda terminar su trabajo en el tiempo mas breve. Con un film constructivo, podremos alcanzar mejores resultados de inestimable valor entre los elementos obreros y hasta con el publico general. Por lo tanto, cuanto antes podre tener el film en cuestion, tanto mas podria realizar en mis trabajos de propaganda para la CNT en Inglaterra, en ayuda a vuestra lucha.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 19 - Nov. 1, Barcelona [to] Mariano R. V[á]zquez, Valencia / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 21 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

Mariano R. Vázquez
Sec. del Comité Nacional
Valencia

Hotel Victoria, Barcelona
19 de octubre 1937

Querido Compañero Mariano,

recarta J. Espectáculos Públicos - J. Bino
(Madrid) 2-11-37 3368

Por no escribir esta carta desde el Comité Regional, tengo que emplear este papel en escribirte, por carecer de papel oficial. Te extrañarás de que todavía estoy aquí, la razón es que no he podido conseguir un coche, ni facilidades para visitar las colectividades y otros lugares de imprescindible interés para mi orientación en mis trabajos en Inglaterra. Me han prometido en definitivo un coche para mañana, para ir a Aragón, por unos días.

Te escribo esta carta para presentarte el compañero Frank, para tratar personalmente con tigo un asunto de sumo interés. Este compañero ha traído un film documental basado en las obras de la CNT, y me lo ha dado en Londres para fines de propaganda en Inglaterra. Se está proyectando este film por organizaciones obreras, por el ILP, y otras entidades obreras y confiamos también que las organizaciones de minería lo exhibirán. Este film demuestra la lucha heroica de la columna Durruti, la defensa de Madrid y consta como un testimonio elocuente del entusiasmo y el fervor de los combatientes de la CNT en el frente de batalla. Pero también necesitamos una obra documental de las conquistas revolucionarias de la CNT en la retaguardia necesitamos un film de las colectividades, de las escuelas y de las realizaciones sociales y económicas en el campo. En mi viaje por Valencia y Madrid he visto el esfuerzo grandioso realizado en las colectividades, los cuales adecuadamente fotografiado y comentado representaría un prestigio enorme para la CNT en el extranjero.

En Madrid he visto algunos reportajes que son muy interesantes. En Barcelona hay también buen material. El compañero Frank que entiende la psicología de la mentalidad inglesa y norteamericana ha empezado ya montar una película de obras constructivas de la CNT. Le falta más material para completarlo, y te ruego hacer lo posible en facilitarle en todo afín de que pueda terminar su trabajo en el tiempo más breve. Con un film constructivo, podremos alcanzar mejores resultados de inestimable valor entre los elementos obreros y hasta con el público general. Por lo tanto, cuanto antes poder tener el film en cuestión, tanto más podría realizar en mis trabajos de propaganda para la CNT en Inglaterra, en ayuda a vuestra lucha.

Salud.

Emma Goldman

P.S. Ha pasado dos semanas para conseguir un coche para ir a Madrid con referencia al film en preparación, y ahora empiezo a confiar en tener un film para mi trabajo de propaganda en Inglaterra. Confío, en ti, querido compañero, de dar al compañero Frank toda la ayuda posible a este fin.

Un compañero que acompaña a Frank, en este viaje- Abe Bluestein, quien ha trabajado en la sección inglesa en esta regional, y para dar más rendimiento en este trabajo, te lo recomiendo para que pueda visitar colectividades y todo lo que podrá estimularle en bien de la causa. Yo me marcho por fin, el miércoles próximo, y ire a Londres después de ver al compañero Roca.

Salud.

Nov. 1 of 1937

Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Oct. 20, New York [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Harry Rosenberg. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18131
812 Riverside Drive
N.Y. City. 10/20/37

Dear Miss Goldman

Wherever you are I trust
(will not say pray) you are enjoying all the
noble soul like you deserves -

I just finished reading
your (Classic history biography) "Living my life" -

I wept, and struggled with you, exactly as
you did, all thru the book - My life is similar
to yours, and we are kindred spirits, and
altho I'm a member of several radical parties
I will say the people in them are not radical -
and sad to say - I'm a pianist (supposed to be
good) well balanced as I was an accountant for
20 years in a large Crock Store in N.Y. and
studied music abroad, worked my way on a
small steamer to Berlin - etc - (Enough of me)

I attended to one of your lectures
on Chinese Culture at 126th St. - 7th Ave about 30

years ago, and walked with you Albert Einstein

I had the stupidity to tell you that since
people were not ripe for socialism - how could

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Oct. 20, New York [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Harry Rosenberg. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

they be ripe for anarchy? I have never
forgotten your answer verbatim — Here it is
"Are they ripe for Democracy? — Republicanism? —
Communism? — Are they ripe for anything? — If you
wish to go to the Battery — would you go to the Bronx
pt. or directly to the Battery — People in mass are
sheep, and follow a good leader — They need
to know nothing" — and secretly I asked
myself where is that Superman leader, are not
all Human Beings just Human, and even
worse than the animal — Most of them Bifids with
a heavy carcass, and infantile mind (Hay at all —
Will I be no writer, and there is nothing
I can tell you — but that I love you, and
always have for yourself as well as for your
entire sacrificial life, and, tremendous expenses
That the fates (don't know where they are —
will ever shower you with all the blessings
your poor heart deserves is ~~the~~ ^{the} faintest wish of
my most devoted
I tell every one to read your ~~Letter~~ ^{Letter} Harry Rosenberg

One fine person would make me happy even without you
and love.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001191

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 21, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, Barcelona] / Augustin Souchy. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

19731

CASA C.N.T.-F.A.I. - AVENIDA BENVENUTTA DURAN, 22 Y 24 - BARCELONA
OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

TELÉFONOS:
CENTRALITA 14901

SECRETARIA { 40
comité ejecutivo 25
comité nacional 25
comité internacional 40
comité regional 40
comité local 40
comité de prensa 40
comité de propaganda 40

Barcelona 21st of October 1937

Esteemed comrades; SALUD

Trusting to your proved spirit of Solidarity, and your loyalty to the antifascist cause, I wish to call your attention to a case worthy of your best efforts and sacrifice in the interest of humanity and of the cause and ideas we hold in common.

This is the case:

Our comrade, EMILIO SANTANA, General Secretary of the C.G.T. in Portugal, left his country on a mission for our organisation in the cause of the antifascist struggle. He had the misfortune to be arrested in England and now faces the danger of being turned over to the fascist authorities of the Portuguese dictator, Oliveira Salazar. He is an active militant in the Portuguese Labour Organisation, extremely valuable in the fight against fascism, and the Portuguese dictator will naturally resort to any means of getting him within his power and killing him.

In the face of this danger, therefore, I appeal to you to do everything possible, first, to prevent our comrade from being handed over to the fascist authorities in Portugal, and second, to set our comrade free so that he may be able to fulfill the mission entrusted him in Spain. Hoping that you will respond to this appeal, and will let us know what happens, I am

Yours for the Antifascist Cause

Augustin Souchy
Via Llorens - 204
BARCELONA

236

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 22 [Valencia to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez. — 1 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

376.

22 de octubre de 1.937.

A la compañera Emma Goldman.
Londres.

Estimada amiga:

Adjuntamos un volumen del libro "De julio a julio".
El mismo es el volumen del extraordinario de "FRAGUA SOCIAL",
del 19 de julio de 1.937. Es un verdadero documento histórico.

Interesa que esas oficinas se apresuren, con toda rapidez, a hacer la traducción para una edición en francés.

Os saluda fraternalmente,

POR EL COMITE NACIONAL.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

Secretario.

Certificado N°

1140-115

The Emma Goldman Papers

781229005

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 22 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—
2 p.; 13 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Oct. 22nd 1937

Dearest Emma,

I've been wanting to write for weeks, but concentrating on finishing my Revolution book I didn't write to anyone other than what was strictly necessary. I sent various messages to you via Barr, though.

First of all Warburg didn't want me to dedicate the book to you, for he said you were regarded by the general public 'as a dangerous and desperate woman', and the dedication might frighten them off the book; I told him that Rev. was anyhow to the lay mind a dangerous and desperate subject, and that anyone who could stand for the book at all would stand for a dedication to you; he replied that he didn't insist about the matter, and accepted my suggestion that I should make the Dedication in the form of a letter, which would explain the apparent paradox of a book which quotes Marxist doctrine (to some extent) being dedicated to an anarchist (at this point I've realised that I'd better not send this letter to Spain, but leave it to await your return; I will send just a brief note to Spain, via Barr)

I send you this Dedicatory letter herewith, together with the section of the Russian Revolutionary women chapter relating to yourself. If it all seems alright to you I'd be glad if you ring up Warburg at Secker & Warburg (or have Barr or someone do so) and say so; and if you want any alterations made let me know. But I am hoping you won't want any alterations made as I think Warburg is going ahead with the typesetting.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 22 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—
2 p.; 13 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I think the book is urgent, me having delivered it so late. But of course if there's anything you strenuously object to it must and shall be altered, cost what it may.

Dearest Emma, I will enclose with this letter a carbon of what I sent you to Spain in case it didn't reach you. This and that are really all one letter,— or this is merely a p.s. to that, if you like, since they are written at the same time.

I hope you like the little surprise I arranged for you to sort of welcome you back to grey London. You don't hate London more than I do, I can assure you.

Write me to the Cottage, dear, when you've time; if you mark it to be forwarded it will reach me without too much delay, and I will reply at once; a silence will only mean the letter hasn't caught me up.

Blessings, my dear, and devoted love.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Oct. 22, London to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Ethel Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

DEDICATORY LETTER

to

EMMA GOLDMAN.

My dear Emma,

This book is dedicated to you, since you have done me the honour, accepting the dedication, because your whole life has been dedicated to the revolutionary cause, and because you are the greatest living woman revolutionary.

There will be those who will no doubt find it paradoxical that a book which quotes from Marx and Lenin and advocates social revolution for the establishment of a Workers' State along Marxist lines (though not as interpreted by the Stalinist bureaucracy) should be dedicated to you, an Anarchist, and as such opposed to any centralised State. If I cannot go all the way with you in making the establishment of the libertarian society the immediate objective of social revolution, it is not because I do not regard this as the desirable ultimate outcome of the Revolution, but because, as yet, I lack the fine faith of the Anarchist comrades who have courage and vision enough to make their bid for Utopia in one stride; my own faith — as yet — carries me only as far as the Revolution, and then on from the Workers' State it will establish to the ultimate ideal of the Libertarian Society. My disillusionment in Russia was as complete as your own, yet still I believe that with the Revolution achieved a real dictatorship of the proletariat ~~could be established that~~ would not deteriorate into the dictatorship of a bureaucracy or a handful of politicians or leaders, which Rosa Luxemburg warned Lenin might be the case with the Soviet Union, and which tragically soon became the case. You wrote to me, 'I confess I am opposed to every school of the Marxian tendency. I cannot see how anyone who has seen its workings in every country, and who loves freedom can still be a Marxist. Whatever the intentions of the best followers of Marx they must invariably deteriorate to the dictatorship and bigotry in relation to everyone who refuses to abide by their catechism. But so long as they are not in power I think they should have their freedom to go on.' My own revolutionary faith insists that despite the Communist International and its betrayal of the Revolution in Russia, its wrecking of the Revolution in China in 1925, and its sabotage of the Revolution in Spain in the struggle against Franco, in the interests of its foreign policy — ~~despite all this~~, the deterioration of the Marxian ideal into a dictatorship of the few over the masses many is not inevitable, and that by educating the masses through a truly free workers' democracy the ideal of the libertarian society of Anarchism may ultimately be achieved.

Marxist

My own comrades of the P.O.U.M. have worked side by side with your Anarchist-Syndicalist comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in Spain for the Revolution, with the Communists as bitterly our enemies as the Fascists themselves... and I have been proud to work with you in England in my humble way for the Anarcho-Syndicalist triumph in

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Spain. For the purposes of the revolution in Spain we have been comrades, and we mean the same thing when we use the word Revolution in relation to other countries; we do not mean a dictatorship from the Kremlin; and on that we are wholeheartedly agreed, however much we might disagree on the course the revolution should take in the interests of preserving a living Freedom once the capitalist system has been overthrown.

All this, I think, is well understood between us, but since a dedication is a public matter, it seemed necessary to detail it here because of those who might otherwise be confused.

There will be those, too, who will be shocked when they see your gallant name on the dedication page, Emma, for it will not be news to you that you are regarded by many people as a desperate and dangerous woman! But this is a book about Revolution, and Revolution is a desperate and dangerous business, and those who do not shrink from the word, from the living idea behind the word, will not shrink from the flame that burns as surely in your name as in the memory of those other great revolutionary women — some of them Anarchists — of whom I have written in this book.

Accept this dedication, Emma, as you would those symbolic red flowers I love to give you, as a humble tribute to your great courage and selflessness and singleness of purpose, and as token of my devotion and admiration, and believe me to be,

As always,

Yours sincerely, fraternally and affectionately,

ETHEL MANNIN.

London.
Oct. 1937.

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WOMEN AND THE REVOLUTION.

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no more. !

Emma Goldman returned to Russia in 1919, when with two hundred and forty-eight political prisoners she was deported from America for her anarchist activities. She left Russia in 1921, after just under two years, which had become increasingly unbearable as the disillusion piled up. Her return to Russia in 1919 had been in the nature of a spiritual as well as a physical home-coming; it was her country; she had been born in Courland, now part of the Latvian Republic, but which before 1917 was one of the Baltic provinces of Russia. As a child of thirteen she worked in a factory in St. Petersburg. A few years later, in 1895, at the time of the pogroms, she and her sister Helena migrated to America, to join an older sister already settled there. She arrived in New York City for the first time at the age of twenty, and considers that her real life began from that day.

In New York she was worked in various factories, and came under the influence of Johann Most and Alexander Berkman and became interested in the Anarchist Movement. These two men educated her politically and loved her. From Berkman she learned the story of Sophia Perovskaya and her lover Zhelyabov, who was executed with her. He told her of the famous Russian Revolutionary catechism 'that demanded of the true revolutionist that he give up home, parents, sweetheart, children, everything dear to one's being.' She attended meetings, began to speak herself, was drawn into the everyday struggles in the labour ranks. She worked with Berkman in the preparations for the assassination of

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Henry Clay Frick, the Chairman of the Carnegie Steel Company, whose workers were on strike because the new wage scale presented by their union had been rejected by the Company. The armed forces of a private army - Pinkerton's - were called out to suppress the strikers, and the anarchists plotted the death of Frick as 'the symbol of wealth and power, of the injustice and wrong of the capitalist class', as well as personally responsible for the shedding of workers' blood'. It was thought that 'a blow aimed at Frick would re-echo in the poorest hovel, would call the attention of the whole world to the real cause behind the Homestead struggle. It would also strike terror into the enemy's ranks and make them realize that the proletariat of America had its avengers.'

Berkman was resolved to kill Frick, and then himself. 'I will die proudly in the assurance that I gave my life for the people,' he said, and the girl to whom he said this began to realize for the first time just what it meant to be a revolutionary, the sacrifice of personal issues it entailed, the sacrifice even of life itself if need be. She thought of Jessie Helfman and Sophia Perovskaya - 'they had gone with their men in life and death. I could do no less.'

Berkman failed to kill Frick, was arrested, tried, and sentenced to twenty-two years penal servitude in the Pennsylvania Penitentiary. Tremendous efforts were made for the commutation of this sentence, but without success. Emma worked harder than ever now for the Cause; she began to be known as 'Red Emma', and the police

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who had raided her flat after the arrest of Berkman, kept a sharp eye on her. In her own words, 'Committee sessions, public meetings, collection of food-stuffs, supervising the feeding of the homeless and their numerous children, and, finally, the organization of a mass meeting on Union Square entirely filled my time.'

Unemployment was acute in New York City, and nothing was being done to alleviate the misery of the unemployed. Appeals had been made to the New York legislature for their relief, ^{and were met} ~~but nothing had~~ with nothing but evasions. Emma led a mass demonstration to Union Square; the marching columns numbered several thousands; Emma led the women and girls contingent; she carried a red banner. 'Its crimson waved proudly in the air and could be seen for blocks. My soul, too, vibrated, with the intensity of the moment.' Emma made a passionate revolutionary speech which was (inciting to riot', in the phraseology of the law; the next day, at another meeting, she was arrested, and in due course sentenced to a year in Blackwell's Island Penitentiary. In prison she learned nursing and was gradually given entire charge of the hospital ward. Apart from teaching her nursing, which was to make a living possible for her on her release, the Blackwell's Island Penitentiary proved a valuable education. She owed a great deal, educationally, politically and personally, to Berkman, Most, and Edward Brady, but ~~perhaps~~ ^{person}, she found, taught her to see life through her own eyes; it had been the crucible that had tested her faith. 'It had helped me,' she wrote in her autobiography, 'to discover strength in my own being, the strength to stand alone, the strength to live my life and fight for my ideals, against the whole world

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if need be. The State of New York could have rendered me no greater service than by sending me to Blackwell's Island Penitentiary).

But when she left prison she knew nightmare weeks in which prison noises kept clashing and ringing in her ears, and at meetings 'hideous figures in fantastic stripes emerged from every aisle, slowly moving towards me'. (Vera Figner had a similar experience when she left the Fortress; all the people in the streets appeared to her to be wearing prison uniform.) In the tender care and protection of Edward Brady she recovered from the effects of prison; she might have settled down to a sheltered, peacefully, idyllic life with her lover; or she might have led the life of a celebrity, for the press publicity she had received had made her a celebrity, and 'every day brought stacks of invitations to luncheons and dinners. Everyone seemed eager to 'take me up'.' But she wanted to earning her own living, and she wanted money to help people in prison, and to start a new campaign for the commutation of 'Sasha's' sentence. Against the wishes of Brady she began to work as a nurse. She enjoyed the friendship of leading women revolutionaries, Annie Netter, Natasha Notkin, Marie Louise, Voltairine de Cleyre, Emma Lee. She got work in a hospital in Vienna. On her way to Austria she went to London, where she met English anarchists and Russian exiles, and Louise Michel. When she finally returned to New York she was a qualified midwife and nurse. She toured the country lecturing on various facets of Freedom - and whenever an anarchist was in trouble with the police it was all suspected that 'Red Emma' was

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was somehow involved. When President Wilson was elected in 1912 by a young anarchist called Leon Czolgosz, who was completely unknown to Emma, the press promptly came out with a statement that Czolgosz confessed to having been incited by Emma Goldman'. She was wanted by the police, went into hiding with some friends in Chicago, but was eventually arrested. She spent some weeks in prison before her innocence was proved, and when she was released worked to have the life of Czolgosz, but without success.

The newspaper publicity on this case did her harm professionally, and she found herself no longer able to make a living as a nurse, but after a bad spell in which she was reduced to sweated labour for clothing manufacturers, she succeeded in opening a massage parlour. She was, naturally, intensely interested in the Russian Revolution of 1905. She met Catherine Breshkovskaya - 'Babushka' - whose first appearance in New York, she says, 'proved to be the most inspiring manifestation I had seen for years'.

In 1906 Emma started a paper called Mother Earth, which was to be 'a place of expression for the young idealists in art and letters', and for all who 'longed to escape rigid moulds, political and social prejudices, and petty moral demands'. The same year Berkman, whose sentence had been commuted to thirteen years penal servitude, was released from prison. The story of their reunion after all those years, and of her struggle to help him readjust to normal life again, is poignantly told in her autobiography, to which the reader is referred. They worked together on her paper, and later when no publisher could be found to publish his Prison they decided they should print and publish them themselves.

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Berkman brought out a new anarchist weekly labour paper called Blast, through which it was hoped to 'arouse the workers to conscious revolutionary activity.'

When Tom Mooney, the labour leader, was arrested on a framed-up charge of bomb-throwing and sentenced to death, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were amongst the first to rush to support. Mooney's sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life - he is in prison to this day - but their part in this campaign was yet another black mark chalked up by authority against the two anarchists, and they were finally arrested in the Mother Earth offices in June 1917 for their anti-conscription activities. After a sensational trial they were each sentenced to two years' penal servitude. They served their time, and when they were released in 1919 were ordered to be deported. The news of Henry Clay Frick's death reached them on the eve of their deportation. Frick had died peacefully in bed.

The conditions under which the 248 political prisoners were deported from America were appalling. They were crowded into the steerage quarters of an old ship which had been used as a transport in the Spanish-American War and later been discarded as unsafe. 'The floor of the steerage was wet all the time,' Emma writes, 'the beds and blankets damp. Only salt water was to be had for washing, and no soap. The food was abominable, especially the bread, half-baked and uneatable. And, worst of all, there were only two toilets for the two hundred and forty-six men.' The bad food, lack of air and exercise, the damp beds, the cold, caused stomach-trouble and rheumatism and general sickness amongst the

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deportees; Emma offered her services as a train conductor, but was refused. The deportees were virtually prisoners, sentinels placed outside cabin doors and on deck, and ^{guards} even escorting them to the toilets. They had twenty-eight days of this misery in an unsafe battered old tub of a ship and heading for mine-infested waters, yet their spirits were high - 'Russia - ^{new} free/Russia was before us.' From the time of the February revolution which overthrew the Tsar, Emma had dreamed of going back to the new Russia, but there was work to be done in America, and still more when America entered the war and the spirit of militarism and conscription had to be fought.

Now, on the threshold of Soviet Russia, her heart trembled with anticipation and fervent hope. Her attitude is best summed up in her own burning, eager words, 'Soviet Russia! Sacred ground! Magic people! You have come to symbolise humanity's hope, you alone are destined to redeem mankind. I have come to serve you, beloved matushka. Take me to your bosom, let me pour myself into you, mingle my blood with yours, find my place in your heroic struggle, and give to the uttermost to your needs!'

No one, surely, ever went to the new Russia with greater faith and hope, or left it more bitterly disappointed. In Moscow, as we have seen, she met Spiridonova and learned of her persecution under the Chekha, and from her and other good revolutionary comrades learned of the sufferings of the peasants and of the betrayal of the revolution into the hands of bureaucracy, the ruthless dictatorship of the Kremlin. For a long time she would not openly criticise the regime of the Bolsheviks whilst they were still being attacked by outside enemies, although the manifestations of the Revolution

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were everywhere completely at variance with what she had always conceived and propagated as revolution. She says that like a rabbit in a trap she dashed about in a cage of confusion, beating against the bars of the fearful contradictions she found everywhere. Her disillusion was a ghastly experience for her, and she fought desperately against it. She felt 'lost in the labyrinth of Soviet Russia, stumbling constantly over the many obstacles, vainly groping for the revolutionary light.' She turned for guidance to Gorki, her idol, to Zinoviev, to Lenin himself. They explained away the contradictions, but she was not convinced. It was evident to her that the new power in the Kremlin was feared no less than the old. She found Soviet officials and their friends permitted special privileges, 'often receiving three and even more rations, while the ordinary mortal were wearing out their depleted strength to attain their meagre due. The housing arrangements disclosed similar favouritism and injustice.' She found that there were thirty-four different grades of rations 'under alleged Communism'. She found 'a special hospital for Communists, with every modern comfort, while other institutions lacked the barest medical and surgical necessities'. She found old revolutionary anarchist comrades forced to meet in secret, and when she asked why people with such a record should be driven under cover - 'Presently came the answer - from workers in the Putilov Ironworks, from factories and mills, from the Kronstadt sailors, from Red Armymen, and from an old comrade who had escaped while under sentence of death. The very brawn of the revolutionary struggle was crying out in anguish and bitterness against the people they had

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helped place in power. They spoke of the Bolshevik betrayal of the Revolution, of the slavery forced upon the toilers, the enserfment of the soviets, the suppression of speech and thought, the filling of prisons with recalcitrant peasants, workers, soldiers, sailors, and rebels of every kind. They told of the raid with machine-guns upon the Moscow headquarters of the anarchists by the order of Trotsky; of the Cheka and the wholesale executions without hearing or trial.

She sought desperately to believe that all this was necessary for the protection of the Revolution against counter-revolution and sabotage; she resisted even ^{the attraction:} ~~believing the words~~ of her own anarchist comrades. Anarchists were in every part of Russia in the firing line, driving back the enemies of the Revolution, yet bitterly they denounced the Bolsheviks, accusing them of betraying the Revolution, and of adding fuel to the fires of popular bitterness, arousing hatred among the peasants and workers and making them fertile soil for counter-revolutionary plots.

Yet despite growing disillusion it never occurred to her to leave Russia; whatever its mistakes it was still the land of hope... until the Government's handling of the Kronstadt Rebellion. After that terrible 'blood bath' ^{which was terminated after 17 days} of March 18th, 1921 — on the fiftieth anniversary of the Paris Commune, in whose defence 30,000 Communards were butchered ~~two months later~~ — the last thread of faith which she and Berkman had in the Bolsheviks was broken. She writes, 'Not only Sasha, but also the other comrades who had formerly defended the Communist methods as inevitable in a revol-

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tionary period, had at last been forced to see the abyss between 'October' and the dictatorship. ' She felt that after that, to remain silent about the regime would be not merely impossible, but criminal, and she and Sasha wanted them only to escape from Russia, 'Escape from the horrible revolutionary sham and pretence'

They left defeated Kronstadt, ' the city drenched with blood' ,in November 1921. Before leaving they called upon Vera Figner in Moscow. Emma had met her there the previous year and had been shocked to find her in poor health and underfed. Emma had righted this matter, and she now found that great woman looking better and younger. 'Despite her almost four-score years,' Emma writes, ' she was still a figure to feast one's eyes upon, much of her former beauty being left, the beauty that had inspired poets. Equally marvellous was her spirit after twenty-two years spent in the Schlusselburg Fortress and the years of struggle ^{since} in the Russian drama unfolded itself before her. Gracious of manner, witty, and with infinite humanity, Vera Nikolayevna held us rapt by her reminiscences of the heroic revolutionary epoch, the comrades of the Narodnaya Volya (the Will of the People) period and their extraordinary fortitude and daring. They were the real precursors of anarchism, Vera thought, wholly dedicated to its realization by the masses, and without least thought of self. She had known almost all of them and her attitude reflected her own pure vision and grandeur, especially when she spoke of Sophie Perovskaya, the high priestess of the most significant revolutionary epoch in the world. Vera's narrative always renewed my hope that what had been ~~might come~~ to life in our Matushka Rossiya. '

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They had called also upon Peter Kropotkin/ and found him soon after their arrival in Russia sick and living in poverty, though prominent Communists had repeatedly assured them that he and his family were living in comfortable circumstances. Kropotkin's reactions to the Bolshevik tyranny in Russia was that it was inevitable. 'The Communists, irrevocably adhering to the idea of a centralized State, were doomed to misdirect the course/ of the Revolution. Their and being political supremacy, they had inevitably become the Jesuits of socialism, justifying all means to attain their purpose. Their methods, however, paralysed the energies of the masses and terrorized the people.' He and Vera Figner and sometimes Maxim Gorki had protested against the silence imposed where internal tyranny was concerned, but they were powerless. Before leaving Russia ~~Berlin and Emma Goldman again called at the Kropotkin cottage at~~ ~~Dimitrov, near Moscow.~~ ^{In Feb 1921, Emma and Goldman} ^{had received word that he was very ill, and} ^{had left immediately for Dimitrov, but they had arrived ten hours late in} Moscow, and there was no train for Dimitrov until the following evening, and the roads were too heavily blocked with snow for it to be possible to make the journey by car, and all telephone wires were down. When a slow train finally got them to Dimitrov at four in the morning they arrived at the cottage to find that Kropotkin had died an hour ago..... His heartbroken widow told Emma that he had continually asked if she was on the way and how long it would be before she would arrive. She also told her that Lenin had sent the best Moscow physicians to ^{of Kropotkin's} ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{xxxxxx} illness, and all manner of provisions and delicacies, and had ordered bulletins to be published in the press. Emma observes, 'It was a sad commentary that so much

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attention should have been given on his death-bed to the man who had twice been raided by the Cbeka and who had thereby been compelled to go into undesired retirement. Peter Kropotkin had helped to prepared the ground for the Revolution, but had been denied a share in its life and development; his voice had penetrated Russia in spite of tsarist persecution, but it was strangled by Communist dictatorship.

Despite her bitter disappointment in Russia, it was a great wrench for Emma Goldman to leave her beloved Matushka Rossiya. She left behind comrades of the revolutionary cause whose lives were bound up with her own. 'To ease the pangs of parting,' she writes, 'our dear friends kept assuring us that by leaving our tragic Russia we should be aiding them, for we could do much more for the country ~~than~~ abroad than in Russia, work for a better understanding of the chasm between the Revolution and the regime and for the political victims in Soviet prisons and concentration camps. They were certain our voices would be heard in western Europe and America to good advantage and they were glad we were leaving.'

Thus at the end of 1921, the year of Kropotkin's death, and the Kronstadt massacres, Emma Goldman left Russia her dreams crushed, her faith broken, her heart like a stone, leaving Matushka Rossiya 'bleeding from a thousand wounds, her soil strewn with the dead.'

As the train steamed away from the Russian frontier she clutched at the bars of the frozen window-pane and gritted her teeth to suppress her sobs.

Since then she has lived and worked in various European countries, Sweden, Germany, France, England. ^{She came to} ~~in~~ England and met

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men, at other outstanding personalities, literary and political, Havelock Ellis and Edward Carpenter, for both of whom she had always cherished immense admiration and respect; that English summer, she says, was enriched for her 'by these two grand seigneurs of intellect and heart.'

She had time now in which to revive her interest in the drama - which had been considerable in her Walthamstow days - and formed a warm friendship with Paul and Essie R. Rosen. In June of that year she married the old anarchist James Colton, a self-educated Welsh miner, and thus acquired British nationality. Some money she had made with an article on Johann Most for The American Mercury enabled her to escape from the English winter which played havoc with her health and pay a visit to Frank and Nellie Harris at Nice. She returned to England for a short spell, and then went for a few months to a tiny villa which some friends had found for her in the South of France. The life there not merely restored her strength but her fighting spirit. A lecturing tour was arranged for her in Canada. As Mrs. Colton she entered Canada quietly and without incident. She found that the only active people in the anarchist movement were the Yiddish-language group, and a Jewish friend got to work to organize some publicity for a series of lectures. ^{in Montreal} By this time, however, the press had discovered that Mrs. Colton was 'the dangerous anarchist Emma Goldman' and accused her of masquerading under the name of Colton. The Communists got to work and canvassed the Yiddish radical population in an attempt to get her lectures

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boycotted, but Emma managed to deliver six Yiddish lectures, give a lecture in the theatre, an address at the Eugene Debs Memorial, and to speak at a banquet at which several hundred dollars were subscribed for political prisoners in Russia. Emma herself says, 'The most satisfying result of my visit in Montreal was the group of women I gathered into a permanent body to raise funds for the imprisoned revolutionists in the Communist State.'

While in Canada she got the news of the ^{impending} execution in America of the two anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti who had been arrested on a framed-up charge seven years ago. ^X Talking seemed inconsequential and futile to her, yet she felt ~~that with~~ ^{the need to call} attention to the black deed about to be committed across the border, after the seven year 'purgatory' suffered by the two persecuted men. Alas, my feeble voice, like that of millions, cried in vain. America remained deaf. My comrades organised a memorial meeting, I consented to speak, though I knew that no pain of their valour and nobility could raise them to greater glory in the eyes of posterity than Vanzetti's own beautiful song or Sacco's last simple and heroic words.'

In 1928 she returned to France to settle down to the writing of her autobiography, which Theodore Dreiser some years before, when they had lunched together in Paris, had insisted she must write, urging that it was 'the richest of any woman's of X.'

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the century'.

The book took two years to write and was very painful for her, it meant unearthing so much suffering, physical and mental, so many bitter disappointments, so many weary, exhausting struggles, so many griefs, political and personal. In her own words, 'Writing had never come easy to me, and the work at hand did not mean merely writing. It meant reliving my long-forgotten past, the resurrection of memories I did not wish to dig out from the depths of my consciousness. It meant doubts in my creative ability, depression, and disheartenings.' The woman friend who went with her to France to act as her secretary on the work, Emily Holmes Coleman, 'held out bravely' and was a source of comfort and inspiration in the immense task, and for eighteen months Berkean 'worked side by side with me in our old days. Critical, of course, but always in the finest and broadest spirit. Sasha also it was who suggested the title, Living my Life.' Her life she lived it owes everything, she says, to those who had come into it, stayed little or long, and passed out. Their love, as well as their hate, contributed to making it worth while. Her numerous and lasting friendships with all kinds of peoples in all countries, and her inveterate habit of writing long letters, stood her in good stead in the assembling of material for the book. She was able to collect back from her great circle of friends over a thousand of her letters written at different periods of her stormy life. Most of them, she says, made painful reading, 'for at no time does one reveal oneself so much as in one's intimate correspondence.' But they were of the utmost value

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Footnote for page 125 of manuscript.

Sacco and Vanzetti, a shoe-worker and a fish pedlar, were arrested on charge of murdering the paymaster of a shoe factory and his guard in order to secure the pay-roll they were carrying. The trial lasted over seven years, the men being arrested in 1920 and sent to the electric chair in 1927. Their case excited world-wide attention and indignation, and protests and appeals poured in, as in the Scottsboro case. But so strong was the prejudice against them — 'Damn them they're Reds, they ought to hang, anyway', the foreman of the jury that first tried them was heard to observe — that nothing could save them, though evidence was given later that they were nowhere near the place of the murder at the time it was committed, and though the evidence of the witnesses for the prosecution was of the most worthless kind. After his last appeal had failed, Vanzetti made the speech which has become immortal, 'If it had not been for these things I might have lived out my life talking at street-corners to scornful men....No one here not a failure. This is our career and our triumph.' Sacco wrote from prison, 'It is true, that they can execute the body, but they cannot execute the idea which is bound to live.' Sacco and Vanzetti were persecuted and died in the class-struggle for freedom.

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in the re-creation of her past life, atmosphere, events, emotions.

The book was published in 1932, and during the next few years she came and went between England and the South of France and Paris. In 1933 she wrote to me/that with two countries she

loved most - Russia and America - 'hermetically closed' to her and the rest of the world not much more hospitable, one really has hardly any choice. She was content to drift at that

time, finding it difficult to take root in new soil at her age, there being at that time a lull in political activities in

her life. She felt the 'frightful collapse of Germany' into Fascism keenly. 'It makes one lose all faith in mankind,' she

wrote, 'yet one hangs on, hoping against hope that it may not be for long. At the end of 1933 she returned to Canada to do active

propaganda work again. She never felt at home in England, and had little success there at any time. She finds a lack of warmth

in the English, a barrier of reserve between their psychology and hers. In even the friendship and kindness receive at the hands of

most English people she has felt this chilling aloofness, and she is completely baffled by English conventions and social taboos.

After her return to Canada in 1933 I lost track of her, to re-find her in 1937 after her return from Spain. At the age of 67,

after fifty years of fighting ^{for} the revolutionary cause, she had joined the anarchists in Spain in their struggle against Fascism

and for the social revolution, pouring out her tremendous, inexhaustible energy as though she were a young woman, in Catalonia

seeing at last the building up of the Libertarian state, the great

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dream to which her life had been dedicated since she was a young girl hearing for the first time the story of Sophia Perovskaya from the lips of the man with whom her destiny both personal and political was to be inextricably bound until his tragic death in the South of France in 1935.

She wrote to me that no one could possibly guess that the Spanish Revolution and her visit to Spain had meant to her. It followed on the heels of Alexander Berkman's death, and with the severing of that life-time's association it seemed that her own life too was at an end. Then the call came from the Spanish Anarchists; she rallied to their cause, she the veteran comrade and they the young revolutionaries struggling to build a new world; she felt that life began all over again for her, that this call was a reprieve from a death-sentence. In Spain she felt that what she had propagated ^{for so many} ~~throughout~~ years had come to life, that at long last the seed had come to fruition. ~~She had~~ ^{her words} she had gone with a long in her mind and in her spirit.

What she found on her arrival far surpassed her wildest dream. she wrote me, 'The ideas and ideal I had held high for so many years in actual bloom, holding out the promise of golden life for the masses in Spain.' She had but one thought, to end her years in Spain, to dedicate every moment of the rest of her life to the work there, the serving of the revolution, the building of a new free life. She had lived to see the

great anarchist dream of liberty in process of realization.... ^{When after the Barcelona rising of May, 1937, it seemed that} and ~~to see~~ the dream ^{was} ~~smashed~~, the blow was more terrible to her even than her bitter disappointment over the outcome of the

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Russian Revolution. It quite shattered her. Her words concerning that tragedy which all of us in the revolutionary movement felt so deeply, but she more than any of us, since her whole life had been devoted to it, and she had grown old in the struggle, I shall remember all my life. She said, 'It's as though you had wanted a child all your life, and at last, when you had almost given up hoping, it had been given to you - only to die soon after it was born!'

But such was her faith in the Spanish masses that her one desire after the ^{appearance} collapse of the Revolution ^{following the day} ~~after its eight~~ ^{months} months of life - ~~helped to its undoing by the blunders of the revolutionaries themselves, and finally done to death by the forces of reaction - was to get back to Spain.~~ She became obsessed by the desire to go and seek out her old comrades and see for herself what was left of the reconstructive work of the revolution, to hearten her comrades, and see what, if anything, could be done to save libertarian achievement from the destructive forces of counter-revolution. She went with a heavy heart and no illusions, but she had to go; she would have gone if it had been the last thing she might do and live. It is part of her faith that those who have worked for a revolution do better if it fails to go down with it, fighting to the last. This had not been permitted her, and the least that she could do, and the most, was return to her comrades in the hour of their defeat; she could not desert them, she said, nor was her faith in their revolutionary spirit shaken; the Revolution was lost, but only temporarily... She is in Spain as I write this, and in a letter to me

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to me, she says, 'The more I see and hear the more amazing I find my comrades, their frailties and their strength. An amazing people these Spanish are - they completely baffle me and fill me with awe and wonder. It will be the crime of crimes if they should lose out. But they won't! They justn't ! ' The letter arrived on the eve of the showing of the Spanish war-film, Fury Over Spain, which was made in Spain under the supervision of the Anarcho-Syndicalists, and which depicts the work done in the early days of the revolutionary struggle by the workers' militia organised through the syndicates; as I was to introduce the film, pointing out that it was a film showing the social revolution behind the civil war, she asked that I would give the audience her fraternal greetings, and tell them that she wished that everyone could come to Spain and see 'the heroic struggle, the courage, the determination to conquer Fascism and to serve the Revolution.' Those who came would feel as she did that every thought and every nerve should be strained to help the marvelous Spanish people in their gallant fight. '

She went back to Spain fully realising the dangers she was risking, but they meant nothing to her; all her life she had lived dangerously, and she certainly would not be held up by any considerations for her personal safety now. She was in a turmoil until her return. She had gone back to her villa at St. Tropez until the arrangements for her air-journey from Marseilles into Spain could be arranged, and added to the almost intolerable strain on her nerves of waiting, of expecting every day to receive the message to hasten to Marseilles, was the strain of the thousand memories which assailed her. Berkman had loved the place and spent the only peaceful

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to me she says, 'The more I see and hear the more amazing I find my comrades, their frailties and their strength. An amazing people these Spanish are; they completely baffle me and fill me with awe and wonder. It will be the crime of crimes if they should lose out. But they won't! They mustn't!' The letter arrived on the eve of a meeting at the Conway Hall at which the war-film made by the Anarcho-Syndicalists in Spain, and ~~depicting the workers'~~ militia, organised by the syndicates

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hours he had ever known there . He had loved to work in the garden, and often declared that his true vocation in life was the soil; he should have been a farmer, he would say... Back in that lovely place, alone, the scene of the final tragedy which closed Berkman's tortured life, it was inevitable that ^{memories of} those few happy hours, that little spell of peace, should haunt her unbearably. Even if Spain had not obsessed her she could not have remained there; an association of forty-seven years, and one in which love and the utmost devotion and comradeship are all indissolubly bound, cannot be broken by death; lovers in the beginning, at the end they were more closely knut than lovers, bound together by the work they had in common and to which their lives were jointly dedicated.

Had she not been overwhelmed by the desire to go back to Spain, she would have returned to Canada - the nearest she is allowed to America, which is still 'home' for her. She may still go. It is unlikely she will end her days in cold grey England whose people she finds ^{in the main} as cold and grey as its climate; and the villa has been sold. It is as difficult for most English people to find their way to the real Emma behind the somewhat formidable exterior as for her to penetrate their own peculiar, withdrawn, psychology. She is blunt and forthright to a degree which is intimidating to most people - until one begins to realize that it is all merely an expression of her utter honesty, her utter freedom from the polite humbug and hypocrisy in which most people wrap up their thoughts and feelings in the interests of politeness or of being thought well of, or from lack of moral courage. I know only

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one other person as fearlessly and as simply honest, and that is A.S. Neill. It is the simple fearless honesty that young children have before they are corrupted by their elders, completely unconscious.

Red Emma ! A four-square, thick-set , domineering little woman, square-jawed, disconcertingly forthright, irascible, ^{and} as relentless in her demands on herself as on others where the revolutionary cause is concerned, and behind that forbidding exterior, a martyr burnt up with the flame of her passion for human liberty, a soldier who will die fighting; a warm and gentle woman who has known the love of men, who loves children, who has known many and enriching friendships, warmly and quickly responsive to love and affection, sympathetic to the troubles of her friends, loving beauty and peace, though there has been so little time for either in her crowded life; a truly great woman, a great Person, judged by any standard. Her heart might break; over Berkman, the martyrdom of his fourteen years' imprisonment, the tragedy of his death; over Russia; over Spain; but whose spirit, never ! Her whole life is an example of unfailing courage and unswerving faith, in the face of persecution and bitter disappointment.

Louise Michel, Maria Spiridonova, Sophia Perovskaya, Rosa Goldman, Vera Figner, the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, the Spanish Revolution. Revolutions may be crushed by the forces of reaction and self-seeking, as the Paris Commune was crushed, as the real Russian, ~~Ramilitichataundershedplandspitkettin phrechoja~~ of Catalonia; but the spirit of revolution, as illustrated by the lives of those five, and many more in a gallant gallery of women, is unquenchable, and in that undefeatable spirit lies the hope of

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the world.

Two great revolutions have failed of their ultimate purpose, but the French Revolution enormously enriched the world with progressive ideas, and, as we have seen, gave great impetus to the feminist movement in this country. The Countess Markievicz wrote from prison in 1900, 'The French Revolution gave France new life, though all their ideas ended in horrors and bloodshed and wars. The world, too, gained. Nothing would also have given courage to the under-dog and put fear into the heart of the oppressor the way it did.' The Russian Revolution has at least demonstrated beyond dispute that a civilised society can exist and can progress without recourse to private ownership. The ~~short-lived~~ Anarcho-Syndicalist triumph in Catalonia survived long hindrance and ultimate attack of the counter-revolution long enough to demonstrate the constructiveness of workers' power on a libertarian basis, and every revolution injects into the tired blood-stream of our unhealthy civilisation the invigoration of new ideas, and contributes, always, something to the woman movement.

Before passing on to a brief examination of three other important revolutions of our times, the Irish Revolution of 1916-22, the German Revolution of 1918, and the Spanish Revolution of 1936, we should consider the emancipation of Eastern women, a considerable part of which is bound up with the Russian Revolution, because of U.S.S.R. jurisdiction over the Eastern Republics which make up what is now known as Russian Turkestan.

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Oct. 22nd 1937

Dearest Emma, I should have written, but I was concentrating on finishing my book, and wrote to no one other than was strictly necessary; though I sent some messages to you from via Barr to show that I was very far from forgetting you, my dear. The book has gone off to Warburg at long and weary last, and I am writing now (having just written you to London to await yr arrival) to ask you if its in order for me to have quoted from yr various letters as I have done for the purposes of my book. I should have asked you before, I realise now, but I was so absorbed in the book. I've quoted from yr letters before you went to Spain, and from some earlier letters. I don't feel that I've quoted in any way you'd object to, but I felt it only right not to go to press without at least asking you. To yr flat I've sent a carbon copy of what I've written, but as you won't be home till Nov. 10th (I understand) Warburg would like to know if possible before then that its alright for them to go ahead; otherwise it means holding the setting of the book up. But if you insist on waiting till you've read the script I've sent you; then of course Warburg must just wait. I should not like to go to press with anything you didn't like or approve, my very dear. If you feel that you are as it were safe in my hands (which I myself think you are) and you are writing Barr, would you tell him to ring up Warburg at Secker - Warburg and tell him that its alright. But if you feel you'd rather wait and see the ms, dear, I shall understand, and must cut up with it.

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17145

I am writing this on the eve of departure. We are sailing for Bordeaux tomorrow in a cargo boat that takes only 6 passengers & are due at B. on Tuesday. Thence we go to Foix in the Pyrenees where Reg has friends, and thence to the South via Carcassone. And somehow I must get a novel done by Xmas, god help me (for I am so weary from the last book, and I began that already weary from the long and difficult book on adolescence) I confess I don't much want to go away. It means leaving Jean, which I hate doing, and to tell the truth I've had a sickener of living and writing in Continental hotels - I had five years of it. But its very important to get away, as Reg would most certainly be drawn into taking meetings if we remained. Only the other night Fenner and McNair were here and actually planning for Reg to take a meeting at Hastings as soon as we got back (before Xmas, that is) It made me really angry, for I had explained to Fenner that both hospitals insisted that Reg must have three months complete rest if we are to get his blood-pressure down and keep it down, and the fact that he now feels alright has nothing to do with it. If they really value Reg they shouldn't try to rush him. But I feel anxious about the future. He says I know he must get back to speaking again. I don't see why he can't be content to serve the cause now by writing; its not as though he can't write.

I don't know if you see the newspapers. The British terrorism in Palestine, and their indignation over the Japanese aggression, side by side; it is nauseating. The latest Spanish news is bad..and we've had our first London fog.

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This is no way to write to you, Emma, I know, but its hard to shake off the sense of oppression. Are there places left in this world where men and women and children live tranquilly free of this perpetual shadow which overhangs Europe? If there are, why the hell don't we each save our one life and get away to such places and leave the rest of the mad world to rot in its corruption... But its not all corruption, and there are those who cannot escape, and those demand we keep on with the fight. Yes, Yes, I know. I know. As well as you do, my Emma. ~~xxxx~~ Sometimes one's spirit 'yearning in desire to follow beauty like a sinking star' rises up in revolt, that's all. Beauty and peace - and sanity.

I've come to know you very well these last few months, to know and value you, Emma; when we first met I was not 'ready' for you, but some spark must have been kindled, for here we are, despite the intervening years and the long silence.

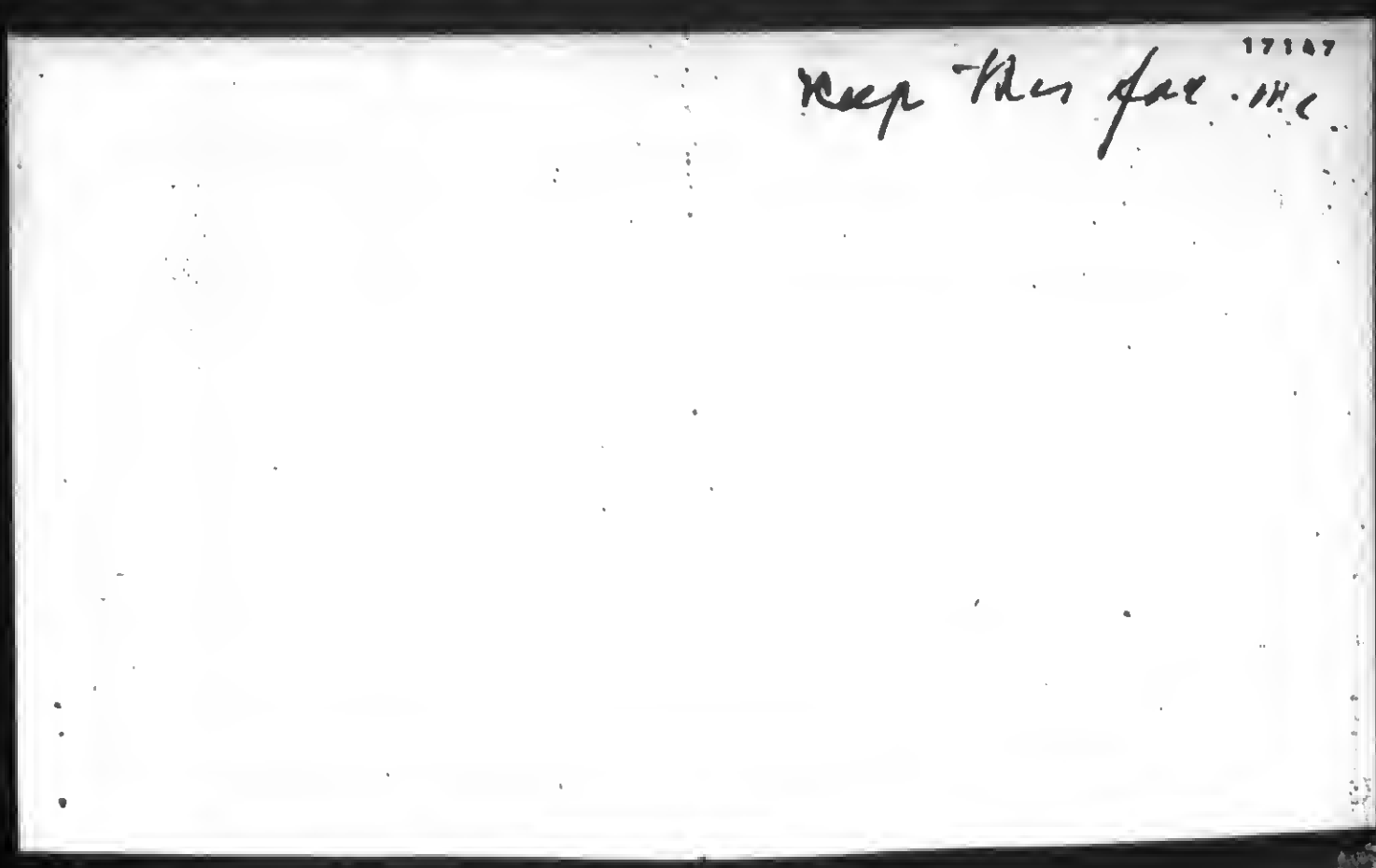
I can't write properly, Emma; I feel 'empty'; the last book has emptied me of all I had to say on the things we both hold dear, and the grey rain and the falling leaves have filled me with greyness too. I will write again from the South. This comes to you mainly to ask you about the letters of yours from which I've quoted, and to assure you of my devoted love.

Blessin s, my dear, and love - and courage to face the grey days and the grey spirit of that grey land that is forever England -

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~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ 32 N. State St
Oot. 22nd.

CHICAGO, ILL.

I saw so many of our old comrades in N. Y. and Phila. & Wash.
I will get a lot of fine name for your petition

1106
 Gen L. Dubois

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Oct. 24, Barcelona [to] Samuel [Freedman, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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You may bring this in the Air Mail Envelope of your wish.

Barcelona Oct 24th 37.

Dear Samuel. You will certainly not get the Nobel Prize as a correspondent. You waited three months to acknowledge the Preface and my letter I wrote from London. Did it not occur to you that I would be uneasy about the Preface having reached you? You and the other comrades always want "details" about everything, yet one has to wait endless time to hear from you. I must say I had hoped you would be more responsive than our dear lazy Mark. But you are all alike. Well now that I have given you a motherly scolding I can go on answering your letter of August 14th which did not reach me until last Saturday. I cannot understand why it should have taken so long when I did not leave for Spain until Sept 15th. It should have reached me in France long before I left Bon Esprit. I am at a loss to explain the delay. It is true that our comrade Mollie was waiting until I would be back in Barcelona. But as I said your letter was ~~delivered~~ delayed even before I left France. However, I got it finally, that is something. I am delighted to know that Sasha's book is out in the new edition. Naturally I want some as quickly as possible if you have not yet sent copies to me. Please do so at once, I want 25 copies to begin with. Later I will order more.

About my trip to Canada. I am delighted to learn that a committee has finally been organized that would help me get to C. and possibly to the U.S. But since I came back here I have decided to go back to England for the winter. I have been entrusted with much more work than last year when I left Spain, among other important matters the organization of CIA (which means International Anti-Fascist Solidarity) for the gigantic struggle our comrades are engaged in not only because they feel that Fascism must be crushed, but also because of the constructive work they are carrying on regardless of all difficulties and all interference. You are asking for details about my visit. Dear comrade I have neither the time or the possibility of complying with your request from here. I hope to do so when I get ~~xxx~~ back to England. I will then write a detailed account of my impressions and findings on this short but most intensive visit. I can only tell you and all the comrades in A. that whatever the mistakes and concessions made by our people the work they are doing to lay the foundation of a new social life is of such significance for the future and of such importance it quite outweighs in my estimation the losses they have sustained. As I wrote ~~xxxxxx~~ to my dear, beloved Mollie my surprise here was not so much over what our people had lost in a political sense. My surprise is that they should still have so many achievements to their credit. Naturally I do not mean our comrades who work in offices and bureaus. That kind of occupation always tends to rusticate people. I have in mind the workers in the factories and on the land. Their spirit and their dogged perseverance to go on building and perfecting collectives are something unknown in the history of revolutions. I know whereof I speak because I have covered very considerable ground between here and Madrid villages and towns and I can assure you all that the accomplishments are truly formidable especially if one bears in mind the obstacles in the way of our people, the hourly danger and the hardships. Until our comrades in other countries will demonstrate anything near so great I will not join those who are throwing stones at the CNT and the FAI. Not for a moment have I changed my position regarding any form of compromise. But my visit has taught me that in spite of everything the CNT-FAI are still the only organized force ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ in the

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in the whole world that is articulating our dreams and hopes in action and not merely in words. Actually they are the only moral force that has taken deep roots in the workers and peasants to a degree far surpassing anything known in the history of our movement, perhaps ALL ~~the~~ social movements. To see people holding on with iron will to the task of building Communism, Libertia, and to do it with almost bare hands and every hindrance in their way is an inspiration one cannot easily forget. Aside of all that is the fact that our people are the most dedicated to the struggle to crush Fascism. Not that the latter is their only enemy ~~however, only know the way~~. There are many others. But after all Fascism is the source of all social poison. And it is right of our comrades if they stake so much on the one card to exterminate the pest. In view of the fact that they were the first to rise against Fascism, a gesture no other people in any country have ~~done~~ it is but natural that our comrades should feel that they must also remain the last in the field of battle, if only to demonstrate a moral lesson to the rest of the world how necessary it is to render Fascism impossible in Spain which would also mean the death of Fascism everywhere. Anyhow, I am going back to England to strain every muscle and every nerve to make the superhuman struggle of our Spanish comrades known to the British workers. If only the latter were not in the straight-jacket of their leaders. Much might be done to rouse them to action that would put a stop to the cruel injustice of the Non-Intervention comedy. As it is the anti-Fascist struggle has received precious little moral support from the International proletariat. It is heart breaking.

~~however, only know the way~~ but to come back to my visit to Canada and the States, if possible, you and the committee you have organized will need time to get your machinery going. So it is just as well that I have work in England to do until spring. As to the amount needed for the trip you probably know that one must have \$300 to show ~~himself~~ on arrival, sailing in cabin boat because less likely to be bothered would cost about 175. Then living expenses in Canada. It is impossible to throw myself on the comrades there. Not that some of them would not be willing to have me, but that in any extensive work one must have one's own place to receive people likely to be abused in behalf of Spain. One must therefore either live in a hotel or take a small apartment. And one can not run for every penny to the comrades. I cannot say definitely how much one would need for such a venture but certainly not less than five hundred dollars. However, you must bear in mind that my desire to go to Canada is largely due to my hope of being able to enter the States. For C. has so far proved barren grounds for our ideas, except Toronto where the group I have organized still functions there is nothing. The country is vast and travel expenses high. I have never even covered living expenses in my visits to C. But it is worth while to go there if a large campaign for my reentry in the States can be launched. Whatever you do I suggest it should be done quietly until the permission is obtained. The moment the press will set hold of it it will most likely ruin my chances. Anyhow do what you can.

I do not know where my Fr. Arb. Stimm is sent. I have not seen it for several months. I understand the articles on Spain Rudolf is writing will or has already appeared in English in ~~the~~ form. If it has send me a hundred copies and rush one to me for my own use to my London address 18, Castletown Rd. West 14.

Fraternal greetings to all the comrades to your family and yourself.

Emma
copy to Joe Posner. Let Van read this letter. Tell him
Please send the enclosed

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18401
Crompond N.Y. October 25th 37.

Liebste Dana:

Ich habe gerade das Buch über Anarcho-Syndikalismus fertig gemacht. Morgen geht das MS. an den Verleger ab. Mein erstes ist nun, dir zu schreiben, damit wir sie er einmal direkt in Verbindung kommen. Ich glaube, dass dir das neue Buch gefallen wird. Es besteht aus sechs Kapitel. Das erste Kapitel behandelt den Anarchismus als Weltanschauung. Das zweite erklärt die Entstehung der modernen Arbeiterbewegung und ihre Beziehungen zum Sozialismus. Das dritte behandelt die Vorläufer des modernen Anarcho-Syndikalismus: Robert Owens Tätigkeit in der englischen Trade-Unionbewegung; Benbow's Idee des Generalstreiks; Bakunin und die Internationale; die Entstehung der Soviet-Idee in den lateinischen Ländern im Gegensatz zur sogenannten Diktatur des Proletariats. Das vierte entwickelt die Ideengänge des Anarcho-Syndikalismus, einschliesslich der konstruktiven Tätigkeit der CNT in Spanien. Das fünfte die Taktik des Anarcho-Syndikalismus, und sechste gibt einen Überblick über die Tätigkeit der IAA und der modernen syndikalistischen Bewegung in den verschiedenen Ländern. Im Anschluss dazu ist eine kurze Bibliographie beigefügt, welche denjenigen, die sich für unsere Ideen sehr interessieren, die Gelegenheit gibt, sich eingehender mit dem Studium der anarchistischen und syndikalistischen Ideen zu beschäftigen.

Ich glaube, dass dir das Buch gefallen wird. Es gibt in knappen Ausführungen eine vollständige Geschichte unserer Ideen und Tätigkeit, wobei die neuesten Ereignisse überall gebührend in den Vordergrund gestellt wurden. Ich denke, dass bei aller Kürze alle Fragen geklärt sind; das war nicht leicht, aber ich habe das Beste getan, das sich machen liess, und wenn der Verleger für die nötige Reklame sorgt, so wird das Werkchen seinen Zweck nicht verfehlen.

Es tat mir sehr leid, dass ich unsere Korrespondenz so furchtbar vernachlässigen musste, aber es ging wirklich nicht anders. Lily hat dir gewiss alles Nähere darüber mitgeteilt. Ich habe während des letzten Jahres wie ein Pferd gearbeitet. Ein Glück dass wir seit letzten April hier in der Kolonie wohnen; in New York hätte ich ganz unzulässig tun können, was ich hier getan habe. Als wir letzten April nach einer Tour von fünf Monaten nach N.Y. zurückkamen, zogen wir noch dieselbe Woche nach Mohican Colony. Dann arbeitete ich sechs Wochen ununterbrochen, um die letzte Hand an mein Buch über Nationalismus zu legen. Mittlerweile fanden die Mai-Ereignisse in Barcelona statt und die ganze Prozedur stürzte sich auf unsere Exemplare. Da setzte ich mich hin und schrieb eine Broschüre von 48 Seiten, "The Tragedy of Spain", die du wahrscheinlich bereits gesehen hast. Dann machte ich mich an das Buch über Anarcho-Syndikalismus, das nun auch glücklich beendet ist. Die CNT war mit meiner Broschüre über Spanien so zufrieden, dass sie beschloss, dieselbe in fünf Sprachen herauszugeben: spanisch, französisch, deutsch, schwedisch und holländisch. Die englische Ausgabe wurde hier besorgt. Du begreifst also, weshalb ich meine Korrespondenz so sehr vernachlässigen musste.

Als wir deinen Brief erhielten, in dem du uns deinen Entschluss nach Spanien zu gehen mitteiltest, war es uns beiden furchtbar schwer auf dem Herzen. Wohl war ich fest davon überzeugt, dass dir unsere spanische Genossen jeden Schutz gefährden würden, der überhaupt möglich war, aber ich wusste auch zu gut, dass man sich gegen die verborgenen Anschläge einer Clique wie die russischen Heuchelbrüder sehr schwer schützen kann. Dein kurzes Schreiben aus Madrid, Valencia und Barcelona, das uns Stella zuschickte, hat uns beide hoch erfreut. Vor allem freut es mich, dass du alle Zweifel überwunden hast und nun fest entschlossen bist, die Sache unserer spanischen Genossen mit aller Energie zu verteidigen. Ich habe das von dir nicht anders erwartet.

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und teile deinen Standpunkt anzuwenden. Ich bin über alles, was in Spanien vor geht, ziemlich gut informiert, nicht bloss durch unsere Presse, sondern auch durch private Mitteilungen. Ausserdem hatte ich das Vergnügen, eine Delegation der CNT, die nach Mexiko geschickt wurde, bei mir zu sehen, die mir über vieles Auskunft gab, das mir persönlich nicht bekannt war. Vor einigen Wochen traf auch Olive hier ein, der sich mit allen inneren Angelegenheiten der Bewegung vollständig bekannt machte. Er reist am 10. November wieder nach Paris zurück, um zusammen mit Rühliger den Kongress der IAA vorzubereiten, der anfangs Dezember in Paris stattfinden wird.

Ich habe nie verstehen können, wie man in den jetzigen Moment, wo die spanischen Genossen einen Kampf auf Leben und Tod führen und die ganze Welt gegen sich haben, sich dazu verstehen konnte, ihnen in den Rücken zu fallen und sich als Richter aufzuspielen. Ich bin gewiss nicht blind und bestreite keinen Augenblick, dass Fehler gemacht worden sind. Aber wenn man die Dinge in ihrem Zusammenhang kennt, so erklärt sich alles, und man versteht ohne weiteres, dass es einfach ein Skandal ist, Leute, die Leben und Freiheit in die Schanze schlagen, einfach als Verräter zu bezeichnen, besonders, wenn man in Auslande sitzt und persönlich kein Risiko zu tragen hat. Ich kann nicht verstehen, was in dem guten Schapiro gefahren ist, er, der doch sonst einen ziemlich klaren Blick für die realen Verhältnisse besitzt. Wie furchtbar muss ein Mensch innerlich verbittert sein, wenn, wie du in deinen Briefe an Stella erwähnst, er der Meinung Ausdruck gab, dass man dir in Spanien Potemkinsche Dörfer zeigen würde, wie es die Bolschewisten in Russland mit ausländischen Delegierten getan haben. Wenn man erst auf diesem Standpunkt steht, dann ist ein vorurteilsfreies Urteil über die spanische Bewegung überhaupt nicht mehr möglich.

Eine Bewegung, die achtzig Jahre lang jedem Sturm widerstanden hat, die für ihre Überzeugung mehr Opfer brachte als alle anderen Bewegungen zusammen genommen, die ihre Prinzipien auch in den furchtbarsten Zeiten der Reaktion nie verneigte und mit zäher Energie und beispielloser Tapferkeit gegen eine Welt von Feinde kämpfte -- wie ist es möglich, dass eine solche Bewegung einfach über Nacht alle ihre Ideen preisgeben und zum Verräter an allem werden sollte, was sie bisher verteidigt hatte? Wenn man so etwas annehmen kann, dann ist unsere ganze Tätigkeit zwecklos und es wäre besser, die Flinte einfach ins Korn zu werfen und Gott einen guten Mann sein zu lassen.

Ich habe für eine solche Auffassung kein Verständnis und bin nicht Dogmatiker genug, um über jeden den Stab zu brechen, der nicht in jedem Punkte meine persönliche Auffassung der Dinge teilt. Es ist doch schliesslich das Motiv, das für Handlungen massgebend ist. Wenn die Spanier sich zu mancherlei Zugeständnissen bequemen mussten, so ist es nicht deshalb, weil es ihnen Vergnügen machte, sondern weil sie sich unter den gegebenen Verhältnissen nicht anders helfen konnten. Vielleicht haben sie sich dabei manchmal in der Wahl der Mittel vergriffen; aber wenn man in einer Lage ist, wo man jeden Moment oft die schmerzlegendsten Entscheidungen zu treffen hat, kann man nicht immer das rechte treffen. Ich weiss nicht, was ich in ihrem Falle getan hätte und masse mir daher auch nicht an, unfehlbar zu sein. Zwischen uns Emma: Ich habe einen Brief Schapiros gesehen, der an Armando Bogghi gerichtet war, in dem er den Spaniern den Vorwurf macht, dass sie einen so unfähigen Menschen wie Santillan in das Wirtschaftskomitee gewählt hätten. Ich weiss, dass Schapiro in der IAA nicht gut auf Santillan zu sprechen war, weil dieser mit ihm in seinen Ansichten über die Bewegung in Südamerika nicht einverstanden war. Aber dass seine Antipathie so weit gehen würde, konnte ich mir wirklich nicht vorstellen. Santillan hat sich besonders während der letzten zehn Jahre sehr viel mit wirtschaftlichen Fragen beschäftigt. Er hat ein ganzes Buch über die wirtschaftliche Lage Spaniens geschrieben, aus dem hervorgeht, wie sehr er diese Fragen studiert hat. Ihn deshalb einfach als Ignoramus hinzustellen, ist ein starkes Stück. Es beweist aber auch, dass wenn unser guter Sanja auf jemand schlecht zu sprechen ist, dass er dann überhaupt nicht mehr fähig ist, ein vorurteilsloses Urteil zu fällen. Diese Zeilen

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sind natürlich bloss für dich bestimmt, denn ich möchte unter keinen Umständen dazu beitragen, dass noch Oel ins Feuer zu giessen und noch mehr Bitternis in den unseligen Streit hineinzutragen.

Der Kongress der IAA wird ohnedies scharfe Auseinandersetzungen bringen, denn die Spanier werden fordern, dass Pierre Besnard von seiner Stellung als Sekretär entbunden wird. Dabei sind sie vollständig in ihrem Rechte, denn Besnard hat sich zu einem Schritte hinreissen lassen, der unter keinen Umständen zu rechtfertigen ist. Ich weiss nicht, ob du von der Sache bereits Kenntnis hast. Besnard richtete nämlich an die Landesföderationen der IAA ein Rundschreiben, in welchem er diesen eine ganze Reihe Fragen vorlegte, unter anderem: Sind die Föderationen damit einverstanden, dass man von den für Spanien gesammelten Gelder die Mitgliedsbeiträge abzieht, welche die CNT der IAA noch schuldet? und ob die Föderationen damit einstimmen, dass das Sekretariat der IAA sich mit der angeblichen Opposition in Spanien gegen die CNT in Verbindung setzt. Besnard hat von diesem Schreiben den anderen beiden Sekretären kein Wort mitgeteilt und hat auch keines dieser Zirkulare an die CNT geschickt, welche doch der wichtigste Bestandteil der IAA ist. Die Schweden haben nun Besnard sehr richtig geantwortet, aber sie haben ihre Antwort auch gleichzeitig an das Landeskomitee der CNT geschickt, wodurch dieses erst Kenntnis davon erhielt, was man hinter ihrem Rücken unternommen hatte. Das Resultat kannst du dir vorstellen.

Ich für meine Person bin fest davon überzeugt, dass Besnard nicht aus eigenem Antriebe gehandelt hat, sondern dass Schapiro hinter der Sache steht, der auf Besnard einen sehr starken Einfluss hat. Wenn man mit solchen Mitteln operiert, dann hat man allerdings kein Recht, den Bolschewiken Vorwürfe zu machen. Die Handlung Besnards ist nicht nur ein grober Verstoss gegen die Statuten der IAA, sie kann auch sehr leicht zu einer Spaltung führen, was unter den jetzigen Umständen das grösste Unglück wäre. Glücklicherweise begreifen die Spanier das allein auch. Ich habe bereits ein Schreiben an das Vorbereitungskomitee des Kongresses gerichtet und meinen ganzen Einfluss aufgeboten, um eine Spaltung zu verhindern. Wie du weisst, war ich einer der Mitbegründer der IAA und solange ich in Europa war, einer ihrer Sekretäre. Es kann mir daher nicht gleichgültig sein, dass man mit einem Male leichtsinnigerweise zerstört, was in langen Jahren mühsam aufgebaut wurde. Wenn die Spanier und Schweden sich von der IAA zurückziehen würden, dann hätte sie überhaupt keine Existenzberechtigung mehr. Hoffentlich nehmen die Leute Vernunft an und lassen es nicht soweit kommen. Es ist ganz unglaublich, zu was blinder Fanatismus alles führen kann.

den 26. Oktober.

Ich wurde gestern unterbrochen und beende meinen Brief erst heute. Mittlerweile ging mein MS. nach London ab. Ich hätte daher eine grosse Bitte an dich. Wie du weisst, hat mir der Verleger 25 Pfund nach Eintreffen des MS versprochen. Ich möchte ihm persönlich nicht darum fragen, aber ich habe der Geld dringend notwendig. Von meinem Buche über Nationalismus habe ich natürlich noch keinen Heller erhalten, und es werden wahrscheinlich noch Monate vergehen, ehe ich auf etwas rechnen kann. Meine beide Broschüren über Spanien brachten mir keinen roten Cent ein, obwohl ich zehn Wochen Arbeit hineingelegt habe. Ich habe dafür auch nichts erwartet. Aber schliesslich kann ich nicht von der Luft leben. Ich habe seit meiner Rückkehr nach N.Y. im ganzen 125 Dollar verdient; deshnlb wäre es mir sehr angenehm, wenn mir der Verleger in London das Geld umgehend schicken würde. Noch etwas: Der Londoner Verleger wollte eine englische Ausgabe meines Buches über Nationalismus in 500 Exemplaren herausbringen und wandte sich daher an Covici, dass man ihm die gedruckten Bogen dafür schicken sollte. Nun habe ich aber erfahren, dass der Satz bereits eingeschmolzen wurde. Ob Covici dazu ein Recht hatte, weiss ich noch nicht, werde es aber in kurzem erfahren. Vielleicht könnte Secker & Warburg eine englische Ausgabe auf photographischen Wege herstellen. Vielleicht könntest du mit ihm darüber einmal persönlich sprechen. Ich weiss, dass du selber genug zu tun hast, und deshnlb fällt es mir schwer, dich mit solchen

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meinen persönlichen Angelegenheiten zu behelligen. Aber ich habe sonst kaum keinen in London, der in dieser Sache etwas tun könnte, und eine persönliche Aussprache spielt in diesen Dingen eine grosse Rolle.

Ich komme diese Woche nach N.Y. und werde dir sofort von dort ein Exemplar meines Buches über Nationalismus zuschicken. Die spanische Broschüre ist bereits an deine Londoner Adresse abgegangen.

Was gedenkst du diesen Winter zu tun? Erst du nach Canada kommen oder in England bleiben?

Soeben kam Galve hier zu Besuch. Er hat mir für meine Broschüre über Spanien 100 Dollar ausgezahlt. Ich wollte das Geld nicht nehmen, aber er bestand darauf und erklärte mir, dass die ~~französische~~ europäische Ausgabe in fünf Sprachen sicherlich einen weit grösseren Profit abwerfen würde. Du kannst dir gar nicht vorstellen, welchen Gefallen er mir getan hat. Ich kann mit dem Gelde gerade das Notwendigste bezahlen, aber das ist die Hauptsache.

Bitte schreibe von jetzt an an folgende Adresse:

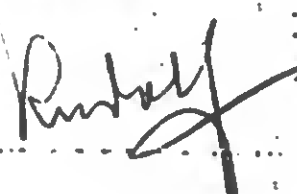
R. Rocker

Crompond N.Y.

U.S.A.

Ich bekomme die Briefe schneller. Zudem werden wir den Winter über hier wohnen bleiben, da es billiger ist und ich ungestört arbeiten kann.

Und nun genug für heute. Wir sehen deinem nächsten Briefe mit grossem Interesse entgegen, da du uns sicherlich viel Neues von deiner Reise zu erzählen hast. Wir umarmen dich von ganzem Herzen und wünschen dir alles Gute.



Franziska Goldman

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Emma Goldman

Barcelona Oct 27th 37

Darling, I keep on writing without word from you. I am sure your letters with a lot of others must be at Mollie's. She evidently does not wish to risk sending them on. Now there is no use because I am leaving here in a few days. I am trying to make the rounds of the new schools inaugurated last year. But so far I have not been successful. The schools are scattered and it is almost impossible to get a car. However I will know to day. In any event I have definitely decided to leave the second, next Tuesday. It will give me very little time in Paris. Perhaps it is just as well. It will save me and the others a lot of heart ache since I can and will not agree with the opposition against our Spanish people, fighting for their lives and their ideal. The longer I am here the more convinced I grow that whatever concessions the people made, and there were enough to displace them from their position, they cannot be forsaken while everybody is at their heels. The vilification, the downright mean and vicious slander of our heroic comrades make my blood boil and make me feel that it would be criminal to refuse all I can give of my strength and my time for the struggle. I feel therefore I must get away, back to England and its hideous winter climate to resume the work in a more intensive form than before.

This is only to let you know I am alright. I will of course write you at length from Paris.

Love to the family and you my darling.

Emma

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Mrs. Stella Ballantine
Bearsville, Ulster County
New York

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870929417

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 27, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, [Barcelona] / Martin Gudell. —
1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

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Barcelona 27 octubre 1937.

A la compañera Emma Goldman,
C i u d a d.

Apreciada compañera:

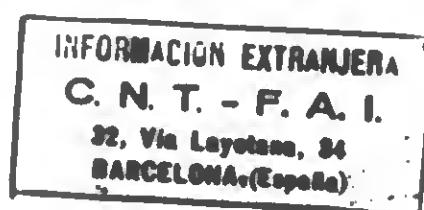
Desde que representas a la C.N.T. en Inglaterra, el Comité Regional de la C.N.T. en Cataluña te ha enviado material vario de propaganda.

Te rogamos que todos los importes que hasta la fecha hayas podido recaudar, los envíes a París a: Facundo Roca - 28, Boulevard Saint Denis, Paris X. - indicándole que éste dinero está destinado al Comité Regional de Cataluña.

También te agradeceremos que al hacer el envío, nos lo comuniques a nosotros.

Saludos fraternales y anarquistas,

POR EL SECRETARIADO:

*Martin Gudell*
Martin Gudell.

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CONSEJO GENERAL

18767.
Dirección telegráfica: "Solidaridad"
Teléfono 11405

mesa de la mesa
mesa de la mesa
mesa de la mesa
Emma G. Colton
Londres.

VALENCIA, 27 octubre 1937.

Estimada amiga:

Aprovecho la oportunidad para escribirte estas letras deseando hayas llegado bien a Londres y manifestarte alguna cosa acerca de los extremos mas importantes de nuestra conversación en Barcelona relacionada con las cuestiones que a S.I.A. hacen referencia.

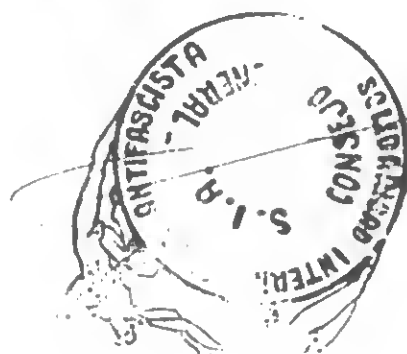
Como te prometí, conversé inmediatamente con Mariano sobre la cuestión de los fondos. Estuvo plenamente de acuerdo con que tomes de los fondos consignados para la labor de propaganda, la cantidad que precisas para los trabajos iniciales de organización de S.I.A. Tomándolos, desde luego, en calidad de anticipo reintegrable.

Para satisfacción de todos y sobre todo tuya, él ya te habrá escrito comunicándotelo. Así como te habrá dicho alguna cosa sobre lo concerniente a los niños refugiados en Valencia y Barcelona. Para tu tranquilidad, he de comunicarte, que unos y otros han pasado a depender de S.I.A. y que el Consejo Nacional (del que es secretario Baruta, antiguo secretario de Federica en el Ministerio) trabaja incansablemente por dar una buena organización a los establecimientos.

Sobre lo concerniente al piso y muebles de la Generalidad, confirmo cuanto manifesté en nuestra conversación: Estás autorizada plenamente para decidir de acuerdo a las conveniencias orgánicas. Estamos seguros que harás lo que mas interese a los intereses de las organizaciones Libertarias y de S.I.A.

Adjunto remitimos una circular, recientemente cursada a todas las Secciones Nacionales. También la hemos enviado a Fidel Martín, por consideración a que fué el primer compañero que recibió encargo y no tener determinado su incorporación definitiva a vuestros trabajos. Interesa que sobre esto, habléis con él como recomendé en otra ocasión y puestos de acuerdo quede él relevado de la responsabilidad que le adjudicamos en principio; pasando, si lo estima conveniente, a ser uno de vuestros colaboradores.

No te canso mas. Saluda a todos los compañeros y recibe un fraternal saludo de



P. Herrera
76

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 27, Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / P[edro] Herrera. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TRANSLATION.

S. I. A.

Valencia 27th October, 1937.

Dear friend:

I am taking the opportunity to write to you these few lines, hoping that you have arrived in London safely. I also wish to speak to you about the most important points of our conversation in Barcelona relating to the questions connected with the S.I.A.

As promised, I had a talk with Mariano regarding the funds and he agrees that you can take from the funds allotted to the propaganda work whatever amount may be necessary for the pioneer work of organizing the S.I.A. The funds taken, of course, to be in the way of a returnable loan.

For the satisfaction of everybody and above all your own he will have written to you already on the subject, telling you also something about the refugee children in Valencia and Barcelona. For your own peace of mind, I will say that these children have been transferred to the care of the S.I.A. and that the National Council, whose Secretary is Baruta, the old Secretary of Federica in the Ministry, is working with tireless energy in order to properly organize the homes.

As regards the premises and furniture of the Generalitat, I confirm all what I said to you during our conversation: You have full authority to decide in the manner more convenient in your judgement. We are sure that you will do what suits best to the interests of our Libertarian organisations and the S.I.A. I enclose a circular recently sent to all the national sections.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Oct. 27, Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / P[edro] Herrera. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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(Signed) P. Herrera.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850625428

[Letter, 1937 Nov.? London? to unknown recipient (fragment)] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 1 p. ; 17 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

21 November 1937

I have a report of a letter from you to me, which says you are going on to the States for a collection of money for the "Proletarian" in the States.

In the same letter, I am told to say to the work of the committee.....
I wish my Committee to be able to postpone it, my dear. The COT-PAI must be able to return to England for the winter to enlarge upon the campaign begun last year. I feel that I must do it then, in the English winters and the work which is such an uphill effort all the time. Still, England is more comfortable than Canada. Ah, if it was the States, that would be a different matter. Without too much visiting, I know I could achieve more there in one month than in England in six. But since there is no certainty about entering America, I must go to the next most important country which is England.

However, I do hope you and the other comrades will not relax in their efforts in connection with my trip to Canada and the chances of an American visa. Will you tell the comrades of the committee, you and they have organized that I depend upon them to go on with the work. Freedman, in his letter which had been forwarded to me in Barcelona, asked me how much money would be needed for the trip. I have written him from Barcelona. I hope he received the letter. If not, tell him and tell the committee that \$1,300.00 is needed upon arrival. The authorities insist on that amount. That, however, would not be lost. But there would be the expense of a return ticket which would help my entry into Canada, then, the means to live for a few months. About four or five hundred dollars for that, plus the \$300.00 that should be considered as a loan. But there is another factor, that is the campaign for my re-entry into the States. To achieve results, someone will have to devote himself to it in the capacity of secretary. That will mean an expense and then, there is the item of postage, stationery and, possibly, office space. I rather think that this campaign, while backed by your committee should nevertheless have another address than that of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. Do you not think so? You know as well as I do that out and out anarchist organization will have no chance in Washington. If I have Roger or some one else in mind like him, it is because the Civil Liberties Union is back of them. However, I know you will use judgement and tact, which, by the way, by no means means compromise. Keep me posted, please, about the progress of the committee's efforts...."

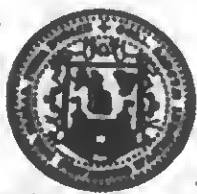
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The Emma Goldman Papers

870925591

[Letter, 1937 Nov.?] Dublin [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Conor Cruise O'Brien. — 2 p. ; 20 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



TELEPHONE NO 45323

If replying, please write to this address

17478

COLLEGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
TRINITY COLLEGE,
DUBLIN.

Dear Emma Goldman,

My ^{reason} ~~excuse~~ for writing to you is that my aunt Mrs. Sheehy-Sheffington, who had, at my request lent me your "Anarchism and Other Essays", gave me your address and told me that you might be willing to do me the favour of writing a few words for a new revolutionary weekly which I am about to start in this very Traditional College. A letter, or brief article from you would set a fine note for our first number. Anything on anarchism, marriage. (in this College women are not admitted after six o'clock nor are they permitted to pollute the male dining-hall with their presence), on your recent

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Nov.?] Dublin [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Conor Cruise O'Brien. — 2 p. ; 20 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17471

stay in Spain, or simply a letter on the foundation of such a revolutionary magazine, would be accepted most gratefully. Or, if you prefer, something which ~~the~~ other magazines are afraid to print. You see we are committed to no policy except one of attack on established tradition, and working towards individual liberty.

I am very sorry that this will be a "thank-you job" but like most revolutionaries we have no capital.

It would be impertinent in me to say how much I admire your work, and your struggle and how much I have been influenced by them.

Most sincerely,

Conor Cruise O'Brien

P.S. Our rooms here in College are decorated with two of the anti-fascist posters which you gave my aunt — the one with "¡Viva nuestros hermanos!" and the ad. for "Tierra y Libertad." They have caused a good deal of discussion.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Nov., Madrid to CNT-FAI Boletín de Información, Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 20 × 17 cm.

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

mineral. ¿Puede ella hacerlo? ¿Puede pedirle que renuncie a mejorar su balanza comercial deficitaria con Alemania? Las tecnologías no pueden nada, cuando se trata de la actividad económica. La madera, la pasta de papel, el papel y el cartón se venden mucho, pero nada podría compensar la venta considerable del mineral lapén. Ocupa el primer lugar en las exportaciones de Suecia. Y Alemania ocupa, en el comercio general de aquel país, el segundo lugar, después de Inglaterra. Esto dice más que cualquier otra consideración. La U.R.S.S. tiene también su mirada hacia aquel lado, no para comprar mineral, que no le hace falta, sino para estudiar el medio de impedir el abastecimiento alemán en caso de guerra.

UNA CARTA DE EMMA GOLDMAN

"Estoy tan entregada a los sucesos de Madrid, que no puedo fijar ni espíritu en otra cosa. Mi querido Madrid es el milagro de los siglos. Representa la época más grande en valor, en resistencia, de todas cuantas hayamos podido leer el relato en las leyendas. Nadie ha podido esperar encontrarse frente a una tal grandeza. Más que nunca el espíritu del pueblo es maravilloso. Nuestros camaradas crean, construyen y esperan, en medio de las ruinas y de la muerte. Esto oprime el corazón. Te lo digo: todo el mundo debería poder venir aquí a darse cuenta de lo que pasa en Madrid. No juzgaría tan fácilmente y no condenaría con tanta desenvoltura algunos pequeños errores. Por lo demás, no hay grandeza alguna sin errores; la posteridad juzga, no por los errores cometidos, sino por los grandes actos. Creo firmemente que los esfuerzos de nuestros camaradas serán juzgados en su exacto valor. Porque, ¡qué milagroso ver un pueblo crear e ir hacia adelante en su trabajo igual, esbozar y construir, bajo el hierro y en el fuego! Y esto es exactamente lo que nuestros camaradas hacen."

POR LOS PRESOS ANTIFASISTAS

Los presos han vuelto a ser un problema para las organizaciones y partidos revolucionarios. No es nuestro papel de organismo de pura solidaridad estudiar las causas, sino registrar el hecho, de buscarle cuando podamos un remedio, un lenitivo. En nuestro deber ante todo preocuparnos de estos camaradas, con dolor nuestro, en pleno período revolucionario, otra vez en el ámbito odiado de la prisión, y mientras conseguimos una acción de justicia rápida procuramos hacerles más llevaderas las horas de angustiosa espera. A este objeto, "Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista" está organizando rápidamente una Biblioteca del Preso Antifascista, y pide a cuantos compañeros y organizaciones puedan hacernos envíos de libros, nos los remiten con urgencia a los siguientes puntos de organización y distribución: Barcelona, Consejo Regional de S.I.A., calle Nueva de la Rambla 3 y 5; Valencia, calle de la Paz 29; Madrid, Agrupación Local S.I.A., Fernando el Santo 27.

PHILIP DANKO ha sido trasladado al Hospital Marítimo - Infeccioso - Avenida Icaria, tranv. 36. Horas de visita: los domingos de 10 a 11 de la mañana y de 4 a 5 de la tarde y los demás días de 4 a 5 solamente.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov., Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / M[anuel] Mascarell.—
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

BUREAU D'INFORMATIONS
ET DE PRESSE

28, Rue Saint-Denis
PARIS-X^e

18928

Paris, Noviembre 1937.

Estimados compañeros :

Habiendo constatado en todas cuantas cartas nos mandáis el interés supremo que sentís en recibir todas las ediciones de propaganda que en lengua española salen a la luz pública, y habiendo seguido el envío normal de la misma, para vuestra mejor información de la vida político-revolucionaria de España, hoy, nos place anunciaros que os mandamos 10 folletos del Congreso que se celebró en Hímes los días 20 y 21 de Agosto, donde se reunieron todos los Comités Antifascistas de españoles residentes en Francia, por considerarlo de un interés general para todos los que desear saber y conocer las diferentes actividades del pensamiento antifascista que poseen los compañeros, relacionado con la guerra y la revolución que se está haciendo en todo el suelo hispano.

El folleto tiene un interés maximo por las diferentes y variadas intervenciones de las delegaciones. Y mucho mas, cuando todas las intervenciones, siendo muy disparas, llegan a reunirse en un solo pensamiento, vencer al fascismo, una vez analizadas todas las ventajas y desventajas de los procedimientos a emplear.

En el mencionado Congreso asistió una delegación directa de esta Delegación Permanente de la C.N.T., que la llevaba el compañero Mascarell y, además, hay un preambulo del mismo.

De manera, pues, que creemos huelga insistir sobre el interés de dicho folleto, y esperando que por vuestra parte sera propagado y divulgado entre los compañeros de esa, al objeto de ponerlo para su mejor ilustración, os rogamos nos comunicad si en los 10 ejemplares tenéis bastante o si deseáis un nuevo envío.

Al mismo tiempo, y siguiendo ese plan de divulgación de nuestra propaganda para que el mundo entero sepa quienes somos y como pensamos en el problema que el fascismo internacional nos ha creado en España, tenemos otro folleto, editado en francés, donde hay los discursos pronunciados por los compañeros M. Vazquez Calle Díez, García Oliver y Federico Montseny, en Valencia los dos primeros y en París los segundos.

Si os interesa como el primero, decidnoslo, que os mandaremos la cantidad que nos pediréis.

Y nada mas, en espera que para el bien de la causa revolucionaria tomareis, como siempre, el maximo interés en propagar el pensamiento antifascista de los hombres de la C.N.T. expuesto en estas ediciones, recibid, camaradas, el fraterno y cordial abrazo de vuestros hermanos.

Por la Delegación Permanente de la C.N.T.
M. MASCARELL

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov., Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London?] / P. Lopez. —
1 p. ; 18 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TRANSLATION.

18139

Pragua Social.

Valencia, November, 1937.

Dear comrades. Salud:

We write to ask you, if possible, to
subscribe to our organ "PRAGA Social", or if on the other hand
you should like to appoint a correspondent, we should like it
very much.

It is our aim that our press be known in
all countries as well as the struggle of our people against
Fascism. All the world should read about the crimes daily
committed against Spanish independence by the assassins of
Civilization.

We await your reply and remain yours and
of the anti-Fascist Cause,

(Signed) P. Lopez.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Credential] 1937 Nov. 3, Barcelona to Emma Goldman, [Barcelona] / José San-
juan. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Comisión Regional del Trabajo

Avenida Diagonal, 32 y 34, 1.º

BARCELONA

Teléfono 10731

Acreditamos que la compañera
GOLDEN, durante su estancia en España,
de este Comité Regional, y es el que
gustos de estancia en esta.

Y para que conste a los efectos
firma,

Por el Comité
EL VICE SECRETARIO



Firma: JOSE SANJUAN.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 3, Valencia [Spain to] Emma G[oldman], London / P[edro] Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

SO. IDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL ANTIFASCISTA
CONSEJO GENERAL

T. 130/37

Valencia 3 noviembre 1937

Emma G. Colten
Londres.

Querida amiga:

He tenido el gusto de saludar al amigo Frank, portador de la cartita del 31 de octubre.

Hemos concedido la atención que requiere asunto tan importante como el de las películas. y tanto nosotros, como en el Comité Nacional de la C.N.T. se le ha dado la documentación precisa para que sea atendido por los compañeros de los Sindicatos que intervienen en las cuestiones del cine.

Por otra parte, hemos encomendado gestiones a compañeros que pueden intervenir en los medios sindicales de espectáculos, hagan lo posible para filmar una cantidad prudencial de metros sobre los establecimientos que controla S.I.A., una vez bien reorganizados.

Ignoro el resultado de las gestiones que va a emprender el amigo Frank, por Madrid, pero confío que con su tenacidad habitual conseguirá lo que se propone. Ya le hemos dicho que si encuentra obstáculos producidos por la desatención de algunos compañeros, nos le comunique para evitarlo, llamando al orden a quien fuere.

En Valencia, nada hay que pueda servir a este compañero, no obstante se le ha presentado a los compañeros que intervienen en el espectáculo.

Como verá, cuando hayas llegado a Londres, te he enviado cartas y circulares a tu dirección. También remití de la circular nº 4. ejemplar a Fidel, en mi anterior te decía las causas. De la circular nº 5 no le remitimos, seguros que habreis aclarado en este lapso de tiempo la cuestión con él.

Confío mucho en la eficacia del trabajo que emprendas en Inglaterra y espero impacientes me comuniqués alguna cosa de las ya realizadas. Sobre todo, dame rápidas noticias de Mañé y de la Oficina que nos ofrecía.

Sin mas de momento, te saluda fraternalmente

P. Herrera

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 5, St. Tropez [to] Emma [Goldman, Paris?] / Robert [Sandström]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

11 for Emma.

17890

Saint-Tropez le 5 Novembre 1937

Chère amie,

Madame Niel (May) m'a remis aujourd'hui vos lettres des 24 et 26 Octobre dernier; elle m'a fait part qu'elle revenait de Marseille où elle était allée vous attendre à l'arrivée de l'avion de Barcelonne, et que, malgré une attente de plusieurs jours, elle et vos camarades ne vous avaient pas vu venir. Vous est-il arrivé quelque empêchement imprévu qui vous ait obligé à remettre votre départ l'Espagne ? Nous espérons tous que rien de fâcheux ne vous est arrivé, car vous auriez alors certainement envoyé un télégramme à vos amis.

Personnellement, j'espère recevoir de vos bonnes nouvelles dès que vous serez arrivée à Paris.

En ce qui concerne l'affaire des 720 francs de droits de timbre qu'il faudrait payer à nouveau si vous ne pouvez pas retrouver et envoyer le reçu de Mussier, je ne puis rien vous dire de plus que ce que je vous disais dans la lettre que vous avez reçue à Barcelonne. Si ce reçu n'est pas présenté au Conservateur des Hypothèques, celui-ci ne consentira à rayer l'inscription, qui a été prise quand vous avez acheté Bon Esprit, qu'à condition de payer à nouveau les 720 francs de droits, qui ont bien été payés par Mussier, mais dont on ne peut faire la preuve qu'en montrant le reçu de 4.000 francs qu'il vous a remis, et sur lequel il a collé pour 720 fcs de timbres fiscaux

Or l'acheteur de Bon Esprit ne peut entrer en pleine ~~pleine~~ possession de cette propriété que lorsque l'hypothèque sera rayée. Il faut donc, pour en finir avec la vente:

ou envoyer le reçu de Mussier, si vous l'avez entre vos mains,

ou autoriser le paiement des 720 francs, qui seront pris sur les sommes versées par l'acheteur le jour où l'acte de vente a été signé.

Donc, inutile de perdre votre temps à discuter sur le bien-fondé de la réclamation du "Fisc". Ce dernier est plus fort que nous tous. Envoyez le reçu à M. Bernard, ou dites-lui de payer à nouveau les 720 francs. Après quoi, d'ici un mois peut-être, vous pourrez toucher l'argent qui vous revient sur la vente de Bon Esprit.

En attendant, l'argent reste dans les tiroirs de M. Bernard

Rien de bien nouveau à vous dire en ce qui nous concerne, ma femme et moi. Notre vie à St-Tropez est toujours aussi triste que ce que vous avez pu constater quand vous êtes venue cet été. Nous en avons assez de cette vie, et nous voudrions bien vendre et nous en aller ailleurs. Mais, hélas, nous ne trouvons pas d'acheteur à un prix raisonnable, et nous sommes obligés de rester ici, comme deux malheureux, sans amis ni parents ! Espérons que nous ne mourrons pas abandonnés de tout et de tous.

A bientôt vous lire. Affectueusement vôtre

Robert.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 193[7] Nov. 8, Cavalière [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

This hotel takes its name - its small & unpretentious, & we live full pension for 50 francs (Fs) a day, each.

GRAND HOTEL CAVALIÈRE - CAP NÈGRE

(VARI)
PROPRIETAIRES M. MORIAZ
CHÉF DE CUISINE
TOUT CONFORT
OUVERT TOUTE L'ANNÉE
PLACE DE BAYLE
TERRASSE PLEINNE SUR LA MER
GARAGE
TELEPHONE 1

17142
LE 8 Nov. 1937

dearest Emma. I can only hope you haven't been thinking I have been neglecting you. The fact is we were moving about until a week & a day today, when we came here: the journey upset Reg and I was very worried: we went to a Dr at St. Raphael after a day here, and he said: his blood pressure was still up. I then left writing to you as on the Fri. I expected to get my letters forwarded from home - my idiotic fairy girl sent me on all sorts of rubbish and not a single letter, so I still don't know if there are any letters from you at the Cottage. It is very exasperating, and I don't feel justified in putting off writing to you any longer, my very dear

I will begin at the beginning in a brief resume of what has happened since we left Eng. on Sat. the 30th. We came out in a very small cargo boat, (500 tons only) there were only 3 passengers of whom we were two. We had a bit of bother from the immigration officials about our not being married, but Reg said what business was it of theirs, and after they'd rung up headquarters they grunted and gave in. Though we sailed on the Sat., Sun morning found us no further than Argate harbour, as owing to fierce gales in the Channel the capt. wouldn't venture out. We had stormy weather all the way, so Reg was unable to get the fresh air which was the whole point of coming by sea. In the Bay of Biscay we went to the assistance of a Dutch oiltanker in flames: it was a terrifying sight: some of their Malay crew bolted in panic in a small boat. The men who fought the flames stood on the unexploded oil tank next to the one which was on fire: this other tank was expected to explode any minute. We stood by for 3 hours & the Dutch ship, finally got the fire under & was able to proceed under her own steam to the nearest port 15 miles away. All this, with the storms that had delayed us, made us late in arriving in Bordeaux.

We spent a day and a night at Bordeaux, and then went to Carcassonne, a day's journey away, and spent the night there, then went on to Foix in the Pyrenees. A few hours away, where Reg has friends. We spent two nights there, then went to Toulon, spent a night there (we had to change there for this bit of coast in any case) and came on here next day. The series of their journeys were too much for Reg and I was terrified he was in for another hemorrhage. He has to report to a Dr every week to have his blood-pressure taken: we went to one at St. Raphael as he wanted to see a bit of the coast, but even though St. R. is only 2 hours from here he was bad again next day. He was better again after a couple of days of just paddling about this lovely bay in a canoe (which doesn't tire him as rowing would) and y/day we did the short walk along the plage and under the pines to Cap Nègre (which flanks one side of this Bay) but even that was too much and he made the return journey leaning on my shoulder.

What it means really is that he is allright so long as he is just pottering about as he did at Oak Cottage and at his home in Street, but the moment he starts to take even the mildest exercise he gets ill again. He doesn't look well: his eyes have that feverish look that children have when they're sick - you know what I mean, a glassy look, which suggests emaciation. The St. Raphael Dr wanted to change his medicine, but Reg felt he couldn't do that, anyhow till he has been back to Barts at Xmas, as at their instructions he is under the professor there for the time being. The St. Raphael Dr was a young Frenchman, very intelligent, & he was very surprised indeed to learn that despite the fact that

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 193[7] Nov. 8, Cavalière [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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17143

Reg is taking bromide (and arsenic) three times a day he doesn't sleep well. His kidney trouble (part of the blood pressure business) seems if anything worse, though he has given up drinking even light wines and drinks only Vichy, and keeps strictly to the low-protein diet prescribed by Barts. It's very discouraging, and very worrying.

I think ^{next week} we shall move from here to Rome, 15 mins. by train away, as I think we should be in a place where we can make the weekly visit to the dr without having to go a train journey to do it. Also as its dark and cold by 5 o'clock I think we need to be in a place where after the evening meal we can at least walk to the road to a café: here there's nothing to do at all, for its all black dark outside and neither up nor down the road leads anywhere, and as I sit all day in this bedroom and try to work, to retire to bed again immediately after the evening meal (all over by 8 o'clock) is really too much. We are the only people in the hotel & in the place: in fact the place consists only of this hotel, an epicure, and a tiny fisherman's café where we don't like to go as we looked at rooms there and didn't take them (its a cheerless, grim place, anyway) It must be wonderful here in the summer, and is lovely by day, but the day finishes at 5 - and there's no heating in the room even if one can bear to go on sitting in it till bedtime. I think one can stand being cut off if one is in a place of one's own, but not when confined to a hotel bedroom.

I thought very much of you, dear Emma, when we passed through St. Tropez the other day. Did you know, by the way, that Emy is with Kay Boyle and Laurence Vail at Aégéa, and (a friend tells me) 'writing a book in broken English'? I know Kay & Laurence very well: knew them in Paris, Villefranche where I met Sasha and Vienna, but somehow never 'took' to them: they're somehow not my sort! they were kind and friendly, but I never felt at home with them, especially with her, and I can't bear her 'precious' sort of writing. I am told her last novel had a German Fascist for hero.

A copy of Spain and the World reaches me here, and I am sick about the Asturias - and a god this neo-intervention farce! One doesn't forget the madness and wickedness of the world even here, for French battleships occasionally cross the bay to St. Tropez - one passed the other day firing guns as it went, and everything in the room rattled. It was horrible.

Were my red carnations there to welcome you home to grey England, my dear? I wrote you rather a 'grey' letter before I left, with a copy of my Leftist category letter for my book, and some pages (I think) of what I wrote about you. I don't know if you've yet had time to read them? (It occurs to me that you are ~~not~~ perhaps not yet back in England: I forget the date Barr gave me)

There is lovely sun here most days, and I try to work. The hotel is down on the plugs, and this moon has a wide terrace balcony. I wish so terribly that we could make more progress. It gets us both down at times. I was so angry with some just before I came away planning meetings for Reg to take as soon as we get back! I am very disgusted with this week's ~~new~~ ^{new} London ~~and~~ gets an ex-ILP-returned Communist to review and attack wife's book! I am going to write them a letter I hope they'll publish. What are outsiders to make of us - denouncing the USSR one week and putting up an abject defence of it the next. It makes me so utterly sick I could leave the party! (But then we are both always on the verge of that!)

Dear, dear, Emma, write me as soon as you can, and how I hope you are well and not requiring your dear and ~~extra~~ ^{valuable} self out fighting English
unhappy. My devoted love

(H)

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870926042

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 8, Perpignan [France to Emma Goldman, Paris] / Jean Ay. — 1 p. ; 17 x 11 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Perpignan 8 Novembre 1937.

18142

Cher Camarade,

J'ai bien reçu votre lettre du 6 courant.

Je n'ai actuellement aucun paquet en ma possession qui vous soit destiné. Je fais parvenir un mot à Martin pour lui signaler votre lettre. Est que j'ai un paquet de livres pour vous, je vous le ferai parvenir sans tarder à l'adresse indiquée.

Tous pouvez vous adresser le colis de provisions pour Martin - que nous lui ferons parvenir dès réception. Écrivez le colis sous double emballage.

Écrivez sur le emballage intérieur, le nom du destinataire. Sur l'emballage extérieur l'adresse suivante "Comité de Défense de la révolution Espagnole".

Ancien Hôpital, rue Garibaldi 106 - Perpignan -

adresse à laquelle vous devez envoyer le colis à Perpignan.

Tous pouvez également m'envoyer toute correspondance à mon adresse personnelle que vous voudrez faire parvenir à Martin.

Travaillons ensemble

Jean Ay

Est que j'ai un paquet de livres pour vous, je vous le ferai parvenir sans tarder à l'adresse indiquée.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880726241

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 8, Paris [to Emma] Goldman, [Paris] / R. Abramovich.—
1 p.; 30 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23749

СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИЙ ВЕСТНИК — LE COURRIER SOCIALISTE

141, Rue Broca, bM^e 11

(Square Albin Cochot)

PARIS (XIII^e)

Teleph. : PORT ROYAL 05 25

Chèques Postaux Paris 359-84
R. C. Seine 576 074

8 Ноября 1937

Р.Абрамович

Ваш 62-20

Дорогой товарищ Гольдман!

По Вашему уклончивому ответу по телефону я понял, что вести, которые Вы мне привезли из Испании, печального характера. Аналогичные сведения я в последние дни получил из совершенно другого источника, официально-испанского, но я им не особенно доверял до сих пор, полагая, что это способ отделаться от меня, и заставить меня прекратить поиски, ведущие к ГПУ. Но тот факт, что и у Вас, повидимому, пессимистические сведения, исходящие из другого источника, заставляют меня серьезно призадуматься.

Вы поймете, дор.тов., что при этом душевном состоянии мне, а в особенности моей жене, довольно трудно проявлять терпеливость и ждать до среды. Я был бы, поэтому, Вам чрезвычайно признателен, если бы Вы могли свиданье мне назначить уже завтра, во вторник. Жду Вашего телефонного звонка и жму Вашу руку

Саша
65-21

Ваш Р.Абрамович

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001009

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 10, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. —
1 p.; 11 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

19315

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 24
TELÉFONO 14721 - 41



A la compañera **EMMA GOLDMAN**,
LONDON.

Barcelona, 10 noviembre 1937.

Apreciada compañera:

Con la presente le remitimos 25 hojas de 50 sellos cada una. Estos sellos son para conmemorar el aniversario de la muerte de Durruti y su importe deberá ingresarlo en la cuenta de la Delegación Permanente en París.

Aprovechamos la ocasión para preguntarle si ha recibido toda la correspondencia que le hemos enviado desde aquí.

Reciba saludos fraternales y anarquistas,

INFORMACIÓN EXTRANJERA
C. N. T. - F. A. I.
32, Via Layetana, 34
BARCELONA (España)

Martin Gudell

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929470

[Receipt] 1937 Nov. 10, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Facundo Roca. —
1 p. ; 21 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
DELEGACION PERMANENTE EN PARIS

20678

Paris 10 Novembre 1937.

Reçu de la camarade Emma GOLDMANN la somme de 48 Livres
(QUARANTE HUIT LIVRES ST.), montant de la vente de matériel
propagande qu'elle a effectuée pour le compte du Comité
de la C.N.T. de Catalogne.

En foi, je lui délivre la présente quittance, à toutes
utiles.



Facundo ROCA.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 11, Paris [to Harry Weinberger, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Paris-11 November 1937

Dear comrade;

.....Well, here I am, back from poor, tragic Spain by no means less convinced of the ultimate success of our heroic comrades than I was when I went there. True, I found appalling conditions. The CNT-FAI have lost very considerably of their strategic position— the murderous Stalin gang in control and doing their rotten job openly and underhand. But there comes the strange contradiction in the Spanish workers and peasants. It is this; while the Moscow gangsters are in power politically, hard on their job to exterminate their opponents by every foul means, they have no roots whatever in the Spanish people. On the contrary, whatever appeal they may have had in the beginning of the revolution has been lost to them since they tried so hard to introduce Stalin's belongings in Spain. It is an absolute fact that the Communists are hated more intensely than the Fascists.

And when I tell you that our comrades have made every sacrifice, every possible concession and many deplorable compromises to maintain the anti-Fascist morale, you will realize how strong the hatred for these dreadful people is. You must understand, and so must all the comrades everywhere, that the anti-Fascist struggle has become a veritable obsession for the CNT — a religious passion! They were the first in the whole world to repulse Fascism, and they feel that they will remain the last in the field of battle against it. In other words, our comrades will fight to the very last against the ogre that threatens the whole world. But at the same time, they have come to realize that the Moscow satraps are no less a menace. They know as well as we do that there will be a day of reckoning and they will be ready for it. What I mean to impress upon and upon all our comrades is that while Stalin's henchmen are in power, politically speaking, they are committing crime after crime without being held to account, the moral strength of the revolutionary struggle is not theirs and never will be theirs in Spain.

On the other hand, the CNT-FAI have gained moral prestige far beyond that which they held before the May events. Wherever I went, and I travelled more extensively on this visit, and with whomsoever I spoke I found the influence of the CNT-FAI growing. That gives me reason to believe that the power of the communists is artificially created, hence doomed to perish, while the position of the CNT-FAI in the estimation of the Spanish workers and awakened peasants is stronger than ever.

The statement of J.L. that there was no pact with Russia is correct only insofar as a written agreement is concerned. But that the Stalin outfit has been exacting its pound of flesh, and a thousand weight over, is no longer a secret even to those of our politically naive comrades.

As to the masses at large, they were, of course, carried away by the "solidarity" of comrade Stalin. But, they too, have learned that his "generous" help to the Spanish people was that of the usurer who makes capital out of the dire needs of his clients and, once in his clutches, the struggle and strangle hold continues far beyond the value of the aid rendered the victim of the money lender. And if that strangle hold continues it is entirely due to the criminal alliance of the so-called Democratic countries and the Non- Intervention agreement, for it is certain that if the anti-Fascist forces could have freely purchased arms for Spain, Stalin could never have laid his crushing hand on the Spanish Revolution, nor could his satraps have infested the whole political life of Spain. Even at this late hour, Stalin's rule in Spain would collapse like a house of cards if the still born child of Blum were buried at last. It was Non-Intervention, now exposed to the world in all its farcical and lying hypocrisy, and nothing else that forced our comrades to make the compromises that they have made.

We, outside of Spain, may not agree with these compromises and we may lament the concessions of the CNT-FAI. I certainly do not agree — but, having been in Spain twice within the year, I have learned to understand that our people were driven to the very brink of extinction by the advent of Fascism to accept help from a source no less a menace, yet not quite so immediate as the hordes of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini. After all, understanding should enable us to approach the mistakes and blunders made by our comrades more tolerantly than some of the critics of the CNT-FAI have so far shown.

To deny the evils I found on my second visit to Spain would be a betrayal of my whole past and would ill-serve the Spanish comrades. Their losses are tremendous. And yet they do not weigh in the scale against their gains. I am not speaking only of their moral influence. I am speaking of the constructive work begun on the 19th of July which, in many instances, has grown, improved and has been perfected so much since last year. To me, it is miraculous for a people to go on building in the face of war, food shortage and a deadly political regime that has filled the prisons, destroyed some of the collectives and that dispose

The Emma Goldman Papers

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2 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

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Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

all opponents in the dead of the night, thus endangering everybody's life who will
not swear by the Stalin-Negrin regime.

I hope to write about the devastating march of the Lister and Marx brigades through
some of the collectives in Aragon and of the havoc they left behind. For the present,
I only wish to say that even this damage siege has not dampened the ardour and spirits of
our comrades. Their spirit burns at white heat that gives them strength and determination
to continue the process of building a new Spain. One must see their work and hear their
story to realize that the revolution is far from dead and that is enough to urge me to
throw myself with renewed energy into the work abroad for the CNT-FAI.....

I am leaving for England the coming Sunday.....The CNT-FAI insist upon my return upon
my return to England for the winter to enlarge upon the campaign begun last winter....
Please write me there.

Affectionately, Emma.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 11, Paris [to Solo Linder, Paris] / Emma Goldman.—
2 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

I tell you that our comrades have made every sacrifice, every possible concession and every deplorable compromise to maintain the anti-Fascist morale. You will realize how strong the hatred for these dreadful people is. You must understand, and so must all the comrades everywhere, that the anti-Fascist struggle has become a veritable obsession for the CNT—a religious passion! They were the first in the whole world to repulse Fascism. And they feel that they will remain the last on the field of battle against it. In other words, our comrades will fight to the very last against the ogre that threatens the whole world. But at the same time they have come to realize that the Moscow satraps are no less a menace! They know as well as we do that there will be a day of reckoning and they will be ready for it. What I mean to impress upon you and upon all our comrades is that while Stalin's henchmen are in power, politically speaking, they are committing crime after crime without being held to account, the moral strength in the revolutionary struggle is not theirs and never will be in Spain.

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To deny the evils I found on my second visit to Spain would be a betrayal of my whole heart to the Spanish comrades. Their losses are tremendous. And they are still fighting in the face of their gains. I am now speaking only of their moral influence. I am speaking of the constructive work begun on the 19th of July which, in many instances, has grown, improved and has been perfected so much since last year. To me, it is miraculous for a people to go on building in the face of war, food shortage and a deadly political regime that has filled the prisons, destroyed some of the collectives and that disposes of all opponents in the dead of the night, thus threatening everybody's life who will not swear by the Stalin-Berlin combine.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 11, Paris [to Solo Linder, Paris] / Emma Goldman.—
2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

#2

I hope to write about the devastating march of the Lister and Marx brigades through some of the collectives in Aragon and of the havoc they left behind. For the present, I only wish to say that even this savage siege has not dampened the spirits of our comrades. Their spirit burns at white heat that gives them strength and determination to continue the process of building a new Spain. One must see their work and hear their story to realize that the Revolution is far from dead. That is enough to urge me to throw myself with renewed energy into the work abroad for the CNT-FAI.

I am leaving for England the coming Sunday...The CNT-FAI insist upon my return to England for the winter to enlarge upon the campaign begun last year...Write me there.

Affectionately. Emma. *Goldman*

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 11, Paris [to Cultura Proletaria, New York] / Emma Goldman.—
1 p.; 26 × 16 cm.
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

NUMERO 501

UNA CARTA DE EMMA GOLDMAN

París, 11 de Noviembre de 1937.

Queridos compañeros:

Estoy de regreso de la abatida y trágica España, pero no menos convencida del triunfo heroico final de nuestros compañeros que lo estaba cuando fui allí. La C.N.T. y la F.A.I. han perdido muchas de las posiciones estratégicas, estando en control la cuadrilla staliniana, la que descaradamente lleva a efecto su sucia labor abierta y encubiertamente. Pero existe una extraña contradicción en los trabajadores y campesinos españoles. Es esta: mientras que los "gangsters" de Moscú se hallan en el poder, empleando todos los medios posibles para exterminar sus adversarios, no arraigan ni lo más mínimo en el seno del pueblo español. Por el contrario, toda la simpatía que hayan tenido al principio de la revolución la han perdido puesto que han querido establecer en España la bendición staliniana. Es un hecho absolutamente verdad el que los comunistas son más intensamente odiados en España que los mismos fascistas.

240W23rd,

Y cuando os digo que nuestros camaradas han hecho todo sacrificio, toda posible concesión y muchos deplorables compromisos para mantener la moral antifascista, os daréis cuenta lo profundamente que son odiados estas gentes en aquel país. Debéis de comprender, y así lo deben de hacer los compañeros de todas partes, el que la lucha antifascista se ha convertido en una verdadera obsesión de la C.N.T., una verdadera pasión mística. Fueron los de la C.N.T. los primeros del mundo en detener al fascismo. Y se consideran que han de ser los últimos que lo han de abandonar. En otras palabras, nuestros compañeros lucharán hasta el fin contra la bestia que amenaza a toda la humanidad. Pero se han dado cuenta que los átrapas moscovitas no son menos amenaza que este mismo fascismo. Saben también como nosotros que llegará el día de ajustar cuentas y están preparados para ello. Sobre lo que trato de impresionaros a vosotros y a todos los otros compañeros es que mientras los secuaces de Stalin están en el poder, políticamente hablando, cometiendo crímenes tras crímenes sin que por ellos se les castigue, la fuerza moral revolucionaria no es de ellos ni nunca lo será.

Por otra parte, la C.N.T. y la F.A.I. han adoptado una línea política que es la única que puede salvar a España. Dondequiera que he ido, y he viajado más extensamente que las otras veces, con todas las que he hablado he notado que la influencia de la C.N.T. y la F.A.I. había aumentado considerablemente y sigue aumentando.

Esto me hace creer que la fuerza de los comunistas es artificial y por lo tanto condenada a morir, mientras que la posición de la C.N.T. y la F.A.I. gozan de más simpatía entre los trabajadores y los campesinos revolucionarios que ha gozado nunca.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001011

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 11, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, Paris / Martin Gudell.—
1 p.; 22 x 17 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84
TELÉFONO 14731 - 41



Nº 455.

TELÉFONOS:

CENTRALITA 14731

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Barcelona le 11 novembre 1937.

A la Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,
Paris.

Chère Camarade,

J'ai reçu votre lettre datée en Paris le 6 courant. Je vous prie de patienter un petit peu et tout le matériel que vous avez laissé ici, vous parviendra, car je suis sûr que dans ces moments tout sera déjà à Londres. Je vous prie aussi de tenir compte que toutes les lettres, même celles qui arrivent par avion, passent par la censure communiste.

Je suis bien content de que vous ayez arrivé heureusement à Paris et je voudrais bien que vous m'écriviez de Londres que tout le matériel vous est parvenu.

Je vous comprend très bien quand vous dites que vous avez eu de la peine à laisser l'Espagne. Moi aussi j'aurais le même sentiment si maintenant que tous les camarades se sacrifient par la lutte contre cet ennemi que c'est le plus grand ennemi de toute l'humanité, je serais obligée de partir. Mais vous, malgré que vous êtes loin, vous êtes avec nous, parce que vous nous comprenez et vivez notre lutte et vous la continuez en notre faveur.

Mes salutations bien fraternelles,

Martin Gudell

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 11, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. — 2 p.; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19316

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84
TELÉFONO 14731 - 41

TELÉFONOS:

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Barcelona le 11 novembre 1937.

A la Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,
18, Castletown Rd.,
LONDON, W. 14.

Chère Camarade,

Je viens de recevoir votre lettre du 6 courant, par laquelle je vois que vous n'avez pas rien reçu, mais comme j'ai commencé à faire des envois deux jours avant de votre départ, j'espère qu'après vous aurez reçu quelque matériel. Votre lettre a été écrite à Paris et je vois que vous êtes très préoccupée à cause du matériel. Si vous vous rappelez, je vous avais dit que vous ne trouveriez rien à Paris, sinon que je vous écrirais une lettre vous annonçant que j'avais envoyé tout à London. J'espère que cette lettre vous sera parvenue. Je vous affirme une autre fois que tout le matériel que vous avez laissé ici, a été envoyé à Londres. Je suis tout à fait sûr que d'ici est parti tout; si quelque chose s'est égarée, ne sera pas à nous la faute, ni du courrier espagnol. N'est-il pas possible qu'on le retienne en Angleterre? Dans le cas où vous ne l'auriez pas reçu, vous devriez faire la réclamation à la poste.

Je vous prie qu'à l'avenir, dans les lettres que vous m'adresseriez directement, vous ne devez pas m'écrire de cette façon, car toutes les lettres, même celles qui arrivent par avion, passent par la censure communiste.

Si quelque part de ce matériel que vous avez cueilli dans les Collectivités arrive à s'égarer, je ferai tout mon possible pour vous parvenir une autre copie. Je ferai faire une copie de tout ce que j'ai préparé et aussi dès que je rencontrerai à Agustin, je lui demanderai une autre.

hier je vous ai envoyé les livres et les brochures que vous m'avez laissés, parmi lesquels se trouvait les brochures de Durruti et celle de la Colonie d'Enfants d'Argenton. Je vous ai fait parvenir à votre adresse quelques lettres et les documents du Comité National.

Je pense que vous ne devez pas être si préoccupée par tout

.....

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 11, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. — 2 p. ; 22 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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cela, car je suis très sûr que tout vous parviendra. J'espère que dans
votre prochaine vous allez me communiquer que vous êtes en possession
de tout le matériel.

Mes salutations bien fraternelles.

Martin Gudell

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 11, St. Tropez [to Emma Goldman, Paris?] / Robert [Sandström]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 13 cm.

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St Tropez 11/11 1937
Chère Annie. 17891

J'ai bien reçu vos dernières lettres, et suis heureux de savoir que vous êtes revenu à bon port en France. J'espère que vous êtes maintenant en Angleterre pour poursuivre votre propagande.

Malheureusement, je crois que "les jeux sont faits" et que votre action a peu de chance de succès vers le but que vous poursuivez. L'avenir nous dira si je me trompe. —

Sur le papier que M^r Bernard vous a envoyé et que vous m'avez retourné avec votre signature, vous avez oublié d'écrire "Bon pour décharge", comme c'était indiqué au crayon. De ce fait, le document peut être contesté.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929227

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 11, St. Tropez [to Emma Goldman, Paris?] / Robert [Sandström]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 13 cm.

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Toutefois comme il s'agit⁷⁸⁹²
d'une pièce pour laquelle vous
me donnez des charges des noms
mis par l'acheteur de bon
esprit, comme que j'en ai
jamais, mes amis, et qui ont
toujours été en mains d'un
notaire, je pense que vous ne me
le réclamez jamais. Je donne
donc le papier tel que vous l'avez
signé. J'ai dit au notaire de faire
le vider pour ces 720 fr. de
timbres. Je pense que tout sera
bientôt terminé et que l'argent
n'attendra pas à être versé au
crédit de votre compte chez Seligman.
— La glacière a été achetée par
le nouveau propriétaire : 100 fr.
J'ai dit à M. Télet de vous envoyer
cette somme.
Ma femme a retiré les tapis
et le petit meuble provincial qui
venait de M. Guggenheim. C'est
tout.
Le reste a été vendu par moi,
qui a dû le vendre pour votre compte,
comme convenu.
Bientôt de nouvelles.
Un bon accueil, Robert.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 12, Oak Park, Ill. [to Emma] Goldman, [London?] / Charles Henry Mitchell. — 4 p. ; 17 x 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17907

819 Lake Street
Oak Park, Illinois

November 12, 1937

Dear Miss Goldman,

I am very grateful for your letter of October 19th written at Barcelona.

Since writing you I have done quite a bit of work on the projected story of Golgoz. I have made an outline of the story, chapter by chapter, beginning with the assassination & ending with the execution of Golgoz. As far as that part of the history goes, I am fairly well satisfied that I

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870929234

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 12, Oak Park, Ill. [to Emma] Goldman, [London?] / Charles Henry Mitchell. — 4 p. ; 17 x 14 cm.

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- 2 -

17908

have gotten to the truth as far as it is possible for anyone to get. Certain aspects of the case — for example, the ~~Third~~ Degree — seem destined to remain forever somewhat of a mystery. One can easily imagine what happened — but of cold, concrete, historical facts, there are none.

I have given some thought to writing the story, beginning with the assassination & carrying through to the end — omitting the "build up." For one thing I think I have enough material for that to make an average length novel. For another,

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17909

I have only a rather sketchy, historical picture of the events prior to the assassination. You have given me about the most reliable information I have been able to get in this regard.

Yet I have a strong suspicion that by overlooking what went before, I would be sidestepping the heart of the whole problem. But there, frankly, I have been nonplussed by a persistent inability to see the world of 1901 through Golgor's eyes. I think I can see it through the eyes of an

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17910

ordinary anarchist, but that is not enough.

~~Colgony~~ ^{nonsense} was undoubtedly legally insane. He was rather pronouncedly psychopathic, however, ^{by reason of his suffering} evidently a schizophrenic type. He knew what he was doing, I think, for his act was no more conditioned by his psychopathic difficulties than are the ordinary, everyday acts of most people.

For the time being I have put the story on the shelf. As soon as I think I have a sound stand point in the whole matter I will start in again. I'll get in touch with you later. ^{Yours sincerely} Charles Henry Mitchell

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 15, Paris [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 21 x 17 cm.

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19386

Paris Nov. 15th '37.

My dear, dear Martin. I had planned to write you to day before my departure for England. (I leave this evening at 9,50) and now that your letter arrived dated the 11th I have more reasons to write you as I had planned. I am sorry my dear to seem so impatient. I would not be if the material I gathered were not so important for my work in England. You cannot imagine how relieved I feel to hear from Barr that all sorts of things are arriving for me and he is keeping it safely. That means I will have the stuff you forwarded. I will let you know when I get to London.

Dear Martin I found out that it is possible to send food packages to Spain from here through Beau Marche one of the large stores in Paris. I have therefore purchased the package that weighs ~~11~~ one can also order five, ten, 15 and 20 kilos. I inclose the list of the provisions it contains. Naturally, the lentils, haricots blancs and other cooking stuff will only be good for those who have a way for cooking. I believe you have it and so has Mercedes. I want you therefore to devise this between her and yourself. Her address is Ponce de la Margall 40, third floor. She has a phone which I have unfortunately mislaid, but whatever she is to have please see that it is sent her right away. She is in the mountains. She said she was going. In that case her friend will be at the flat and he will take it to her. Add to the articles already mentioned two cans of milk five tubs of bouillon, a tablet of chocolate, and a piece of Marseille soap. Also a half pound of sucre.

Give Abe half pound of sucre, one can of milk some of the chocolate and a piece of soap. Give Mercedes that same package receives one half pound of sucre, a tablet of chocolate and a can of milk. Give your secretary a can of milk and a little chocolate. The rest of everything is for you. Just as soon as I know that the package has reached you I will send so something once or twice a week. Oh, for the coffee is for you since it is not enough to go around and it will last you and your comrades a little while. You might really let me know what you and she prefer most because I can choose the articles to make up the parcel. So do not fail to write me. It costs forty francs ~~for the package~~ ~~for the package~~ ~~for the package~~ the parcel itself 100. Of course that is my contribution to you and the others with my love. Only you will have to forgo the thirty pesetas I owe you and which I have to pay of returning.

My dear what made you write Oh that I have entirely a different opinion from him in re our people. It is true I am opposed to the method of criticism he employed but I believe in the right of friendly and cordially criticism. It would be a great tragedy if that were no longer permitted in our ranks. We would in no way differ from those who want everybody praised and ~~silenced~~ ~~silenced~~ ~~silenced~~. No, I insist we must have freedom of criticism, but it must be done in a cordial tone and it must not make us so bitter that we do not see the good for the bad. That has been and is going to be my stand towards our comrades. I just wanted you to know my position which incidentally I have explained to our comrades in Valencia.

Do not forget to send me everything of importance you will have for the campaign in England. You will help me more than

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 15, Paris [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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19387

you can imagine. So do not fail me my dear.

Under separate cover I am sending to you two plays which please give to Markvelt. I have promised him plays that might be good for Spain. Impress upon his mind that he must return both plays after he has made translations for his purpose, or if he does not think them good for our struggle in Spain. Tell him also I could get no plays for him in Paris in German because most of them are not yet published and if there are any the are in the book store of our enemies which I would not visit for anything in the world. I hope you understand. I have written to America for plays and will forward them when they reach me. Remember me to the American girl comrades, to Ilse Tjoto and your sweetheart.

Affectionately.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 15 [Paris to] Louis [Frank, Barcelona?] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 26 × 18 cm.

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My dear Louis, I am writing you this letter in London. I will be most anxious until I hear from you. So
in England. I will be most anxious until I hear from you. So
fail to write. As you probably know I left the 4th reached
nearly missed there over night and got here Friday evening. Now
I wish I could stay on longer here I really dread to return
London because of its beastly climate and the difficult effort
rouse people to the tragedy of Spain. Frankly I would have no
at all if it were not that I am looking forward so eagerly to
you are working on. That will be of great help and will ease
struggle. I am also relieved to know that I may have the chance
return if only a small part of your kindness to me. So you must
not fail me with your coming and the film. Both will represent
pleasant and the practice.

I am leaving to night and I still have a lot to do. This
is only a short note to let you know to write me to London and
let me know soon about your trip. I discovered that the Dept.
Bau Marche sends packages of food to Barcelona or ~~V~~
I sent 15 kilo of different things to Martin for several people.
If it reaches him safely I will do that once or twice a month
will also include something for Ilse. Please tell her that and
her my love. Naturally I would also send you food stuffs if I
hope that you will soon be my star border. But if for some reason
you must stay on let me know what you would like and I will send

With my most affectionate greetings.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 15, Paris [to] Emmy [Eckstein, Nice] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 26 × 18 cm.

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I was of course very sorry indeed to learn that you were ill. I do not see what the doctors in Nice will do for you. You have been told by the Tcheck specialist that an operation would be fatal for you. But you must decide what you want to do. Not do it for you nor do I believe you would follow any suggestion I might make. I only hope you will not decide rashly throwing away your life.

Poor Modest is suffering all the curses meted out to the Jewish people. The more wonderful his spirit. I have written him that his advice about Bon Esprit came too late. IT IS NO LONGER MINE although I do not yet have the money. When I do I will send something every month. It will not be enough to secure you. But if I will also help it will enable you to get along without grosse Sp. am sorry to say. To day I inclose a check for 500 francs.

With my old friendship,

I leave for London to night. the same address 18 Canthetown Rd. London W.14.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870930279

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 16 [London to Facundo] Roca, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 25 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16 de Noviembre de 1937.

Querido caracra Roca; Salud!

He llegado esta mañana sin novedad, un poco
bastante cansada despues de tan largo viaje.

Antes de salir de Barcelona tenia el propo-
posito de traer conmigo un ejemplar de la obra "La Revolucion
Española"; pero se me debio de haber quedado allí, pues bus-
cando entre mis cosas no la encuentro y no hea tiempo para
decir que me consigas uno y me lo mandes lo antes posible,
por lo que anticipadamente te doy las gracias.

Igualmente, si tienes alguna noticia de
Enriq. Fernandez, me gustaria saberla, para poder
hablar sobre el asunto.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 17, London [to] Molli[e Steimer] and Sen[ya Fleshin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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18238

Nov 17th 37.

Darling Mollitchka, dearest Seniusha.

I arrived safely but nearly three hours late. The fog was frightful. I am really lucky I did get here because the morning a boat collided with another and there were many casualties. London looks gloomy and depressing and my flat after the friendliness of your studio very tete indeed. But as I shall be busy with a lot of things I will have no time to bemoan my cheerless flat, or the hateful thing of cooking for myself.

What a rotten mother I am to spoil the last moment with a fit over money. Of course you know better than anyone that it was not the money, it was my anger over the petty, rude way that damned French state employee acted. There are no meaner people in the world than all these servants of the state, the railroad, the post office, conductors on buses and underground. They always get under my skin specially when I am away long from France. Still I should have controlled myself. But I did see red. That's why I even wanted to "cheat" that poor porter. One's mind does play tricks with one on occasions.

Darling I inclose ten shillings for the subscription. You will only get 73.50 fr. Please add the one fifty and subscribe for me. I am not clear if the 85 was for the Posledni. If not please Seniushenka let me have the last few copies until mine will arrive.

My dears, I am feeling rotten because I miss my note on collectivisation, the first part in Spanish which arrived c/o Mollitchka and which I had in the studio. I searched among every papers and envelope here and I haven't got them. I must have left them on your large table, or what would be worse among the stuff taken down to the cellar in one of the envelopes. I am writing Soucky who gave me the part to send me another copy. But ~~xxxxxx~~ it may take an awful long time before I will get it and I want very much to try hard to get an order for several articles either from the Manchester Guardian or some American papers. It would mean some money which I need badly for my expenses living expenses here. Dearest own Senia, you have all the reasons in the world to curse the moment I ever came into your life. Still I am going to ask you to look over the material Sunday, I mean the suite cases in the cellar and see if the Spanish typewritten

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 17, London [to] Molli[e Steimer] and Sen[ya Fleshin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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18236

notes did not get mixed into the other material. You dearest Mollitchka will have to make a search in your papers. It will be an irreparable loss if I cannot find these notes.

I found the German material of the Landau case and a lot of other cases. But not the ~~xxx~~ material of Fernandez case which is really most important for any kind of a campaign here. Martin must have sent it, but so far it has not arrived. I will have to make a copy of the Landau material before I can send it to Edgar N. I will try to do so tomorrow though I have an awful lot to do. Quite a number of others are given. I don't know whether they are our comrades or the ~~Poum~~ members. Close is included. Do you know some of the names of our people let me know.

I enjoy being with you my darlings and going out with you. I have no one here who even remotely take such a place in my heart as you two. Actually, your place grows deeper and larger with the years even though we disagree so very much on Spain. Perhaps just because of it I love you for your large spirit which so few of our comrades have to those they disagree with.

When you write me let me know about Carbo, has he gotten the visa or what. He is a charming man but really utterly unfit for any kind of systematic work or effort. Give him my fraternal greetings. You will be glad to know that Rudolf's MSS in re Anarcho Syndicalism is already being set up. The publisher is very much impressed with it. B

I hold you both close to my heart.

Devoted love.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 17 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19152

Nov 17th 37.

Dear Augustine.

You said you have to be back in Barcelona the 10th. Allowing for the uncertainties in Spain I figure you will be back by the time this reaches you. I have just come back for the publishers who are publishing Rudolf's small book on Anarch Syndicalism. The publisher is enchanted with it. Judging by the description Rudolf gave me in his last letter it must be most interesting and timely. It will help our work here immensely. The only draw back is that Rudolf signed the contract without specification of the ~~copyright~~ ^{copyright} rights. The result is that the publisher claims these rights for Europe but not America. In other words if the comrades should want to get out a Spanish, French and German edition they will have to pay for the rights, perhaps hundred pounds for each country. Rudolf will get 12/00 off that. However when it comes to the point I think I can prevail upon him to let the rights go for less. Meanwhile I am overjoyed that we will at last have a comprehensive work of Anarcho-Syndicalism in the English language which is timely.

While at the publishers I spoke to him about your book on collectivisation. He was keenly interested in that. He said he would consider it for publication. You must therefore hurry up with your book. I have the French edition. I am not clear whether the stuff you are now working on is to be an additional book, or quite separate and distinct. Let me know and when you have the material ready send it to me. I am certain the publisher will get it out. Only on that way can any work of ours reach the general public. Write me in detail about the book and I will prepare the ground.

Martin sent on most of the material I gathered unfortunately two things have not so far arrived. One is the Spanish copy of F's case you promised me. The German material arrived. But not that particular stuff which I wanted most. Please my dear let Ilse make another copy and send it, or ask Martin who will get it safely to me. There is another thing, the first part of the Spanish notes on the collectives we visited, or rather the notes on all the places

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[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 17 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19153

between Valencia and Madrid. It is of utmost importance to me I hope therefore you will not refuse to have Ilse or some one else if she has not yet return make me a complete copy. I know you have much to do. Still you will not refuse to help me in the work, much harder and less satisfactory than in Spain.

I wonder what's doing about our new film. Did Frank meet you somewhere and did you get for him the films in Madrid. It takes an awful long time to get anything quickly done in Spain and the work here cannot wait. Please dear Augustine to your utmost to help Frank. After all it is for our work here and not for the benefit of any one individual.

Please see Martin, tell him I try to be patient but I see that the material, among them the notes on collectivisation ~~which~~ mailed two weeks before I left has not arrived, nor the part on F's case. That's why I have to ask you to make me new copies and rush them to me. Martin was to give me a copy of the SPANISH REVOLUTION. Not the one "de Julio a Julio, an Ano De Lucha". The other is a large work, I have forgotten the name of the author. ALLEN AND UNWIN have applied for the rights and I want to take the book to them. Martin must therefore send me a copy at once.

I take it Abe is back, please give him my affectionate greetings. Tell him I will write him just as soon as I have read the stuff he gave me. Love to the two sisters Ruth and Zena I wonder how their friend is. He was not well you know. He was to see a doctor. I would like to know whether he had the consultation.

Love to Ilse and some of it to you. Please, please be a good boy as you always are away from your bureau and send me the material I asked above.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 18, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, Hyères, France] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p.; 27 x 22 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London Nov 18th 37

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Ethel, my dearest one.

I returned Tuesday and found your letters as well as the SS and the dedication. I read everything almost immediately I got into my flat. First about the sketch of me and your dedication. Both are alright my dearest. I told this to Warburg yesterday morning when I called on him in behalf of Rudolf Rocker's SS on Anarcho Syndicalism which he is publishing. I find the quotation of my two letters quite in place. I was so sure I could depend on your discretion I wrote Ralph directly I heard from you some weeks ago to call up Warburg and tell him not to delay your book. So that is alright. As to your Marxism my sweet Ethel I am sure the time will come when you will realize that "it is not the abuse of the thing which is wrong. It is the thing itself". It matters not what kind of a Marxist one is it is the theory itself which tends to annihilate all freedom and initiative. No matter the best intentions all Marxists in power have proven alike except that one set became aggressively centralistic, hence dictatorial, and the other set beginning as revolutionists ended in the muddy waters of parliamentarism. In both cases the ideology has proven deadly and the tactics ~~unintentional~~ impatient of everyone else in the social struggle. If ever I doubted this the years since the world war and since the ascendancy of Socialists in whatever country gave me overwhelming proofs. However, I believe too much in personal freedom I would not for anything impose my views on Marxism on you. But I feel certain you will outgrow it. I love you for your fine spirit, your revolutionary zeal and above all for your loving nature. Nothing else matters.

When you wrote me that you are going by freighter and by slow stages I felt very uneasy about Regie. It did not seem just the thing for him. I wondered why you did not go to such the mountains in France such as Grasse, or Menton. In the latter you would have had both, the sea and the mountains. I do hope Regie is improving now that he must be freed from the strain of travel. If not do you not think a high altitude would be better ~~for~~ him than the sea? My heart goes out to both of you my dears. But what is the good of all the love I feel when I can do nothing to be of help?

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 18, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, Hyères, France] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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2

Dearest I wish you were here and I could talk to you about the tragedy of Spain, the treachery of the Communists and the Negro outfit. Both are too overwhelming to write in a letter especially now when I have to get ready for our group meeting where I am to make a report about the situation. I shall next week I will get time to write you at length. For the present I only want you to know that the prisons are filled with political CNT-FAI, POUL, men and women without any charge against them except the most despicable inventions, that Barcelona is slowly starved into submission and that the revolution lies gagged and fettered though the revolutionary spirit is still alive. I do not know what will become of it all. I only know I must cry out against the murderous gang directed from Moscow that is not only trying to squeeze the life out of the revolution and the CNT-FAI, it has and is deliberately sabotaging the anti fascist front. I do not know of any other such instance of betrayal. Judas betrayed only Christ, the Communists have betrayed a whole people. They have done no less than the European powers that have been sitting back while the Spanish masses were being delivered to Franco's knife. And what about the International Proletariat. Have they not played false to all their protestations of workers solidarity? All, all have acted the Judas Iscariot to Spain, but none so brazenly, deliberately than Stalin's henchmen. Ah, my dearest my heart is full to overflowing. I must, I must cry out against the whole pack. I know I will have the greatest difficulty to be heard. But I will try to the uttermost.

Frank is hard at work on a new film. I am expecting him here soon as he plans to prepare his material in England. I don't know whether I mentioned in my letters that Frank ordered two copies of the L. A. L. from New York, they are taken from the negative and should be much better. They are already here but he has not yet taken them out. I have called Jenner, his girl, Sonia, James and Ralph together for next Thursday afternoon to get the new copies going. I wish you could be here. I do not feel quite so alone with you present my ~~dearest~~ flaming spirit. I do not know yet when my first public appearance will take place but we are planning a public meeting soon.

Dearest my flat looked gay with your beautiful red carnations. It was sweet and thoughtful of you. Thanks so much. I have some of them on a little piece between your and Sasha's pictures. I will write again soon darling. Meanwhile let me hear from you, please. I am sending this to the cottage because you did not seem certain where you would go next. How can I reach Sarahira. I'd like to draw her into our work.

I embrace you tenderly.
Best of greetings to Leg.

Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 18 [London to] The Manchester Guardian, [M]anchester [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 27 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Nov 18th 37.

Editor
THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
GUARDIAN BLDG.
MANCHESTER.

Dear Sir. I have only yesterday returned from my second visit to Spain. I was appalled to find all political rights and liberties suspended and the most cruel persecution of men and women for no reason whatever. Actually there are over 2500 political prisoners in anti Fascist Spain. Most of them have no idea why they had been arrested and why they are kept in suspense for months. I have visited several prisons and the material I have gathered for publication in England and America.

THE GUARDIAN has always been among the first public to expose political injustice and persecution of victims of every form of tyranny. It occurred to me that you maybe interested in an article on the deplorable fate of innocent men and women who have faithfully served the anti-Fascist cause only to be made to pay with their freedom and some even with their lives by the Negrin and Communist government.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience if you are interested in such an article. May I add that a moral protest outside of Spain will save most of the unfortunate already imprisoned for months and some whose lives hang in balance.

Yours very truly.

C.M.L.

V.T.L.

E.V.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 18, New York [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Edward Dahlberg. — 1 p. ; 27 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

November 18, 1937

Dear Miss Goldman:

We are publishing a belles lettres magazine, American Quarterly, to which Anderson, Dreiser, Cummings, Silone, Klaus Mann, Waldo Frank and others are contributing. We are attempting to avoid the destructive tendencies of both the right and the left, and to return to the humanities through literature, poetry, philosophy, art and ethics. We are paying one cent per word for prose, and five dollars a page for poetry.

Nothing would interest me so deeply as to get from you or from someone who you feel can do it, an essay on that very significant but forgotten fragmentation of our life and history -- the story of American Anarchism: the narrative idealism of Voltairine De Cleyre, Alexander Berkman, yourself, Hippolyte Havel and others. It is a period in our background that moves me very deeply.

It would be a rare pleasure to hear from you, and a privilege to get something from your pen.

With sincere wishes,

Edward Dahlberg

Edward Dahlberg
237 West 16th Street
New York City

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 19, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London Nov 19th 37.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dearest Rudolf, Darling Milly.

I found your letter Millitchka at Mollies, and yours dear Rudolf was forwarded to me shortly after I got back from Spain the sixth of this month. Needless to say I was delighted to hear from both of you and to get from you, my dear, such a long and interesting letter. Not that you do not always write interestingly. But somehow yours of the 25th of Oct ~~was~~ contained so much *mir aus der Seele* ~~gesprochen~~ *gesprochen*, it was a special treat in the conflicting atmosphere in Paris. I was very tempted to let Mollie and Senia read your letter. It may have helped them to see the situation in Spain with their own eyes and not with that of Volin, Senia, Besnard and the others. But as you asked me ~~not to~~ to keep your attitude to them and ~~and~~ to myself I did not take the liberty to make it known to the kids. If I did not love them as I do and did not know their absolute honesty I should have run away from Paris the first day I arrived there. No matter what one has to say in explanation of the tactics of the CNT-FAI they have become the blackest of black sheep to our comrades in Paris. Now, it is not as if I can agree with many of the steps taken and decisions made by our people in Spain. Most of them have proven disastrous, have absolutely undermined the political status of the CNT-FAI. Thus it is certainly a commentary on the position of our comrades when several thousand people, members of the POU and by far more our own comrades have to languish in prisons. Can you imagine my horror as regards the Modelo prison filled with Fascists last year and now replaced by our own comrades. And the even greater shock to find that Montjuich emptied of all traces of the horrible past by the Revolution to day harboring among others three hundred men of the Durruti Colon? This could never have happened if the CNT-FAI had not yielded step by step its strategic position. If ~~they~~ they would still act as in the past even if it were only ~~that~~ in the form of protests in the Soli, or any other of its many papers. True the Committee National protests in letters to the rotten Negrin-Stalin government. But what good does it do? The prisons remain filled to suffocation without any ~~changes~~ *except* the worn out charge of "Trotzkism" which absurd enough in Russia and Europe is simply fantastic in Spain. In addition are the numerous victims of the damnable Stalin gang who pick up people daily and of whom no trace is left. I say, if the CNT-FAI had not ~~given~~ given way inch by inch from all they ever held high such a state of dictatorship

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 19, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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FAI their continued cow towing to that torquero in the Kremlin would tax even my patience and yours I am sure. It was disastrous enough to begin with the concessions made to Russia in the beginning and while Stalin sent the anti Fascist struggle arms. Though it is a fact that our people were given precious little of Russian aid. Every one ~~who~~ in Spain knows that the Aragon front had been criminally sabotaged from the moment arms from Russia arrived. But what few people know is that our divisions in the trenches in Madrid are forced to beg for every piece of ammunition. I know whereof I speak, I was in the trenches in Madrid, our sectors consisting of 56,000 CNT-FAI members and I saw the correspondence between the man in charge of our divisions and that mountebank ~~Milke~~ And I can testify to the cruel, outrageous, and downright mad neglect of our people in the face of daily danger to Madrid. To add insult to injury the world is being filled with the din and sickening Barnum and Bailey publicity of the International Brigade and not a word about the superhuman courage and fighting spirit of our comrades. Far be it from me to belittle what the International Brigade has done. Its members were sacrificed by the hundreds by the ~~strategic~~ strategic inefficiency of the Miajas, the Klebers, Listers and the rest. Lives have become the least important to Stalin's policy, much more so in Spain where he sent thousands of his dupes to pave the way to his glory ~~with their~~ That path has been strewn with human bodies wrecklessly, stupidly, and criminally. But while I am quite willing to give the International Brigade its due I know for a positive fact that our comrades in Madrid have fought as lions and nearly always with bare hands or very little equipment. When I tell you that no CNT-FAI man have been permitted to enter the ~~air~~ force all being manned by Russian, German, French, Italian and some Spanish communists you will realize to what length in undermining the help and prestige of our people has gone in Spain. In point of absolute truth CNT members have purposely denied their adherents to the CNT in order to get into the ~~air~~ force. Just think of such a situation. Would it ever have been necessary if the powerful CNT had refused to compromise as it did?

Dearest Rudolf I have told you the real state of affairs to make you see that the opposition of Sania and or other comrades is not entirely unjustified. They can not be blamed too harshly. Seeing that our Spanish comrades are being strangled how ~~can~~ can they be expected to keep silent? I myself find it extremely difficult. If I nevertheless continue my work for the CNT-FAI it is because the whole world has its claws in their flesh making them bleed from a hundred wounds. Nothing on earth would induce me to join that hungry vicious pack. It is not Sania's criticism I object to, it is his bitter vindictive tone. It is because it seems a breach of faith with our comrades in Spain to ~~start~~ attack them now. On the other hand I feel with Sania, Carlo who is as bitter as Sania and the others. As to Bernard, I never had much faith in his disinterestedness. He is eaten up with vainglory. For instance with

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

the perfectly idiotic idea that if the CNT had only followed his line laid down in his book on Anarcho Syndicalism everything would have gone differently. One cannot take a man ~~fix~~ so consumed by egotism very seriously. It is different with Sania. To be sure he is dogmatic and set in his groove. But he is absolutely sincere. The greater the pity that he is not in Spain. He would I think be able to appraise the motives ~~xxxxxx~~ back of the action of the C.N. For myself I can only repeat what I wrote Van a copy of which I asked him to send you ~~fix~~ It is this; "if all the compromises, blunders and concessions made by the CNT were placed on one side of the scale including all their losses, and what they have and are doing in constructive labors on the other the latter would far outweigh the former. In point of truth the achievements of the CNT are truly miraculous when one considers the hourly danger hanging over them, the ever growing scarcity of foodstuffs with millions of extra mouths to feed and the constant, deliberate sabotage from the fascist ~~skak~~ elements ~~xx...xxxxxx~~ red, black and yellow ever at their heels. As I told Sania until the Anarchists of the rest of the world will demonstrate such moral strength they should be more careful in their judgment of our Spanish comrades. ~~Thxxxxxxixxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~

That then is my position and that is why I consented to go back to England to resume my work for the struggle in Spain. Alas, I already had the first taste that England remains hopeless. Certainly those who call themselves Anarchists here are beyond redemption. Nothing but petty quarrels and gossip, nothing but small personal vanities, no genuine revolutionary feeling or understanding. Even the younger ones who come to us are miserable material. One of them whom incidentally I induced to join the Anarchist Syndicalist Union, a poor still-born child at best, has already developed into the worst kind of mischief maker you can imagine. He actually wrote a pasquill against me to the National Committee charging me with having appropriated the funds I collected in my campaign, charging the few of us, Sonia Edelmann, Barr and one or two others with dictatorship. Imagine ~~xxxxxx~~ writing such rubbish to people in the midst of war and death? The comrades gave me the letter. I begged them to ignore it. But they wrote the idiot in reply telling him that if he had nothing better to do than to attack old trusted comrades he should leave our ranks. Our poor naive Spanish comrades do not know that we have no ranks in England, a few ~~ranks~~ ^{units} that's all.

Well, I shall not waste my time on them. I plan instead to fix up an office with a reading room of all our publications in all

The Emma Goldman Papers

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countries, a sales room for our literature and some small exhibit of some children's work I brought with me. I will also try to bring through some of the papers. I wrote the Manchester Guardian about an article on the political persecution, and I cabled the Scripps paper about it.

will

archist

of

people in England who are Anarchists and do not know it". He is enthusiastic ~~about~~ with your MSS on Anarcho Syndicalism. He told me the proofs will go to you in about three weeks. As to the advance it is not supposed to be due before the actual publication of the book. But I prevailed upon him to send you half at least which he promised. Dear, old Rudolf why did you not get some lawyer among our friends to advise you about the copyrights? Perhaps it was my fault, I should have gone over the contract before mailing it to you. As it stands now Warburg has the Continental rights. This means that anyone wanting to publish your book in whatever language will have to get his permission. Of course the French, Spanish, Italian and German comrades want to bring out the book as soon as it is out in England. Warburg told me he would expect hundred pounds for the rights of each country of which you would get 15/00. However when it will come to that I may get him to let the rights go for less. We will see. It seems Covichi Friede sent him your book, by the way, I have not yet received the copy you said you would send me. I want it very much indeed. Warburg may get out a British edition. I hope so because the Am. is prohibitive here in price. So is your pamphlet the Tragedy of Spain. It is as everything you write brillian and so timely but we can not hope to sell it for 8 d. I am writing the Free Arb. Stimme about it.

I am afraid the Conference of the I. A. A. will be an ugly affair. The CNT will demand the resignation of Besnard, there is also going to be trouble over the newly organised CIA, the International Anti Fascist Solidarity. I rather think it a mistake to have brought that to life. The comrades outside of Spain feel very much hurt that their effort in raising funds are being taken out of their hands ~~xxxxxx~~. That the whole thing is taken away from the I. A. A. It is true that Besnard used underhand methods when he addressed ~~him~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ himself to the organizations belonging to the I. A. A. without the knowledge of the C. I. But it is unfortunately also true that similar methods were used by A. S. in the name of the CNT. The feud between him and Helmut Rüdiger has done an awful lot of harm. I refuse to ~~mix~~ in their ~~struggle~~. ~~xxxxxx~~ I therefor do not know who began first or who is to blame. But it will be a thousand pities if the I. A. A. will suffer from it. I wish you could be present Dec 6th I am sure you would have a solitary effect on the Conference. I was asked to remain in Paris for the Conference. I refused because I am not a member of it. It is too painful to see the wrangles and ~~xxxxxx~~ recriminations at a time when a whole people is struggling for its life and its freedom. After all theories do not make men, do they my dears?

I embrace you both with love.

Love to Fermin. I saw Polly last night. He is as kind as always.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 19 [London to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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19178

Nov 19th 37.

Dearest Rudolf, Darling Milly,

I found your letter, Militchka, at Hollie's, and yours dear Rudolf was forwarded to me shortly after I got back from Spain, the sixth of this month. I don't need to say I was delighted to hear from both of you and to get from you my dear, such a long and interesting letter. But that you do not always write interestingly. But as those yours of the 25th or 26th or 27th was contained so much air and dear Soela ~~ganz~~ respektchen, it was a special treat in the conflictation here in Paris. I was very anxious to let Hollie and Sonia read your letter. It may have helped them to see the situation in Spain with their own eyes and not with that of Volinsky, Bagnard and the others. But as you asked ~~me~~ ~~to~~ ~~keep~~ ~~your~~ ~~attitude~~ ~~to~~ ~~them~~ ~~and~~ ~~Sonia~~ ~~to~~ ~~keep~~ ~~it~~ ~~to~~ ~~themselves~~ I did not take the liberty to make it known to the life. If I did not love them as I do and did not know their absolute honesty I should have run away from Paris the first day I arrived there. No matter what one has to say in explanation of the tactics of the CNT-FAI they have become the blackest of black sheep to our comrades in Paris. For it is not as if I can agree with many of the steps taken and decisions made by our people in Spain. Most of them have proven disastrous, have absolutely undermined the political status of the CNT-FAI thus it is certainly a commentary on the position of our comrades when several thousand people, members of the CNT, and by far more our own comrades have to languish in prisons. Can you imagine my horror to re-visit the "Model" prison filled with fascist last year and now replaced by our own comrades. And the even greater shock to find that Montjuic emptied of all traces of the horrible past by the revolution to say harboring, among others, three hundred men of the Purruti Column? This could never have happened if the CNT-FAI had not yielded step by step its strategic position. If ~~it~~ ~~still~~ ~~had~~ ~~been~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~position~~ ~~of~~ ~~protest~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~Ball~~ ~~or~~ ~~any~~ ~~other~~ ~~of~~ ~~its~~ ~~many~~ ~~papers~~ ~~True~~ ~~the~~ ~~Committee~~ ~~national~~ ~~protest~~ ~~in~~ ~~letters~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~rotten~~ ~~Morris~~ ~~Stalin~~ ~~government~~ ~~but~~ ~~what~~ ~~good~~ ~~does~~ ~~it~~ ~~do~~ ~~The~~ ~~prisons~~ ~~remain~~ ~~filled~~ ~~to~~ ~~suffocation~~ ~~without~~ ~~any~~ ~~chance~~ ~~except~~ ~~the~~ ~~to~~ ~~put~~ ~~out~~ ~~charge~~ ~~of~~ ~~"Trotzkism"~~ ~~which~~ ~~absurd~~ ~~enough~~ ~~in~~ ~~Spain~~ ~~and~~ ~~Europe~~ ~~is~~ ~~simply~~ ~~fantastic~~ ~~in~~ ~~Spain~~ ~~In~~ ~~addition~~ ~~are~~ ~~the~~ ~~numerous~~ ~~victims~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~damnable~~ ~~Stalin~~ ~~gangs~~ ~~who~~ ~~pick~~ ~~up~~ ~~people~~ ~~daily~~ ~~and~~ ~~of~~ ~~whom~~ ~~no~~ ~~trace~~ ~~is~~ ~~left~~ ~~I~~ ~~say~~ ~~if~~ ~~the~~ ~~CNT-FAI~~ ~~had~~ ~~not~~ ~~given~~ ~~any~~ ~~inch~~ ~~by~~ ~~inch~~ ~~from~~ ~~all~~ ~~they~~ ~~ever~~ ~~held~~ ~~such~~ ~~a~~ ~~state~~ ~~of~~ ~~dictatorship~~

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331

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 19 [London to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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87187

1817

never could or would have raised its poisonous head.

If all this are not enough to justify criticism of the CNT
FAI their continued cowering to that Torquemada in the Kremlin
would tax even my patience and yours I am sure. It was disastrous
enough to begin with the concessions made to Russia in the beginning
and while Stalin sent the anti-Fascist struggle arms. Though it is
a fact that our people were given precious little of Russian aid.
Every one in Spain knows that the Aragon front had been crim-
inally sabotaged from the moment arms from Russia arrived. But what
few people know is that our divisions in the trenches in Madrid
are forced to beg for every piece of ammunition. I know whereof I
speak, I was in the trenches in Madrid, our sectors consisting of
56,000 CNT-FAI members, and I saw the correspondence between the man
in charge of our divisions and that mountebank Milly. And I can testify
to the cruel, outrageous, and downright mad neglect of our people in
the face of daily danger to Madrid. To add insult to injury, the
world is being filled with the din and skeneing of the CNT and daily
publicity of the International Brigade and not a word about the
superhuman courage and fighting spirit of our comrades. Nor, be it
from me to belittle what the International Brigade has done. Its
members were sacrificed by the hundreds by the strategic
inefficiency of the Nizjas, the Flebers, Liners and the rest. Lives have
become the least important to Stalin's policy, much more so in Spain
where he sent thousands of his dupes to pave the way to his glory.
That path has been strewn with human bodies wrecklessly,
stupidly, and criminally. But while I am quite willing to give the
International Brigade its due I know for a positive fact that our
comrades in Madrid have fought as lions and nearly always with bare
hands or very little equipment. Can I tell you that no CNT-FAI man
have been permitted to enter the city? The few forces all being made up of
Russian, German, French, Italian and some Spanish communists, you
will realize to what length in undermining the help and prestige
of our people has gone in Spain. In spite of absolute truth CNT
members have purposely denied their adherence to the CNT in order to
get into the "Red" forces. Just think of such a situation. Would it
ever have been necessary if the powerful CNT had refused to compromise
as it did?

Dearest Rudolf, I have told you the real state of affairs
to make you see that the opposition of Sania and other comrades
is not entirely unjustified. They can not be blamed too harshly
feeling that our Spanish comrades are being strangled now. How
can they be expected to keep silent? I myself find it extremely
difficult. If I never again continue my work for the CNT-FAI it
is because the whole world has its claws in their flesh making
them bleed from a hundred wounds. Nothing on earth would induce
me to join that hungry vicious pack. It is not Sania's criticism I ob-
ject to, it is his bitter vindictive tone. It is because it seems
a breach of faith with our comrades in Spain to attack them now.
On the other hand I feel with Sania, comrades who are as bitter as Sania
and the others. As to Bernard, I never had much faith in his dis-
interestedness. He is eaten up with vain ambition.

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332

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That then is my position and that is why I consented to go back to England to resume my work for the struggle in Spain. Alas, I already had the first taste that England remains hopeless. Certainly those who call themselves Anarchists here are beyond redemption. Nothing but petty quarrels and gossip, nothing but small personal vanities, no genuine revolutionary feeling or understanding. Even the younger ones who come to us are miserable material. One of them whom incidentally I induced to join the Anarchist Syndicalist Union, a poor still-born child at best has already developed into the worst kind of mischief maker you can imagine. He actually wrote a pamphlet against me to the National Committee charging me with having appropriated the funds I collected in my campaign, charging the few of us, Sonia Edelmann, Barr and one or two others with dictatorship. Imagine ~~being~~ such rubbish writing such rubbish to people in the midst of war and death? The comrades gave me the letter. I begged them to ignore it. But they wrote the idiot in reply telling him that if he had nothing better to do than to attack old trusted comrades he should leave our ranks. Our poor naive Spanish comrades do not know that we have no ranks in England, a few ~~ranks~~ that's all.

Well, I shall not waste my time on them. I plan instead to fix up an office with a reading room of all our publications in all

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 19 [London to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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countries, a sales room for our literature and some small exhibitions of some childrens work I brought with me. I will also try to break through some of the papers. I wrote the Manchester Guardian about an article on the political persecution, and I cabled the Scripps news-papers about several articles on collectivization. If I succeed I will serve our Spanish comrades more than I possible will in group meetings that lead to nothing. Also I will keep after Warburg who seems keenly interested in the publication of Anarchist literature. I saw him Monday and he said "there are any number of people in England who are Anarchists and do not know it". He is enthusiastic ~~about~~ with your MSS on Anarcho Syndicalism. He told me the proofs will go to you in about three weeks. As to the advance it is not supposed to be due before the actual publication of the book. But I prevailed upon him to send you half at least which he promised. Dear, old Rudolf why did you not get some lawyer among our friends to advise you about the copyrights? Perhaps it was my fault I should have gone over the contract before mailing it to you. As it stands now Warburg has the Continental rights. This means that anyone wanting to publish your book in whatever language will have to get his permission. Of course the French, Spanish, Italian and German comrades want to bring out the book as soon as it is out in England. Warburg told me he would expect hundred pounds for the rights of each country of which you would get 15/00. However when it will come to that I may get him to let the rights go for less. We will see. It seems Covichi Friede sent him your book, by the way, I have not yet received the copy you said you would send me. I want it very much indeed. Warburg may get out ~~an~~ British edition. I hope so because the An. is prohibitive here in price. So is your pamphlet the Tragedy of Spain. It is as everything you write brilliant and so timely but we can not hope to sell it for 8 d. I am writing the Feele Arb. ~~at~~ about it.

I am afraid the Conference of the I.A.A. will be an ugly affair. The C.T. will demand the resignation of Besnard, there is also going to be trouble over the newly organised CIA, the International Anti Fascist Solidarity. I rather think it a mistake to have brought that to life. The comrades outside of Spain feel very much hurt that their effort in raising funds are being taken out of their hands. That the whole thing is taken away from the I.A.A. It is true that Besnard used underhand methods when he addressed him ~~himself~~ himself to the organizations belonging to the I.A.A. without the knowledge of the C.T. But it is unfortunately also true that similar methods were used by A.S. in the name of the C.T. The feud between him and Helmut Rddiger has done an awful lot of harm. I refuse to ~~be~~ in their struggle. ~~I therefore~~ I therefore do not know who began first or who is to blame. But it will be a thousand pities if the I.A.A. will suffer from it. I wish you could be present Dec 6th I am sure you would have a solitary effect on the Conference. I was asked to remain in Paris for the Conference. I refused because I am not a member of it. It is too painful to see the wrangles and ~~and~~ recriminations at a time when a whole people is struggling for its life and its freedom. After all theories do not make men, do they my dears?

I embrace you both with love.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 19, Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy Eckstein. — 1 p. ; 20 x 13 cm.

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18057

Emmy Eckstein
American Express Co.,
Nice A.M.

Nov. 19 th 37.

Dear Emma :

Thank you for your letter and thank you for the check. It came dam handy, because our Mods hasn't send anything so far, and I am all broke.

Dear, I cannot tell you yet what I will do with my darn intestins, but within a few weeks it will be decided after a new examination and after I received my X Rays...

I don't care anymore. Maybe its the best I should go too..... The suffering makes me all worn out.

At Kay's it was surely lovely, I bet, and we have come closer than ever since my stay. THEY ARE REAL PEOPLE, I say. Kay's mother also is lovely, and she is an anarchist....

Emma, I have to close, I am not well, dear. I want not omit to tell you that the last sentence "with my old friend-ship" made me very, very happy.

EMMY 

I live near Nelly, we share our meals. I HOPE Emma, that you are well, make yourself a nice home, since you haven't got any more Bon Esprit. Wish you strength and peace.

335

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 19, New York [to] Emma Goldman, London / Roy W. Howard.—
1 p. ; 18 × 12 cm.

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SCHIFFS-HOWARD NEWSPAPERS

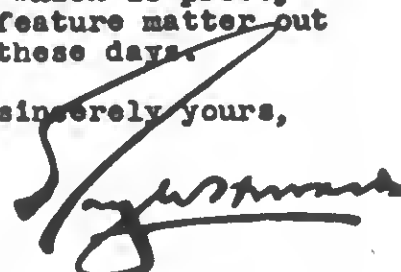
ROY W. HOWARD
120 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK

November 19, 1937.

My dear Miss Goldman:

I am appreciative of the offer contained in your radio of yesterday, and am asking the United Press as a favor to us to have one of their men take a look at some of your material and appraise it in the light of a very heavy spot news situation which is pretty well crowding feature matter out of our papers these days.

Very sincerely yours,



Miss Emma Goldman,
19 Castletown Road,
London, England.

RWH:A-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1937] Nov. 20 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / J[ack] R. White. —
1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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17716
8 Torrington Sq^{se}
WC,
Nov 20th

Dear Emma.

I hope to arrange that
conference I suggested as
an enlargement of a
conference the Trotsky defence
Ctee are holding I believe
within the next fortnight.
They agree to the enlargement.
The M.S.I. with I am sure
agree to be represented. Would
you say Radvignez attend.

Sincerely
J.R. White

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 2[1, London to] Jack [R. White, London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Nov 20st 37.

Dear Jack,

Thanks for your letter. I did not know that the conference you suggested was to be with the Trotsky Committee. I am afraid I can have nothing to do with these people. Not that I want Trotsky persecuted or denied asylum. But in view of the fact that Trotsky has acted no more humanitarian with the Anarchists as Stalin is dealing with him I feel that the difference is only in the fact that T. has been divested of power and Stalin is still in the saddle. The past is proof positive for that.

In case you do not know I have to remind you that it was Trotsky who "liquidated" the Anarchist head quarters in Moscow with machine guns. That it was Trotsky who "liquidated" Kronstadt by extermination of fourteen thousand lives of the sailors whom he had previously proclaimed as the RED PRIDE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. And that it was Trotsky who used the most despicable methods against Machno, the Russian Durruti of the peasant army who fought back the white forces in the Ukraina. Moreover, Trotsky continues to vilify Machno and the Anarchists in his recent writings. You will agree that it would be asking too much of me or the other comrades to now affiliate ourselves with any organisation as the Trotsky Defense group. I do not mean to be dramatic. But

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but I know Trotskys past, his undying hatred of all Anarchists. I know too if he were again in power he would act exactly like his ~~little brother~~ Stalin does now.

Dear Jack, it is not the abuse of Marxism which is wrong. It is the thing itself. It is the Socialist Catholicism Marx has left to the world. Stalin and Trotsky merely represent the Jesuite order in that holy Church. The Anarchists are the heretics they all hate with an inplacable hatred and whom they have tried and continue to destroy the moment they get hold of power as they are now doing in Spain, and as Trotsky would do if he ever again were in such a position.

I would be very glad to attend a conference of the militant socialists. But I have to decline any contact with the Trotsky defense Committee. I am sorry.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 21 [London to George] All[e]n [&] Unwin [Ltd.] Publishers, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Nov 21st 37.

Allan and Unwin Publishers.

Gentlemen.

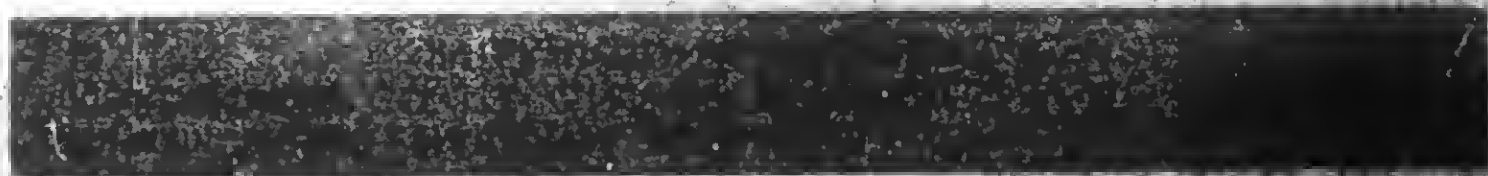
While still in Barcelona I was asked to write you in reply to your letter that expressed interest in the work issued by SOLIDARIDAD National AD, the Daily news-paper of the Confederation of Labor, called PROCESO HISTORICO DE LA REVOLUCION ESPANHA. I then wrote that I would be authorised to negotiate the publication of this work on my return to England. I am therefore writing you now, a few days after my arrival in London to ask whether you would care to see me. Please be good enough to telephone me at your earliest convenience that we might agree on a suitable date of meeting.

Sincerely

EMMA GOLDMAN

LONDON, ENGLAND
Accredited Representative in England
18 CLEVELAND ROAD
London

London Office:



C.N.T.

A.I.L.

E.V.I.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 21, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / Edgar G. Newman. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Edgar G. NEWMAN

3, Rue de la Croix Faubin

PARIS - XI

21 november 1937.-

My dear Genossin,

Ich hatte gehofft, im Laufe der Woche von Ihnen Nachricht zu erhalten ueber die Informationen, die Sie in London vorgefunden haetten.-

Leider habe ich nichts erhalten, und ich nehme an, dass Sie noch nicht die Zeit gefunden hatten, mir zu schreiben.-

Nun sind einige Sachen eingetreten, die die Ereignisse ueberetuerzen:

- 1.) Julie LANDAU ist nun tatsaechlich am 11. November in den Hungerstreik getreten, und befindet sich seit dem 17. November im Befaengnis hospital.
- 2.) Mr. Govern, der vorige Woche seine Reise antreten sollte, hat sie auf diese Woche verschoben. Waere es Ihnen moeglich, zu helfen, einen Druck auszuueben, dass die Reise nicht weiter verschoben wird?
- 3.) Der Bruder von Kurt Landau, Fredi, kommt morgen oder uebermorgen nach Paris - geht daraufhin nach London. Waere es Ihnen moeglich, ihn mit wichtigen Leuten zusammenzubringen? Fredi wird nur einige Tage in London sein koennen, da er zur Zeit fuer seinen Militaerdienst in Oesterreich sein muss, um nicht ~~risk~~ zu riskieren, vor das Kriegsgericht zu kommen. - Er duerfte also keine Minute verlieren.

Fremdenblinde Ende
der Woche

In der Hoffnung, moeglichst umgehend von Ihnen Nachrichten zu erhalten, verbleibe ich

mit freundschaftlichem Gruss Ihr

Edgar G. Newman

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929105

[Letter, 1937 Nov. 22? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / J[ack] R. White.—
4 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

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17712

8 Torrington Sq^{re}
N.C.,
Monday

My dear Emma.

Thanks for yours when I made my suggestion at the Ford Reform meeting, I knew no more than you that the proposed Conference was with the Trotsky defence Ctee. It was not till the next day, that mentioning the idea to one Bayle, a man I particularly like & trust, though I have not known him long, I was told by him of a meeting of the Trotsky defence Ctee taking place that night & their desire to have some sort of a conference with others. At my request, he rang up Sumner who is I believe Chairman of something of the T.D.C. & Sumner welcomed the idea of the enlargement of the Conference. It was not till after I had written to you that I learnt from Bayle that F.A. Ridley,

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2

George Padmore, & Wicks were
to be present at a little conference
to be held in Sumner's rooms in
Edgware Rd next Friday 11/9.
Ridley & Padmore are men
for whose ~~own~~ minds I have
a great respect. I don't think
Ridley is a Trotskyist or
any other kind of "ist", and I
doubt if Padmore is.
I believe we have a chance
of a meeting with men of
fresh original minds, and the
point is not what Trotsky did
nearly 20 years ago, but
what is the motive ~~work~~ of
the Trotskyists - to show the
conference will not be confined
for the revolutionary reorientation
now.

Harry just succeeded in
organizing a big meeting in
the Pinner Hall & had for Dec^r
13th under auspices of CIVIC
(see enclosed) at which Longbottom,

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leader of post war movement &
of ~~International~~ principal of
Baptist College Manchester are
to speak on same platform as
Joseph McCabe & myself, I am
in the ~~the~~ vain of fusion of
discordant elements. New
evolution always comes from
such fusion. Life gets caught
up and encrusted in names &
"isms" and the idea has to
be rescued by a generative
process as violent as the
complete splitting & reintegration
of the sperm cells. I think
you are making a mistake &
you reconsider it, Friday or 7 &
I will let you know exact
address.

Yrs sincerely
J R White

PS. Re-reading your letter: No question
whatever of affiliation with
Irish defence groups "any more"

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11
 When I say "identifying" I mean
 Trotsky. I have not of course
 your knowledge of Trotsky's past,
 but I know the main features
 of his past & present — see
 my pamphlet "Meaning of
 Anarchism." I would not
 identify myself any more
 than you would.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726164

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 22, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein. —
6 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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23596

Modest Stein
at West Ninth Street
New York

Nov 22 - 1937

Dear Emma.

Your letter received today was forwarded
to me by Stanett. "Upin about no Upin"
and as it seems to thrive on punishment
This paralysis of the facial nerve / peripheral
is a slow business and it may take months
to get over it. However, there seem to be definite
signs of improvement and it looks as if eventually
it shall be put together again. The main
trouble is that it has affected my good
eye. Bands I have to keep my left eye
closed most of the time for when I open
my left eye my right eye also opens
due to loss of control, and I should keep it
closed. — However, I am starting to do
a little work and shall soon be hitting on
on all the cylinders. I did not figure
out our proportional shares of the receipts for
the sale of Ben Esprit and adjacent properties
for the reason that you have not given
me the exact amount of what you paid for it.

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23597

2)

But here are some figures

I paid 20.000.00 francs.

You paid either 21.000.00 or 100.000.00.

First of all we must deduct the commission (3700) from the total of 75.000.00

$$\begin{array}{r} 75.000.00 \\ - 3.700 \\ \hline 71.300.00 \end{array}$$

leaves

In case you paid 20.000.00 we divide the 71.300

in five parts, of which you get four parts and I one part.

£ 71.300 divided by 5 gives 14260. Meaning that I am to receive 14260 francs and you five times that much or 57040 francs.

	my share	14260
	your share	57040
agent	commission	3700

Total 75.000 francs —

In case you paid 100.000.00 francs for your share then after that would mean that you paid five times as much as I

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23598

3)

Modest Stein
at West Ninth Street
New York

In this case after deducting the commission of 3700
from the total of 75.000. we divide the
remaining 71.300 in six parts

71.300 francs divided by 6 gives 11.883.33
meaning that in this case my share would be

11.883 francs and 33 centimes ~~of~~
Yours would be five times that amount or

59 416 francs and 65 centimes.

my share	11.883.	33
Yr share	59.416	.65
Agate commission	3 700	.00
	<u>74 999.</u>	<u>98</u>

short two centimes of 75.000.00 due to commission
of fractions -

When sending me the amount due you may
disregard all the above technicalities and
just bear this in mind -

1) If you paid 8000. francs - my share is 14240 francs
2) If you paid 10000 francs my share is 11883 francs

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4 There is a possibility ^{may} that you have paid
a totally different figure. In that case
figure out how many units of four you have
^{for example} paid - 75.000 francs would be 15 units of four
85.000 francs would be 17 units of four. -
90.000 would be 18 units of four. etc.
I myself paid 20.000. - four ⁽⁴⁾ units of 5.

After deducting the commission I decide the balance
of the money received for Bon Spirit by the
number of units ^{+ four} you and I paid together

~~But at the~~ Multiply the result by four and
that will be my share - the rest will be
yours -

However I don't think all that shall be
necessary as I believe my original figures
on your paying 20000. francs for Bon Spirit is correct -
I shall send every one money out the proceeds of my
first job that I get done. If you can in
the mean while advance her some money I
shall feel greatly relieved as I am quite worried
about her - You gave no forwarding address so shall
have to locate you first. I hope you are at the same place as before I mean
this at this is better than nothing and they is no point in waiting
for you. Love. Modest

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23600

Modest Stein
61 West Ninth Street
New York

Nov 23.

While I am waiting for your address
from some friend I have asked to it
I may as well write a little more.

I would like very much to hear from you —
about yourself — so far it has been mostly
Bon Espoir. I have about you exploits,
but it is all published in the Jewish
papers and I cannot read your Yiddish
and it is a bit late to start to learn it
Though I believe it would not be difficult —
~~As~~ I do not know how far this movement
it set you in to the U.S.A. has gotten a foot
There seems to be some friction in regard
to Roger Baldwin. But all my information
is second and even third hand and is very
inaccurate. I shall surely see you when
you come to Canada even if I have to
get out my red flannels in order to make
the trip.

Once more about the money — The
value of the franc in American money
should make no difference —

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6

Whatever bank you'll send it to will pay
me according to the quotation. The figure
on the day of payment. Just have pay me
in dollars - at present I think one
hundred (100) francs is worth about \$3.40.

I wonder if you could make:

Mollie's husband to make me some
enlargements of the picture of the two of us.
There is one of the three of us taken in

S. T. (standing) that is particularly like.

Also one of Sasha and myself to sell.

and one of all of us with the Tanager.

Also I would like to have some small
ones. ~~Enough~~ So many people have asked

me for their photos and I am glad to

pay the work. The enlargements I would like

to have for myself - just large enough to

fr..... and put on top of my desk -

have to run to the doctor now. I go to see him

every morning and for eye treatment. His

treatment usually consists of practically

committing me to him every time he feels I am

with my eye - But I am coming along -

and am all over

M.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Nov. 22] Hy[è]res, France [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[the] Man-
nin]. — 3 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Hotel St. Paul, Hyeres, Var. S. France.
Monday

Dearest Emma,

I was immensely glad to get yr letter of the 19th here this morning. I cannot be sure from it whether you had had my letter from here when you wrote? But I rather think you must have (forget when I wrote - I seem to lose all count of time when I am working, and the days are so monotonous here, one day so exactly like another... this isn't a complaint; I don't mind it for short spells at a time) I wrote to Harry/day as I hadn't heard from you, asking if it was just that you were overwhelmed that you hadn't written, or whether you were annoyed with me over something. I hope you don't think me foolish, my very dear; at the back of my mind I had an uneasy feeling that perhaps I'd made you impatient of me because of that rather despairing letter I wrote just before I left England. England makes one despair occasionally, its grey climate, its apathetic people, the callous indifference of its bourgeoisie, and the stupid apathy of its working-class. En masse, that is, thank god there are individuals who rise up out of the apathetic mass. Only this morning I have a letter from a comrade (English, but with gipsy blood in his,) who writes 'the phlegmatism of the English is the very devil. What a crowd we English are! We cannot love and we cannot hate. And when one of us happens to have decided convictions ~~xxxxx~~ all we get from our fellows is a continuous 'chewing up' or we are classified as 'mental'."

I don't know if in my last letter I told you about the wicked thing the New Leader did last week - it gave Gide's book on Russia (the one in which he replies to the attacks made on his first book) to Jim Garton to review; now Garton, in case you don't know, is an ex-IP-er who lived and worked 4 years in Moscow and is an out and out Stalinist! Garton said in his review that he was not a Communist. Well, he isn't a member of the CP for a very good reason, that the USSR doesn't like foreigners applying for jobs to be members of the CP; when they are it insists that their place is working for Communism in their own country. Its such a humbug for Garton to say he's not a CP-er; the fact that he's not a party member is beside the point. I wrote a letter to the NL challenging Garton to say why he wasn't a 'Communist' - that is to say a party-member. But Fenner wrote me a rigmarole of apologia for Garton, and ran a mutilated and abominably condensed version of my letter in which he makes me say that I disagreed with Garton on 'most' points!! Every point of challenge to the Communists has been emasculated from the letter: well, I'll send it and you can see, and I'll get the Sec. of the Wimbledon Branch to send you a copy of my original letter; I sent it to him to read out at the next Branch meeting. I wrote to Fenner that one week the New Leader criticised the CP and the next week it published the most puerile apologias for it; this attack on Gide was actually printed next a letter in which Harberg wrote complaining of the way the CP publications banned his publications: the week before the NL ran a letter from Smith pre-testing against the Daily Worker's rejections of his Controversy ads. and the announcements of Fenner's meetings... then the next week they let a bloody Stalinist have pretty near half a page in which to attack

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Well, well, its no use getting 'hot', I suppose. I don't envy you that committee meeting. There's not one person in that lot except Ralph who is genuinely, and what I can only call basically, on yr side. Oh, they may be dears as persons (look at Penner himself) but they don't feel this revolution business in their blood; it doesn't make their hearts beat fast with anger. I think perhaps F. used to be like that; but nowadays he seems to evade issues all over the place, and one can over-do this toleration business. He's often told Reg and me not to get so 'hot' about things; one sort of can't rely on him to take a firm passionate stand about things anymore. Or so it seems. All this half-hearted association with the CP - that attacks us politically all along the line. Its so fatuous, to say the least of it! Over and over again Reg and I feel we really can't go on boling members of the party, and then we tell ourselves that if we don't support the one party in the country that at least stands for revolution (however illogic some of its tactics) what and who are we to support? And then we have comrades to whom we are devoted, and you know that feeling of not wanting to desert comrades.

The history of revolution, it seems, is a history of defeat through the combined forces of split political parties of the left, and the forces of reaction from the right. But that in Spain the spirit of revolution is still alive is the one hope. The masses (who make revolutions) may rise again yet; they have tasted power. The lack of international workers' solidarity is enough to make the angels weep. It leaves one speechless. It drains the faith right out of one.

My dear, I hadn't meant to write so much of the wrongs of the things we both believe in, but they crowd in on one, inescapably. Even here, looking out over palms and violet-fields to the distant sea - there is a French battleship lying in the bay, and French bombers make the day hideous with their roar, going over in squadrons, till it's like living in an aerodrome. The other evening we went to the pictures by way of a bit of relaxation, and the news-reel showed almost every country in Europe armed to the teeth, military parades, military manœuvres, the latest bombing machines and gassing devices.

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No, dear, altitude is absolutely wrong for Reg; his blood-pressure wouldn't stand it. He is allright so long as he rests, but it means leading a semi-invalid life which he finds it hard to do, particularly in night bright sunshine and amid beautiful scenery and when he doesn't feel ill in himself. But as soon as he begins walking about - particularly when he stands about, even to shave himself - the old throbbing backache starts and he looks drawn and ill. And if he gets at all upset over anything it has the same effect. His kidney-trouble is pretty bad, too; (its all part of the blood pressure business) but the stuff the doctor here is giving him seems to be doing good. Yes, the journey out was too strenuous - far too strenuous, but he wanted so much to come that way, and we didn't know then just how much he could and could not stand.

Auntie begs us to go and see her, but its hours up the coast, as you know: it took us 40 mins to get here from Cavaliere, and from Cavaliere to St. Raphael alone is two hours by Micheline (that little train that scoots along the coast) and Cagnes (for Venice) is miles further on. We don't want to travel any more till we leave for home, and then we must get sleepers direct from Rax Toulon to Paris, and come home by Ferry, to avoid the Customs - all very expensive, but absolutely essential I feel. Auntie keeps insisting on how much nicer it would be for us at Venice surrounded by 'amusing people', but I feel so strongly that we are far better here just to ourselves: people wear Reg out - and I like only my own sort and don't really feel any need to be 'amused' in 'bright' society....Isn't Auntie queer (a bit pathological I think) the way she keeps on having accidents? She's just banged her head on her hanging backcase and laid herself out: last week she fell down and got water on the knee: on the way out from England she had her money stolen from Venice soon after she wrote us that someone had stolen 1200 francs from her shoe....Queer that she can be like this, and so preoccupied still with her major operation (the rearing of 'The Citadel' has revived its memory - if it needed reviving) and yet be so gay and full of sense of humour?

Dearest Emma, I must work - though with these beastly military planes roaring over its not so easy to concentrate.

Write when you can, and I won't be foolish and fret again if in some time before you do. X

My devoted love, my very dear.

X only having 'found' the real human Emma
so belatedly makes her friendship precious
to me! I feel I've wasted so many
years since the day I first met her - but I think its
characteristic of me that I 'grow' slowly... Bless you.

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2 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

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Paris am 22. ~~16~~ November ~~1937~~

Liebe Emma,

Ich erhielt Deine Karte vom 18.

Die Genossin Miri Durruti hat es uebernommen, Dir ein Bild von Durruti zu senden, sie hat es aber, wie sie mir eben sagt, vergessen. Also morgen hoffentlich.

Galve will Dir schreiben, sobald er erst einmal seinen Bericht zusammengestellt hat. So nebenbei sagte er mir, dass gewisse Briefe von Dir in Amerika bei einigen "extremistisch" eingestellten Genossen Wunder bewirkt und sie zum Nachdenken veranlasst haetten.

Ich bin gespannt auf Rudolfs neues Buch. Er hat mir zur Information einen Durchschlag des Originals versprochen. Es waere interessant, denn bald zu erfahren, wie es mit den Uebersetzungsrechten fuer andere Sprachen steht.

Mein Bericht liegt inzwischen fertig spanisch vor, und die franzoesische Ausgabe wird Freitag frueh versandt werden. Dann sende ich Dir zwei franzoesische und ein spanisches Ex., fuer Dich und ev. vertrauenswuerdige Genossen unter den Londonern.

Fuer mich ist der Bericht so etwas wie ein "Testament" als IAA-Sekretar, ich habe ganz einfach alles berichtet, was ich dort in meiner Funktion als IAA-Vertreter erlebt habe, und dann eine kleine Analyse der spanischen Situation versucht und aus ihr gewisse Lehren gezogen. Zum Teil gehen diese zusammen mit gewissen Auffassungen des Anarchismus und Syndikalismus, die ich schon in den letzten Jahren vertrat, zum Teil sind es mir selbst neue Gedanken. Aber ich habe jedenfalls den Versuch gemacht, mich unerbittlich mit der Wirklichkeit zu befassen und aus ihr - fuer unsere anarchistische Praxis - zu lernen. Ich habe schon gemerkt, dass unsere lieben Spanier den Teil der Kritik, der sie trifft, recht unfreundlich aufgenommen haben, waehrend auf der anderen Seite prinzipieller eingestellte Genossen anderer Laender mir Opportunismus vorwerfen. Wie dem auch sei, ich habe mit gutem Willen zu sagen versucht, was ich empfinde; ohne damit etwas Abschliessendes ueber die spanische Erfahrung gesagt haben zu wollen. Das kann erst spaeter kommen; ueber einige Dinge bin ich mir durchaus noch nicht klar, und das kann eben jetzt noch niemand sein. Deshalb eben wende ich mich so sehr gegen die Art der Auffassungen von Chapiro-Besnard, weil sie den Schlusssatz fuer alle Probleme der Gegenwart und der Zukunft ein fuer allemal fix und fertig in der Hand zu haben behaupten. Fuer mich ist der Anarchismus ueberhaupt kein fix und fertiges Prinzip, sondern mehr eine Tendenz, ein Bestreben freiheitlich

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chen Gehalts, das verschiedene Formen annehmen kann. Auf den Geist, auf die Motive, auf die Gestaltungskraft kommt es an, auf das Dynamische in der Sache... gerade von diesen Gedanken ausgehend komme ich zu gewissen labilen Auffassungen in taktischen Fragen, ohne mich als Opportunist im schlechten Sinne des Wortes zu fühlen. So ~~unendlich~~ fasse ich, wie ich Dir schon andeutete, Londons Grundgedankensmenge auf. Nun, sei das wie sei, ich werde mich freuen, später bei Gelegenheit Deine Meinungen über die verschiedenen Punkte meines Berichtes zu hören. Uebrigens muss ich zu obigen Gedankengängen noch sagen, dass sie mich keineswegs hindern, innerhalb des Anarchismus den Anarchosyndikalismus zu vertreten - weil er mir die relativ klarste Praxis zu gewährleisten scheint. Aber ich bin keineswegs von den 150prozentigen, sondern halte den AS. fuer durchaus noch wandlungsfähig und entwicklungsfähig, sogar bedauerlich.

Ich moechte Dir bei dieser Gelegenheit noch einmal sagen, dass unser kurzes Zusammensein in Paris mir grosse Freude bereitet hat, zumal ich wieder einmal jemanden fand, der in den Grundideen die spanischen Dinge so zu sehen versteht. Nur bei Nichtspaniern kann ich hierin eine wirkliche Uebereinstimmung mit mir selbst finden - denn merkwürdigerweise bleibt im Verhaeltnis zu den spanischen Genossen fuer mich immer ein unaufgelöster Rest von Fremdheit, wohingegen bei aller Sympathie mit den Spaniern ein wirkliches Miteinander fuer mich und wohl auch viele andere gegenueber nichtspanischen Genossen unendlich viel leichter ist. Aber es ist wohl eben so, dass die Spanier unter sich in einer anderen Welt leben und wir anderen alle auch - die Bedingungen des Anarchismus in beiden Lagern sind grundverschieden.

Nun Schluss. Ende dieser Woche also gehen fuer Dich die Berichte ab. Inzwischen viele herzliche Gruesse!

Helmut

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[Letter] 1937 Nov. 22, Paris [to] E[mma] Goldman, London / F[acundo] Roca. —
2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
DELEGACION PERMANENTE EN PARIS

18941

Paris 22 de Noviembre de 1937.
E. Goldman.

L O N D R E S

Apreciada compañera:

Me refiero a tu última carta y confirmo el envío del libro "Apuntes Históricos", que mandé a vuelta de correo.

Tu pregunta sobre el camarada Aurelio Fernandez, no es de fácil contestación; pues sigue su asunto en situación confusa. Por lo que estimo prudente no se trate en público, sin la seguridad de que sus comentarios nos hayan de ser favorables.

Hay se ha hecho la transferencia de las 680 £ a la Banca que me dijiste, cumpliendo el encargo del Comité de la C.N.T.; o sea, el equivalente de los 100,000. Pes.

Espero que en tu próxima confirmes la cantidad y me mandes el justificante de la organización, para mi buena administración.

En lo sucesivo, te agradeceré mandes la correspondencia a nombre del "Bureau de Presse et D'Information". Y en

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el interior, sobre para el camarada que desees.

Con un abrazo se repite camarada.

F. Roca

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 23 [London to Harry] Rosenberg, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

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18130

November 23rd. 1937.

Dear Mr. Rosenberg,

Your letter of October 20th I found on my return from Spain. Though I am frightfully busy with the campaign in this country on behalf of my heroically struggling Spanish comrades, I do not wish to delay answering your kind letter.

It is always a great satisfaction to me to hear from people who have or are reading "Living My Life". The prohibitive price of the first edition has completely destroyed all chances of my book getting a large circulation, yet it is remarkable how many people have managed to read it. I suppose it is entirely due to the libraries which do carry it.

Thank you very much for feeling with the struggle as portrayed in "Living My Life". I am glad to know that we are kindred spirits but I do hope that your life will be easier sailing than mine.

It certainly speaks in your favour that you gave up the drab life of an accountant and have studied music instead. I am not unaware of the fact that it is more difficult to make one's living as a musician than as an accountant, but at least you have the satisfaction of having followed your innermost desire - I congratulate you.

While many things have happened in my life since I lectured at 120th St. in N.Y., I have no recollection whatever of having lectured on "Chinese Culture" 30 years ago, nor do I remember having given you the answer that "since people were not ripe for Socialism", etc. which you mention. However, it is such a long time ago and human memory is so fleeting that neither you nor I can swear by what happened at that time.

I am happy that my work has awakened greater interest in the ideas I have fought and am still fighting for. I would suggest that you get in touch with my New York comrades of the VANGUARD and the SPANISH REVOLUTION - 45 West 17th Street.

Again thanking you for the nice things you say about my work,

Sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929321

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 23 [London to Edgar G. Newman, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 24 × 20 cm.

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18049

Nov 23.37

Werte Genosse.

Ich hatte Ihnen gewiss eine Kopy des Materials uber die Vervolgten in Spanien fruher geschickt, aber ich musste zuerst die Uebersetzung machen die erst gestern fertig wurde. Hierbei ist das ~~Deutsche~~ Deutsche Exemplar. Ich habe soeben mit Fenner Brockway gesprochen. Er teilte mir mit das Moc Govern heute nach Spanien abreist. Ich wunsche ihm Gluck obgleich ich mir keine Illusionen uber seinen Erfolg mache. Wie ich Ihnen schon in Paris sagte wird keine Kommission die nicht Welt bekannt ist einen Eindruck auf die morderische Stalin Bande ausuben. Wie diese Kommission zu stande gebracht werden soll weiss ich nicht. Moscow hat eben die ganze Arbeiter Bewegung versaut und das Gewissen des Internationalen Massen abgestumpft. Sogar die Burgerliche, sogenannte liberale Presse hutet sich Tatsachen uber die brutale Vervolgung in Spanien etwas zu veroffentlichen. So hat der Manchester Guardian abgelehnt Ich will noch den Versuch machen ein Kabel an THE NEW YORK EVENING SUN zu schicken. Vielleicht hat diese Zeitung die auch Liberalitat pretendiert mehr Mut. Sonst werde ich mich wohl mit der Presse meiner eigenen Genossen begnugen müssen. ~~Immerhin~~ Immerhin habe ich soeben eine Kopie des Englischen Textes and Brockway geschickt.

Ich lege hier nur die POUM Falle bei, die Liste der deutschen Anarchisten und Syndikalistern geht an Genosse Kaminski nach Paris ab. Er sagte mir er hatte die POUM Falle aber nicht die meiner Genossen.

Ich teile mit ganzer Seele Ihre Besorgnis um Frau Landau. Ich bin uberzeugt dass ihr Opfer wenig nutzen wird weil man in Spanien die moralische Bedeutung des Hunger Strikes uberhaupt nicht kennt. Immerhin durfte das Eintreffen McGowans doch auf den Strike wirken. Ich wurde natuerlich versuchen auf Genossin Landau zu wirken den Strike aufzugeben wenn sie weiter fur ihre Ideen arbeiten will. Ich bin fest uberzeugt dass auslandische Genossen ob von der POUM oder Anarchisten viel mehr ausserhalb des jetzigen konter-revolutionaren Spaniens wirken.

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Quemee Sie überschätzen meinen Einfluss und meine
in England. Wenn es in Amerika wäre dann
die Opfer Frances und Stalins tun. Aber hier
und habe nicht die Beziehungen die irgend eine
wachsen konnten. Aber Penner hat mir versprochen
in Verbindung mit stützungsbedürftige wichtige
in Verbindung zu bringen.

Mit kameradschaftlichen Gruss.

The following information was obtained from the records of the [redacted] Department of the [redacted] Government, dated [redacted].

[The remainder of the page contains extremely faint, illegible text.]

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[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 23 [London to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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18155

Nov. 23rd 37.

During Fitz. I found your letter of Sept 10th with Mollie in Paris on my return from Spain. But though I am back two weeks I have not had a minute to write you. Y s, dearest I am safely out of Spain but my heart and all my thoughts have remained with the struggle there. More than last year I did not want to leave though the situation has changed from the utmost freedom to dictatorship by the Megrin-Stalin outfit. But the Spanish comrades insisted on my return to England to plead their cause. They are naive indeed if they think I can accomplish much in this country. The longer I live here the more hopeless it grows. Still I must hang on and do what little I can in behalf of our heroic people who are sacrificing their all in the unequal battle against Fascism.

You may wonder why I call the Government in Spain Megrin-Stalin. It is because Stalin's henchmen have introduced his methods of dealing with political opponents as he is using in Russia. When I tell you that two thousand five hundred Anarchists Anarchist Syndicalists and POUM members are in prisons in anti Fascist Spain and that people vanish every day and leave no trace you will realize the horrors now rampant in revolutionary Spain which but a year ago gave the greatest political freedom to all their allies. And that is more to the point so far reaching is Stalin's arm it reaches out to every part of the world/ so that it is almost impossible to get a ~~xxx~~ hearing for the unfortunate victims of the counter revolutionary regime of the present so called democratic government in Spain. Yet I will have to try my damndest to make known this black treachery of a great and wonderful people, their undaunted courage and the extraordinary constructive work that goes on in spite of danger, starvation and the pack of international hounds who are trying to tear Spain limb from limb.

I brought out a lot of material about the collective work undertaken by our comrades. I called the Scribbs syndicate (I be damned if I remember whether they spell it with bs or ps) whether they would take some articles. Their office here had a reply telling their man to see me. He spent over two hours with me yesterday interviewed me at length. e read me the interview this morning over the phone and he told me he had cabled back what I could do in the way of some feature articles. I wrote Stella I am not fool enough to hope they will take them at all or many. But it would be damn handy to earn a little money by my pen. I will write you if

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 23 [London to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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18156

they do. It will take me three weeks or thereabouts to do them. I am very keen on having someone go over the deletions they would most likely want to make. ~~But~~ I would feel safe and at ease if you my dearest would do it for me, provided you can spare the time. Let me know by return mail please. If you have not the time I will have to ask Saxe though he too is overworked.

I am mailing Stella some recent letters and an article I have written. I asked her to send them on to you and possibly also my letter. I am so swamped with work I cannot spare the time to write the same things to all my correspondence. I foolishly forgot to make a carbon ~~in~~ copy of my letter to Stella. It would have saved me repetition. Anyhow she will let you have it I am sure. I also asked her to let you have the copy of my letter to Rudolf Rocker which is only for yourself darling. I do not want it circulated.

Fitzing dear I hope the plays you sent me ~~which~~ last year of the Theatre Union was intended for my keep. I ask because I sent one of them to Barcelona and I want to send the second one SONS OF ROME when I have read it. A very able comrade in Barcelona is trying to do something with the theatre in that city. Gaud knows it needs it. The theatre in Spain is I believe the most antiquated in the world. The masses never could afford to attend the theatre and the rich were quite content with blood and thunder plays, the more melodramatic the better. Actually Spain has no plays worthy of the name. I have therefore promised the young German producer some American plays. Will you please get PEACE ON EARTH, JUDGMENT DAY and some other modern productions that might be fitting for Spain. Send me the bill please. Send the plays to Augustine Souchy for MARVELT, Casa CNT-FAI Avenida B. Durruti 32. Barcelona España. Be a dear and do it soon. I understand some very able work has come out of the P.W.A experiment. Have any been published and could you let me have them. I would know what is appropriate for Spain.

I have not heard from Jeanne again about the interest of Covicci Friede in Sasha's memoirs. It was their representative who expressed interest. I do hope something will come of it. I long to have Sasha's life and work presented to the new generation and perhaps get a little out of it for that awful creature Emmy. Oh, my dear, my dear how puzzling it is that a man like Sasha should have stood E. for 14th and should have been so blind to her real make up. ~~Some~~ some time I doubt whether he was blind, whether his health and strength as well as his spirit had not gradually been sapped and broken by the consciousness of what she is. For his sake and memory I have endured tortures from that creature. I have sent Stella a letter of hers and my reply. I hope she has sent them on to you. The hypocrisy of the woman consists in love letters to me and in dragging me through the mire with everyone willing to listen to her fantastic stories of my villainy. Lucy Lang is one of them and there are ever so many more, most of them perfect strangers who knew neither Sasha or me. Poor Mollie ordered her out of her place because ~~the~~ the lunatic told her stories which

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[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 23 [London to M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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2.

18157

Made Mollie ill. It is all very well to say E. is irresponsible. She is that of course. In point of fact I think all her doings, all her fabrications are due to her insane streak. But that does not make it any more unbearable what she does spread, and the fake and hypocrite she is guilty of. The recent ~~xxxxxx~~ story she tried to palm off on our Paris friends was that an affair she had with an Inod Chinese comrade resulted in pregnancy and that she needed two thousand francs for an ~~xxxxxx~~ abortion. Well, it was discovered that it was all an invention. You can imagine how furious everybody of our people in Paris are. She does the same thing with me. If I do not send her money quick enough she does not tell me frankly she is in need, she writes she is again in a dying condition and must have an operation. I don't mind sending her money when I can. It is for Sashas sake I am doing it. But I am tired of the threats of operations. So I wrote her to go to it. I know she will not have it done because every doctor whom she ever saw and they are legions said an operation would kill her. My dear, my dear it is a sordid story and I am tired to death with it. And yet I can not drop the creature because Sashas last word were a plea I should take care of her. Please my dearest I do not care even for Stella to know her ~~xxxxxx~~ supposed escapade with that Chinese comrade. So please tear up this letter.

I am always so ~~xxx~~ happy to hear from you. Write me when you can.

I take you in my arms with love. Whats become of Pauline. I have not heard from her in years. Give her my love just the same.

I was so glad to see that our position has been more secure and that you are to get a better salary. And is Cora doing anything? Remember me kindly to her.

With love.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 23 [London to] Conor Cruise O'Brien, [Dublin] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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87469

November 23rd., 1937.

Dear Conor Cruise O'Brien,

Thank you for your kind letter. I was glad, indeed, to hear from someone related to my very dear friend Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington, for whom I have a great admiration. It was good of her to let you read my "Anarchism and Other Essays"; it is out of print now and it is therefore good to know that those who still possess a copy are making use of it.

Thank you for asking me to contribute to the Revolutionary weekly you are contemplating. I regret I cannot do so at this moment, as I am extremely busy with organisational work on behalf of my comrades in Spain, and with the preparation of my material for a series of articles on the colossal constructive work that is being done in Spain. However, the enclosed little tribute to Buenaventura Durruti who was the great leader of the forces that drove the Fascists out of Barcelona and Catalonia, may interest you. He was treacherously shot down a year ago this month. If you care to include it in your first issue, I will be very glad indeed.

I am sending you by the same mail a copy of the brochure which was published last year; it will give you an idea of the life, work and heroic death of Durruti.

It was astounding to me to hear that such heavy traditions in regard to women are still prevailing in your College. Well, there must be something organically wrong with the male members if they cannot endure the presence of the opposite sex in their midst! Even Spain, where the status of women is still fifty years behind that in the Scandinavian countries, the United States and England, is beginning to show a different attitude than that which was held prior to the Revolution of July 19th, 1936.

As I am preparing some articles for publication, among which will be one on the struggle of the Spanish women for the emancipation and enlightenment of their sex, I will be glad to send you a copy when it is ready.

Please keep in touch with me and let me see your paper when it appears. I am so glad you have posters of TIERRA y LIBERTAD. If I were sure that new posters and photographs would reach you, I would be glad to mail you some, but knowing of the severe censorship prevailing there, I do not like to risk sending them.

P.S.—Please give my personal greetings to

Sincerely,

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[Letter] 1937 Nov. 23 [London to] Martin [Secker] & Warburg Ltd., [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 19 × 16 cm.

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18273

23rd November 1937.

Messrs Secker Martin & Warburg Ltd.
22 Essex Street,
W.C.2.

Dear Mr Warburg,

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of Alexander Berkman's work called "Now and After". It has recently appeared in a new edition in the United States. Since you expressed interest in Anarchist works it occurred to me that the book by Alexander Berkman may appeal to you. It is simply written in the simplest style and represents what we call the A.B.C. of Anarchist-Communism. It gives a survey of the events since the war including the Russian Revolution. I am hoping that you may consider worth while in getting out a British edition. Should you do so I think I can get the plates from America for that purpose. I may say that I wrote a preface to the edition which recently came off the press.

When you have read it will you please let me know what you think of the idea. As the copy is one of the first edition I would like it returned to me when you are through.

Yours sincerely,

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[Letter] 1937 Nov. 23 [London to] Martin [Secker] & Warburg Ltd., [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 19 × 16 cm.

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18275

Mail will be forwarded to me wherever I am.

Sincerely,

367

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 23 [London to] Melville Kress, [Pittsburgh, Pa.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

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18128

November 23rd. 1937.

Dear Comrade Melville Kress,

Your letter of September 14th was delayed in reaching me, because I left for Spain a day after the date of your letter and I did not return till November 6th.

I am sure I do not know of anything that Peter Kropotkin has ever written about birth control, and therefore cannot tell you what his attitude was on this question. I do know that our great comrade considered the mental and economic emancipation of the masses and of the individual of far greater importance. Moreover, I am certain that he believed in the freedom of the individual to arrange his life as he sees fit.

It seems to me that to write a biography of any human being one ought to be thoroughly acquainted with his life and his work. I hope that you have the necessary knowledge and understanding for so great a personality, thinker and revolutionist. You will do well to go in touch with comrade Ishill - The Oriol Press, Berkley Heights, New Jersey. He has published a great deal about Kropotkin - in fact, a whole volume. You will gain a great deal from that.

I am not at all surprised that men like James Harvey Robinson should be ignorant of the fact that Peter Kropotkin wrote "The Great French Revolution". Most Americans of the so-called intellectual type are very ignorant about great historic characters, but you can rest assured that Peter Kropotkin held a high position in the intellectual world on the Continent. If he is at present shoved in the background, it is due to two poisonous tendencies - Fascism and Dictatorship that have infested all ranks and all movements.

Thank you for the kind tribute you are making to "Living My Life". I do not know what Frank Harris would have thought of my book; he was always extremely kind to me and my work - I rather think that he would have included "Living My Life" in his appreciation of my work.

Fraternally,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 1937 Nov. between 23 and 30] Hy[è]res, France [to] E[mma Goldman], London / Ethel [Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 8 × 12 cm.

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Hotel St. Paul, Hy[è]res, Var. S. France, Sun. 17245
Dearest E. thank you for letter & card, also Vanguard which I will return in a day or so; thank R.B. for note too. I can't say what I feel on a p.c. but I must write only this now as a great pile of mail has come in & I must get down to it; there is a job of work in it too, thank god. I won't worry again if you don't write soon: it was just that before I felt a bit ashamed of the weak discouraged letter I wrote before I left Eng. & wondered if you'd got fed-up with me over it. God knows the struggle in Eng. is discouraging to a degree. Its the complete apathy of the English towards yr movement that keeps R. & me away from it; we feel that it would be even more hopeless trying to achieve what we want through that movement than through our own, which at least has a hearing in the lab. movement, whereas the very name of yr movement frightens people away. Our party for all its frightful lapses does stand for social r (witness its attitude over Spain) tho' every now & then it wantonly sabotages its own objectives. We've got some good people with us, though — people you'd approve of, real fighters. Its our leaders who are

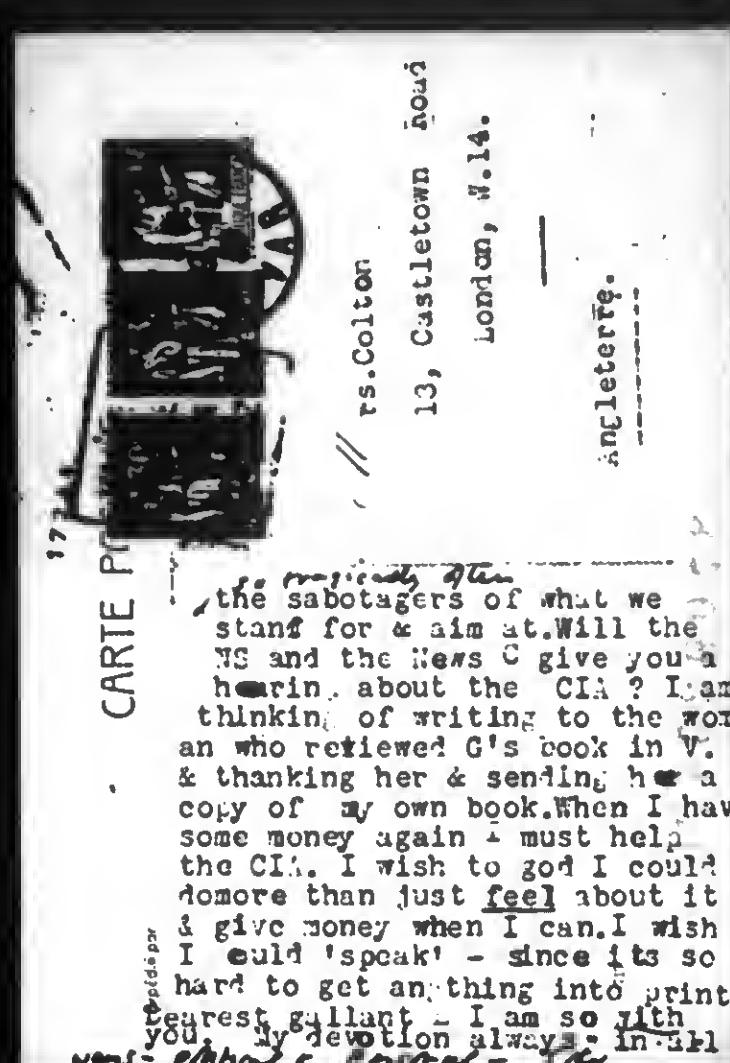
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[Postcard, 1937 Nov. between 23 and 30] Hy[è]res, France [to] E[mma Goldman], London / Ethel [Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 8 × 12 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Nov. 24? Paris to Emma Goldman, London] / Edgar G. Newman. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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EDGAR G. NEWMAN

18082

SUITE No

Werte Genossin,

Ich erhielt vor 5 Minuten Ihren Brief vom 23. ds. M. mit Anlagen. Ich hatte noch keine Zeit, denselben genau zu studieren. —

Mir faellt aber sofort in die Augen die Kopie des Briefes des Poum Exekutivkommittees an den Regierungsminister in Valencia. —

Derselbe ist mit vrebrecherischem Leichtsinne aufgesetzt und angetan, dem Faschismus ein weiteres Opfer in die Naende zu spielen.

In demselben heisst es
"und sein Bruder gehoert der Leitung der sozialistischen Jugendinternationale an. —"

abgesehen davon, dass dies nicht den Tatsachen entspricht, scheint der Verfasser vergessen zu haben, dass Kurt Bruder im faschistischen Oesterreich lebt, dass er seit der Publikwerdung des Falles Kurts, der auch die oesterreichischen Behörden beschaeftigt, von allen Seiten beobachtet wird, sodass Akte ueber ihn nicht nur auf der oesterreichischen Regierung sondern in mehreren auslaendischen Konsulaten aufgemacht worden sind.

Kam dem Verfasser gar nicht in den Sinn, dass das Senden des Briefes ins Ausland bis 20 Jahre Zuchthaus fuer Fredi Landau zur Folge haben kann?

Bitte, Werte Genossin, setzten Sie alles in Bewegung, dass Sie allen Kopien des Briefes, die bereits hinausgegangen sind, auf die Spur kommen und daeuer sorgen, dass die Exemplare sofort vernichtet werden. —

Ich verbaesse mich auf Sie, dass Sie mithelfen, dass sich dem Fall Julie und Kurt Landau nicht noch der Fall Fredi Landau anschliessen muss. —

Mit bestem Gruss

Edgar G. Newman

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 24, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, Hyères, France] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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40x934
40x151

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London Nov 24th 37.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 5829

Ethel, my Dearest. Your letter of Monday reached me this morning. It is the only letter I received dated from Hyeres. The one I found here and the one I got in Paris forwarded by Barr came from your previous abode. I have of course written you since my arrival here but I sent it to the cottage because I was not sure where you would be next. I asked that the letter should be forwarded to you by Arion. I hope it was done and that it reached you without further delay.

Yes, I did come back to an awful lot of work, more tasks than I had last year, not the least, finding a suitable place for an office, reading room and where I might have small exhibitions without much expense. The damnable Spanish Exhibition never showed the important material of the CNT-FAI and I have now brought out with me a lot of photographs of the collectivised villages and some drawings of children I want people here to see. It is not great in itself. But in view of the ever present terror of bombardments the children and teaching staffs live and work under I think the drawings most interesting and moving. So I want to get up a small exhibition in the office we will have. So far poor Ralph Barr has run his heels off trying to find a place but without success. The rents are far beyond the means put at my disposal by the CNT-FAI. Another new job I have is to try and organise an English branch of the INTERNATIONAL ANTI FASCIST ORGANISATIONS the comrades in Spain have created. A French section is already in existence and I was asked to try my best for a section in this country. The CIA as this organisation is called will care for all refugees, men women and children and also for the sick in various hospitals in the rear as well as the wounded at the fronts. It is a large undertaking but most worthy and necessary at the same time. More than the material help the comrades hope to get is the ~~solidarity~~ solidarity of the workers outside of Spain. I am not so optimistic as the comrades in Spain are. But the least I can do is to help them. The trouble is I have no idea whom to turn to, whom to interest in the CIA. The workers in the Labor, Trade Union and I.L.P cannot be reached above the heads of their leaders. The Press in England is also hopeless. So who is there one might appeal to? I am most unhappy about my chances to ever gain grounds in England. But I must try hard.

I am glad your English friend expresses the same views about his country men and women as I some times do. Auntie used to grow livid over my opinion that the English can neither "hate or love" and that they are too bound by traditions to care what becomes of the rest of the world. This applies not only to the middle classes in this

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to publish

middle classes but also of the workers. Actually, their psychology is more middle class than that of the gang that has much to lose. A case in point is the New Leader. Forgive me dear but it is no more revolutionary than the Daily Herald. It is a purely political paper representing a political party. Its everlasting and ending flirtations with the communists is due to its lack of revolutionary fiber. Yes, Fenner is most likeable as an individual but if ever he had back bone he has lost it. I have seen that during the dreadful months with the Spanish Exhibit outfit. Fenner often made me want to scream and shake him until his blood would function. My god Ethel if there is anything that makes me frantic, it is this cold blooded approach to the most cruel injustice and suffering. There are many thousands of political prisoners in Spain, many Fenner claims as comrades. The wife of one Katia Landau has been on a hunger strike since Nov 11th. When I talked to Fenner about it over the phone he was just casual. "send me the material" he said and I will see you Thursday. Imagine such an attitude to the slow death of a comrade. By the way, Kurt Landau was arrested and has vanished since. He may already have gone the way of NIN. I get so paralysed by people like Fenner and all other English people I have met I cannot do anything. No one you are such a revelation and such a find to me.

Darling how can you think I am angry with you? There was no reason in the first place. In the second it would have to be some very dreadful offense before I could be angry with you. It is futile to tell you in so many words what you have come to mean in my life and in my struggle in England. ~~xxxx~~ But I do want you to remember always that you have helped me more than you knew to endure the chill, the indifference and the snubbery of most people I had to deal with here. You must also know ~~xxx~~ that in my return to this country the only human being who ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ held out the promise of warmth, understanding and kinship was you. So never worry if I do not write so promptly.

You say where else should you and Regie go if you should decide to leave the I.L.P. Believe my dearest I do not want to induce you to leave. But I have felt for a long time that you do not belong there, that you really belong with the Anarchists. I do not mean the pale, inconsequential ones and the few misfits in London who call themselves Anarchists. But with the movement itself and with those to whom the ideal is the only raison d'être of their lives and not merely a thing to play with, or take as dessert after a substantial meal. Yes I know you still adhere to Marxist teachings and ideology. Is this not due more to habit than innermost feeling? For in your life and in your personalities both you and Reg are ANARCHISTS, more so than the British brand of my comrades. Naturally you are out of place in a political party that talks of Revolution and denies it every step and in every issue of the paper. This being my reactions to the I.L.P and the New Leader I was not surprised at the rotten review of Gides book. It was like the review of that scurrilous book on Anarchists by ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ are like Catholics they remain false whether in or out of their party. Not one of them can be trusted.

Dearest I will write again when I have more free time. Doris Zhuk is coming to take some dictation of letters so I must close for today. I take you in my arms with love. Bes to Regie.

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519622

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 24, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, Hyères, France] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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P.S. I forgot to say that I wrote
the May 1937 Guardian article
on article on the political
situation by the Negroes, Negro
American government they
designed. I am fearful no
other paper in England will
take it. It is simply that
I am not like a copy of
has in all wonderful to
see arriving at us and
disclose the savage methods
in Benches, are using in
pain, absolutely identical
methods as in Russia. I
mean to cable the New York
Post, a quasi liberal paper
perhaps they may take my dis-
cussion of Stalin's Band in Spain

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The Emma Goldman Papers

830414023

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 24, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
2 p. ; 30 × 22 cm.

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H. Rüdiger
vol 1:1937

C.N.T.

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London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
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LONDON, W14

London Nov. 24th., 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear Comrade,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd. It was very interesting to read all you have to say. I am looking forward to the report you have prepared for the IAA. So far I have not yet received the photograph of Durruti. You should know by this time, my dear, that there is no reliance on the promises of Latin people. Mimi cannot possibly be so interested, or she would not have forgotten such a thing as the photograph you asked her to send. But then, difficult as it is, I am getting used to the vague way Spanish and other Latin people make promises and how long it takes them to carry them out. They have all what the German make-up lacks; if only there could be a blending of the German and the Latin characteristics, we might really have a perfect race. Perhaps they would not be so interesting then, for perfection is usually very dull.

I came back with all sorts of plans to help our Spanish comrades, but a few days in London have already paralyzed my energies. The longer I live and work here, the more convinced I am that England is sterile ground for our ideas. The self-sufficiency of the average English person is beyond belief. What is more to the point, I find the workers even more indifferent than many members of the middle class. Perhaps it is their age-long poverty which has made them cling to their rags and their chains, or it may be they have been too long in the straight-jacket of the Labour Party and Trade Union machines. Whatever the reasons, I have failed to reach them, and I am under no illusions that I will ever succeed in reaching them.

I believe I have told you that there are many disgruntled elements in all parties here. The trouble is one ~~get~~ cannot get at them over the heads of their leaders; it is not like in America, where discontented workers in the Trade Union movement do attend meetings arranged by anarchists, or can be reached individually. Here they move in groups which makes it almost impossible to break through. However, I intend to make a last desperate effort. I am going to send out a letter to the Branches of the Trade Unions, to rouse their interest in the heroic struggle of our comrades in Spain, though I am not sure I will succeed.

As regards the SIA, I may have more success in reaching people on behalf of this new venture of the CNT than with any direct on

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1937 Nov. 24, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—

2 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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- 2 -

economic appeal. As I told you, I intended to wait until after the conference of the IAA before I proceed to organise an English section. From all the literature Herrera is sending me I can see that the CNT is quite determined to go on with this new international move. I only hope that this will not break the IAA; it would be too tragic to introduce a new international with the IAA already in existence for 15 years and with its bitter struggle during this period to get affiliations with revolutionary Labour bodies. I wish you would write me what you think about the whole matter.

It is all very well to understand the Spanish comrades. I hope I do, but I must tell you that many of their actions go against my grain. A letter from Mollie to-day tells me of some new crazy compromise discussed in REVEIL. I have not yet seen the paper, nor have I seen it in any of the Bulletins. Could you write me what it is all about? With all my heart I want to help our comrades. I feel in their present desperate struggle I cannot forsake them. But, after all, there is a limit to compromises. Please write me, as I would like to know what it is all about.

Before I left Barcelona Souchy gave me a German text of some German POUM members in prison and also a few names of our comrades. In addition, he was to give me Oriole Fernandez's case, which he had in Spanish. This material, together with other important stuff, was sent to me sub rosa by Martin, but much to my disgust, I discovered the material about Fernandez is missing. As I am planning an article on the political persecutions and prisoners, I must absolutely have the data about Fernandez. To send for it to Spain would mean a delay of months - can you give it to me? If so, please do it by return mail.

I did hope the "Manchester Guardian" would accept such an article, but they have declined. Stalin has terrorised everybody. I am now going to get in touch with a New York paper that might be less afraid of controversies with the Communists.

I too enjoyed our visit while I was in Paris; it brought you closer to me than the three months in Spain last year. So few of our comrades agree with each other, that it is a relief to find among them one of the very few with whom one can discuss everything in a friendly manner, without the charge that one has gone back on one's past. Rudolf has always been among the very few - understanding and large in his approach. I had a wonderful letter from him while in Paris, and I have answered him.

Please write me as soon as possible about Fernandez' case. ~~Will you tell Rosa that I am waiting to hear from her.~~

Give him and the rest of the comrades my fraternal greetings.

Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 24, London [to] The Daily Express, [London] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

Sir,

Your issue of the 19th inst. contains an editorial note under the heading "Spain - sell - out" in which you express the opinion that "if there is going to be a 'sell out' it is the Anarchist who are for sale".

From the editor of a great London daily one has the right to expect that he should be well informed on what he writes about. It was therefore a matter of great surprise to me to note an utter lack of knowledge of the real facts, as revealed in your above mentioned editorial, especially when it refers to such formidable organization as the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.). Will you therefore permit me to inform you that so far from being "for sale", as suggested in your editorial, the Anarchists are actually the one group of people in Spain who perhaps more than any other section are determined to fight Fascism to the bitter end.

As to your statement that "their (the Anarchist's) troops are not employed in the line", that, too, is not true to facts. Actually there are in the Madrid trenches alone as many as 50,000 members of the Anarchists organizations, and many more thousands are distributed among general military formations. Of the 700,000 anti-fascist forces at the front about 200,000 are out and out Anarchists. I can testify to these facts, having just returned from Spain where I had an opportunity of visiting the trenches and ascertaining the true facts. You may take as an uncontrovertible truth that of all the anti-fascist groups in Spain, there are none so utterly determined to fight off till Fascism is conquered as are the C.N.T. and F.A.I. organizations. They have made many concessions in their determination not to allow anything to stand in the way of the complete anti-fascist triumph.

I hope your sense of fairness will prompt you to give your readers the opportunity of hearing the other side.

Yours, etc.

Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 24, London [to] The Daily Express, London / Emma Goldman. — 1 p.; 20 x 17 cm.

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TRADUCCION.

Londres, 24 de Noviembre de 1937.

Sr. Redactor del "Daily Express"
LONDRES.

Muy señor mío:

El periódico de su dirección, correspondiente al día 19 del actual, contiene un editorial bajo el epigrafe "ESPAÑA - SE VENDE ALGUNOS?", en el que se expresa la opinión que si se va a tramar "alguna mala jugada" serán los anarquistas los que estarán a la venta".

Lo menos que se puede esperar de un director de uno de los diarios londinenses de mayor circulación, es que esté bien informado y que escriba con conocimiento de causa sobre los temas de que trate. Por ello ha sido para mí motivo de gran sorpresa el ver un desconocimiento tan grande de los hechos como el que se revela en su mencionado artículo, especialmente tratándose de organizaciones de la envergadura de la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (C.N.T.) y Federación Anarquista Ibérica (F.A.I.).

Permitame Vd., por tanto, que me tome la libertad de poner en su conocimiento que, muy lejos de "estar a la venta", como se quiera hacer entender en su mencionado editorial, los anarquistas componen la agrupación que quizás más que ninguna otra en España se ha hecho el firme propósito de luchar hasta la muerte en la guerra contra el fascismo.

En cuanto a su declaración de que "sus tropas (las de los anarquistas) no toman parte en la línea de fuego", queda desmentida rotundamente con solo mencionar que precisamente en estos momentos se encuentran defendiendo las trincheras en Madrid mas de 56.000 afiliados a las organizaciones anarquistas, mientras que otros tantos miles están encuadrados en diferentes formaciones militares. De las 700.000 fuerzas antifascistas en todos los frentes, alrededor de 300.000 son anarquistas de pura cepa, cosa que he podido comprobar en mi reciente viaje a España y de donde solo hace unos cuantos días que he regresado.

Sin que quepa lugar a dudas de ninguna clase, puedo afirmar a Vd. que entre todos los grupos antifascistas en España, no existe ninguno tan decidido a continuar la lucha hasta el completo aplastamiento del fascismo como el compuesto por la C.N.T.-F.A.I., quienes, en su determinación por conseguir este objetivo, han transigido en todo lo necesario, de forma que nada entorpezca el camino hacia el triunfo de las fuerzas antifascistas.

Confío que en honor a la verdad presentará Vd. a sus lectores la oportunidad de poder enterarse de la situación tal y como es en realidad.

De Vd. att. y s. s.

(Firmado) Emma Goldman.

*a. L. Express
refusé de
publier cette
lettre.
if g*

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 24 [London to] Alex L. Hillman, New York / [Emma Goldman]. --
1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18091

Nov. 24th., 1937.

Mr. Alex L. Hillman,
HILLMAN-CURL, Inc.
Book Publishers,
30 Tompkins Square,
Fifth Avenue,
NEW YORK CITY. U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Hillman,

I owe you an apology for not having answered your letter of August 6th before this. It was forwarded to me in Paris when I was trotting around trying to get a visa for my second trip to Spain. Since then I was in Spain, and only returned to London last week. That explains the delay.

I have never received the "advance confidential copy" of "Proletarian Journey" by Fred Beal. I cannot imagine what became of it. I receive a great deal of mail, and it is very rarely that anything goes astray, especially a book.

I have read a review of the work in the N.Y. "Sunday Times", I believe, but am not sure. Of course I would like to see and read the book carefully. I promise you I will then write my views on it. I think Mr. Beal is not the only one whom the Soviet Communists would put in the firing line. Those of us who have so far escaped are very fortunate, indeed. In Spain people are arrested and vanish without any trace, while the prisons are filled with many Communists who are not 100% Stalinites, with members of the POUM and by Anarcho-Syndicalists. These repressions have been inaugurated by Stalin's henchmen the moment the got into the reactionary Herrin Government. I had to be extremely careful in my movements in Spain not to fall into the hands of the satraps of the so-called Socialist Republic.

I do hope Mr. Beal will not get within reach of Stalin's long arm, and that he will also keep aloof from North Carolina. There is little difference between dictatorships, whether in Russia, America or other countries.

Please extend my best wishes to Mr. Beal for his safety.

Sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 24 [London to] Jack [R. White, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17710
some excuse for the compromise the Spanish comrades have made; they had and still have Franco's knife at their throats. We are fortunately

Nov. 24th., 1937.

Dear Jack,

Thank you for our letter of Monday. I wish I had more time to go into all the points you raise, but I came back with so many tasks to look after which have been entrusted to me by the CNT-FAI that I really do not know where to begin first. However, I do not wish to seem indifferent.

Under separate cover I have sent you Alexander Berkman's pamphlet "The Kronstadt Rebellion". Please read carefully, and you will see that Trotsky in never was capable of precisely the same terror and the same extermination of his political opponents as Stalin is. You suggest that we should not mind what he did in the past. That might be worth considering if Trotsky had in any way changed his attitude of implacable hatred towards the Anarchists and his readiness to exterminate them. In point of truth his attitude towards us is exactly now as it was 16 years ago. It is not what I or anyone of us charges Trotsky with; his writings speak for themselves - his villification of Makhno and of the Anarchists generally has not changed in the least. You see, therefore, it is not a question merely of the past, but it is his continued attacks and calumnies hurled against anarchism and the Anarchists. This justifies me in asserting that if he were in power again, or any of those who back him were in power, they would act precisely as Stalin does in Russia and in Spain.

I am glad however that you also would not consider an alignment with the Trotsky Defense Committee. But since you also feel so strongly about it, then what exactly could be gained in a conference with them? For myself, I should consider it a waste of time, especially as I have so much work to do on behalf of our struggling comrades in Spain.

What you say about the elemental fusions in life is only too true. Alas-- we have no control over the natural forces, but we do have free choice as regards our bed-fellows. Now, if ever I had any doubts before the Spanish Revolution that Marxists and Anarchists can never blend, I have been completely cured of it. The affiliation of the CNT-FAI with the Communists, far from bringing any benefit to the anti-fascist struggle, has helped to weaken it and has certainly undermined the revolutionary position of the CNT-FAI. But there is some excuse for the compromise the Spanish comrades have made.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 24 [London to] Jack [R. White, London] / [Emma Goldman]. --
2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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not yet in this danger, and we should avoid any compromise which
would lead us into the same mess in which the comrades in Spain find
themselves now. At least, this is how I feel about it myself. The
other comrades have to do what they want.

While it is true that the Russian arms helped to drive off
the danger of Franco, Stalin has proven a terrible danger to the
Spanish Revolution. I cannot begin to tell you the political per-
secution that is rampant in Spain - prisons filled to overflowing
with Anarchists, members of the POUM and even Communists - people
vanishing no one knows where. I do not know whether the help
we gave was such a help after all. In other words, I consider the
help to the Communists in Spain more harmful than good, and I want to
clear clear from any affiliations with either the 100% Communists
or the Marxists.

I admit, I want to do my utmost to interest the world in
the plight of the POUM because they are persecuted, but not
because I believe that they in power would act differently than the
Stalinists. However, if the M.S.I. will have a conference I would
like to attend, just to see what can be done with them. But please
do not ask me to involve myself with the Trotsky Defense Committee.

Sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 24, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 2 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23994

Vence

24/11/37

Dearest Emma,

I was glad and relieved to get your letter last night although I could gather from it you were sad and somewhat dispirited, which is not hard to understand in the face of what is happening in the world today - violence running amok ~~all over the world~~ ^{everywhere}. Even to think of Spain makes

one despair. Going back to such cold and depressing weather must have added to the general gloom - I know what London can do in that way this time of the year.

Here it is very wet today - wet dank and dead and I have an equinoctial unrest on me but, because of having - now - water on the knee - the doctor says I am more or less prevented moving about. You know how that makes one feel.

Are you alone in the flat these days? I trust not, I hope that nice Spanish boy is still there.

Nellie came to see me a couple of weeks ago, she had just moved into a new little apartment - she was that day expecting Emmy to arrive in Nice - but whether she came or not I don't know. Nellie I believe is down with a cold. Yes she got the linen, I also some sheets, for which many thanks. The same post that brought your letter brought one from Stella. She is leaving her house at the end of the year - but I dare say you know all about this. I have had two letters from Ethel who is at Hyeres. Reg seems to be very weak and seedy, unable to stand much exertion. Poor lad - I am afraid it is a serious business with him.. The bill you enclosed dear is for you, your

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 24, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 2 p.; 29 x 21 cm.

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23995

electric light bill. I am returnin it.

Your idea for an office equipped with all you detail seems a very good one to me - I shall be interested to know where you decide it shall be - in a big centre of course - How is Barr? Give him my kindest regards. Do you ever hear anything of Sutton. I have heard nothing since I left England. Some people I know here know Darling very well in Barcelona. What has happened to him and all his work? Vence is filling up for the winter. But who wants pots I ask you? Everyone is bent on divesting themselves of every possible encumbrance - a car, a suitcase and the open road is all they seem to care for. And quite right too, except it is disastrous for my business. But this time of the year is always particularly dead.

N.D. is still here, also Dr Oscar Levy, a most delightful person, he is busy now on a treatise dealing with religion and proving that a terrible disaster Christianity has been to humanity. The two men took me out to dinner last night despite my stiff knee and I had an intellectual feast as well as a good meal. I don't know if I shall get away awhile this winter Norman is always threatening to take me somewhere but so far nothing has been arranged. If I had known that you were in the neighbourhood I would have gone might have got someone to take me by car. But you were there and off before anything could be done. I think your tribute to Durruti very fine. I gave it to Dr Levy to read. Enclosed you will find it returned as you asked. I have no further news except local gossip. Davis is still around and, once again, heard over ears in love with a Norwegian lady, much to the distress of poor Mrs Dainty who is here now. But there is no doubt Davis has got it badly this time.

My love to you dear Emma, Keep smiling, 'tis the only thing to do. Remember me to all the folks around. I shall be glad to have the fish knives, I have none now.

Don't get a bad cough this winter, go slowly and be kind to yourself.

Affectionately,

Annie

he says

Martha Gordon Crotch is just what you need

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 24, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[ariano] R. Vázquez. — 1 p.; 18 x 21 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

N.º

19278

COMITE NACIONAL

SECRETARIA

Secretaria - Teléfono 17947
Vicesecretaria - " 17951
Prensa y Propaganda - T. 10168
Político Social - T. 10067
Economía - T. 10809
Defensa - T. 10591
Contaduría - T. 17049

VALENCIA, a

GRABADOR ESTEVE, 4

APARTADO CORREOS 411

Emma Goldman

Londres

Estimado Compañero:

Aprovecho el haber venido a ésta circunstancialmente, para saludarte y recomendarle la publicación en inglés del libro "El 19 de Julio", limitando la edición a ese país, pues habiéndose constituido una oficina en América, bajo el control de la C.N.T., empezamos a reconocer su personalidad dándole el encargo de publicar en el citado país este mismo libro.

Aprovecho la presente oportunidad para repetirme tuyo y de la causa

Paris, 24 noviembre 1937




Escribid una carta por cada asunto.
Dirigid vuestra correspondencia a la sección que compete.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 25, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18291

18 Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
London, W. 14.

November 25th., 1937.

Dear Harry,

I did not get your letter of September 9th until I returned to Paris from Spain. on the 6th of November. As I was travelling a good deal in while in Spain, Nellie decided not to forward my mail, which was just as well as it might have got lost in transit.

Here I am back in my London quarters - safely out of Spain. Safely, but with all my thoughts and all my heart left behind there. The situation is so tragic and so moving, I hated to go. Yet I knew that my remaining in Spain this time would have only added another victim of the Negrin-Stalin Government to the many others, for it is that as much as if Stalin actually were in Spain. His henchmen are well trained - they do their sinister work with the same devastating effectiveness as it is done in Russia. I suppose the comrades were apprehensive as to what might happen to me - that is why they wanted me to return to England. I dare say the Communists here will not bother me, not physically, anyway, but that does not make my return here any more cheerful or promising. I already had a foretaste in a little gathering we had a week ago. The English Anarchists - whatever there is of them, are simply hopeless. You might say, I have written about it before. That is true, but you know the saying that "hope springs eternal". I thought that the story I brought from Spain would move them - make them do something, but all in vain.

Well, I have decided to waste no more time on them. I will do what I can through other channels. I am hoping to establish a Reading Room, especially of Spanish papers and literature, and also of our press in as many languages as I can get. In connection with that we will have an office, so that people can come if they want to learn about our doings. Also I have promised the comrades to establish an English section of their new organisation called the S.I.A. (International Anti-fascist Solidarity). I may be able to reach people outside of our ranks. I have to go on trying.

I do not know whether Ven has published my letter I wrote him for the "Spanish Revolution". I stated therein my reaction to the situation, as I found it on my return. Our comrades have certainly lost strategic ground by their concessions and their compromises, and yet - strange to say, they have gained in a moral sense. I think this can be explained by the disgust the Spanish people feel towards the Communists. The whirlwind march of the Lister Brigade and the Karl Marx Brigade have left rack-and-ruin behind in the collectives, filling the peasants with loathing of their methods and cruelties. Yet it is unfortunately true that our comrades have not gained what they had hoped to gain by the concessions they have made. One could not possibly

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 25, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Harry Kelly.

25/11/37.

18.92

-2-

understand what they have done or approve of it were it not for the fact that the CNT-FAI have become obsessed by the idea that as they were the first in the world to repulse Fascism, they must also remain the last in the field, until it has been conquered. It is difficult to say whether such sacrifices will lead to their passionately longed-for success. As far as I am concerned, I can only say that while I could make no peace with the compromises and the concessions, I cannot raise my hand against the CNT and the FAI. They are fighting with their backs to the wall - fighting the conspiracy of a whole world and the bitter opposition of comrades outside of Spain. I could not dare be the one to throw stones at them! But you can believe me that I see that my position is not enviable.

I am surprised that you should have been carried away by the articles of Herbert L. Matthews, the TIMES correspondent. True, I only read them in the SUNDAY TIMES; he may have written more favorably in the dailies. Those in the issue of Sept. 26th he had the gall to write about the CNT and FAI having left the Front, and praising the Communists to the skies for their "heroism"(!). In point of fact, the very reverse is true, as I had the opportunity to convince myself when I visited the Front and talked to our comrades in charge of Brigades and Divisions. Thus it will interest you to know that the Communists were not anywhere near the line when Bolohita was taken. They came when all was over. I have a vast amount of material dealing with the military procedure, where our comrades played a tremendous part. Some of it I cannot publish, others I will prepare for our press.

Dear Harry, whatever may be the end of the uneven battle the CNT-FAI are carrying on, only the future historian will adequately appraise their super-human strength, endurance and courage. For the present, we must face all the slumry, the lies and the mean charges against them.

What on earth made you think that France is supplying Spain with arms? France in the Blum Government has proven the modern Judas Iscariot; it has betrayed the Anti-Fascist struggle. Yes, I realise England has done the same, but England represents the traditions of the British Empire and lays no claims to Socialism. In point of fact, Spain has been betrayed by the whole world, and not the least of them by the international Proletariat. That is really the main reason for the inconsistencies and the compromises of the CNT-FAI. They felt themselves drowning - so who can blame them for having clutched at a straw? The irony of it is that Russia is credited with sending arms - actually it has stopped doing that. Were it not for the fact that Anti-Fascist Spain - largely the CNT and FAI with the co-operation of some of the UGT members - is producing a great deal of arms now, unfortunately not many planes, Franco might now have been much nearer his goal than he himself imagined. But as to getting arms from France, - certainly not legally or openly so, and the shipments behind the back of the Government are woefully small. Ah, if only the farcical "non-intervention" were lifted and Anti-Fascist Spain could buy arms and food in the open market, Franco would soon be finished,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 25, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Harry Kelly.

18293 -3-

even at this late hour. But that miserable conception of Blum's brain, kept catastrophically alive by Great Britain, makes no attempt to disappear, and our people in Spain are left to hold on doggedly, by sheer force of will - by their religious faith that they must win. One has to see it all to realize the greatness of it!

I was sorry to hear, my dear, that you are having such trouble with your eyes. I do hope you are having them treated by a competent doctor. The news of Anate's death was given me by Sonia Clemente who came to the station to meet me when I arrived from Paris. I knew that it must have been painful for Rachelle and for you, but it was certainly the best for her. To endure pain for a long period is certainly hard enough but to know that one causes others to feel your pain seems to be still more difficult to bear. Give my love to Rachelle - I hope she is bravely getting over her shock.

Before I left Barcelona, I arranged for an trip to Valencia and Madrid for Abe. I found him very much depressed over the situation in Barcelona. The conditions there are indeed discouraging. I knew that Madrid would raise his spirit and fire his imagination as it did mine. I have not yet heard from him since his return to Barcelona, but I had indirect word that he is there again. As I understand it, he intends to leave Spain soon. It is extremely hard for a non-Spaniard to endure the political persecution that is going on. Thousands of comrades and members of the POUM fill the prisons. Then there is the food shortage. Most of our people feel hungry all the time. As you see, history repeats itself and yet there is a difference. Anarcho-Syndicalism has been in existence in Spain too long to make way for a Dictatorship. If the CNT-FAI submit to it now, it is because of their obsession that they must win the war.

Remember me kindly to Leah, Kleie and all the other friends. Fraternal greetings to the comrades.

With Love,

P.S.--I wonder how Elisebeth Fern is now?
Has she overcome her severe illness?
Remember me to her and Alexis, though
they may have forgotten me.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 25 [London to] Augustin Souchy, Barcelona / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19151

bringing the struggle of our comrades in Spain to wide circles of people in this country. Will you please rush matters.

Give my love to Ilse.

Affectionately.

25th November 1937.

Augustin Souchy,
Oficina de Propaganda Exterior,
Casa CNT-FAI Avenida Buena Ventura Barruti 32 y 34,
BARCELON.

Dear Augustin,

I have already written to you since my arrival here in regard to some of the notes on collectivisation and the case of F. So far no answer from you. Today I am writing you about the notes which you had sent to Doris Zhok for translation. They are identical with the notes that I have to use about the collectives we visited and which our Spanish friend here is translating for me.

I have cabled to some newspapers in New York asking whether they would take a series of articles on my visits to the collectives. If they do I shall of course have to use some of the notes, copy of which you gave me in Spanish. Am I to understand that the German notes you sent to Doris are for your contemplated book. I must know that.

Now as to the translations. Of course I cannot pay for it from the funds of the National Committee of the CNT. What I suggested to you, if you remember, is that I should submit your whole manuscript on collectivisation to a publisher here. He would probably want his own translator to do it, or I might make arrangements with him, if the book is accepted, to pay for the translation. It is however no use to proceed until I know exactly what your intention is regarding the notes you sent Doris Zhok. You understand that I do not want to "playgerise" you; but of course I must utilise the material we got from the collectives we visited together even though you were good enough to take the notes you made for me.

I wonder why I don't hear from Frank and what he has achieved in re the film material. Will you please write me about it. I cannot impress upon your mind too much the propaganda value of the constructive film for England. Actually it is the only effective method of

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 25 [London to] Ernest [and] Margaret [Taylor, Bristol, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Nov 25th 37

Dear Ernest, dearest Margaret.

As you see I am safely out of Spain. Safely but with all my heart and all my thoughts left with my heroic comrades in Spain. It will therefore not be easy to resume the work in England. But it has to be done. I have not yet begun. I am waiting for the quarters we are trying to find in this city for an office, a reading room and small exhibitions. It seems almost impossible to find anything for modest means. When we do get them the campaign will begin in earnest. Among other tasks entrusted to me is to get together and English branch of a new organisation created by the CNT-FAI. They call it SIA. It means International Antifascist Solidarity. I wish I had the optimism of my Spanish friends. But with the lukewarm attitude of the workers in the rest of the world to the tragedy of Spain I see little hope for International anti-Fascist Solidarity. But I am going to try to rouse people to it. I may say that this organisation in Spain is in charge of the care of refugees, men women and children as well as all other victims of Fascism. Surely a valuable work you will agree.

Your letter of August 4th arrived in Paris while I was waiting for the French visa to take me to Spain. I have kept it but really have no recollection whether I have answered it. If I did not it was not lack of time and nothing else. I was glad that you and Margaret had paid a visit to the children in Street and that you found them looking healthy and happy. I know from my own childhood the indignity children feel when they are forced to wear old clothes other children had discarded. So I can feel with the kiddies in Street about the "junk" you wrote that had been sent them. I am delighted to know that you understood so well and that Margaret did the reaction to this sort of charity which gives what has to be thrown out anyhow, of the children. Thank you both.

I wonder how the kiddies got along during the summer. If I had the time I should pay them a visit. I brought some music for them from the children in Barcelona which I will let them have when I can get at the material I brought out with me.

Yes, my knee has quite discovered but as we say in America

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 25 [London to] Ernest [and] Margaret [Taylor, Bristol, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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180.77

recovered. But as we say in America heathenethat we are "it is one damned thing after another" I returned with a cured knee but

with a cured knee but with a sore toe. Nothing serious ~~surgeon~~. I hope. Certainly not so serious than if I had had to join the tens of thousand of politicals in Republican Spain who are filling the prison or vanish without leaving a trace. All this is entirely thanks to the far reaching hand of Stalin ~~xxxxx~~ whose satraps are trying hard to impose their masters blessings on the Spanish people. Political dictatorship actually exists in Spain. But I am certain it is an artificial growth as the Spanish people have no intention to endure it a minute longer until after Fascism has been conquered. I only hope it will not be too late then to deal with Stalins poisonous virus.

I am not at all surprised the children clustered around Margaret. Motherhood fairly oozes from her every pore.

I remain in my flat this winter and should be so happy to see you both if ever you run up to London. Will you let me know.

With love to both of you.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 25, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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18 Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
LONDON, W. 14.

1937

November 25th., 1937.

My dear Martin,

I have written you and have also sent you word in my letter to A.S. I have told you that I received your letters, both written on the 11th of November - a very significant date in my life - also a short note dated the 10th. I am sorry to let you know that no amount of patience has so far brought all the material I gave you to be forwarded to me. I still lack some notes on the Collectives A.S. took on our trip, and - no less important - notes on the P. case. They were in Spanish, and I am under the impression that he gave them to me together with some German notes. Unfortunately, only the letter arrived. I don't mean to say that they are not important, but the other about P. was much more important to me. I promised him, when I paid them a visit, that I would write an article about him. I am terribly handicapped now because I have not got anything to go by. As I say, I have written A.S. to send me another copy, also the missing notes on the collectives; but so far not a word from anybody in Barcelona. Will you please see what you can do to help me?

There are other things missing, which you faithfully promised to send, something of your own if you remember.

I had hoped an American newspaper Syndicate would take some articles on the Collectives. They cabled me to the effect that if I would submit the articles to them, they might consider them. Unfortunately, I have not the time and the necessary means for a translator and a secretary I would need for a series of articles to write "in the void". I am cabling another paper in the hope that they may accept at least one long article. I will see what comes of this. As a last resort, I will write a few articles for our own press. If only we had the circulation some of the Spanish CNT papers have, I should never want to write a line for the bourgeois press. But our publications reach such a small minority - it is heartbreaking. Well, one must do what one can.

Although I am back ten days, I have done very little, except dictating letters to my much neglected correspondents. But comrade Barr has been running round in this vast city to find suitable quarters for the Reading Room I want to establish, and for some small exhibitions of the material I brought with me, and also as an office for the S.I.A. You see, last year and until I finished this spring I tried to economise the expenses, and combined the CNT-FAI Bureau with my living quarters at 18 Castletown Rd. But this is far away from the centre of the town. It was impossible to make the address known so that people could come. Besides our activities have increased. We absolutely need an office in the centre which we intend to advertise so that those interested in the struggle in Spain and the CNT-FAI to be enlightened and who want to buy our literature and read our papers

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 25, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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19314
2.

could come. Before this is mailed I hope to be able to tell you that we have secured such a place.

I will be busy building this up till after the New Year, when I expect to begin with lectures in connection with our Film Frank left us, and the new one which he is preparing; I hope this will reach us soon. We will be able to do infinitely more work with these than with mere talks.

I see that Abe has returned from his trip. What about Frank? Has he remained in Madrid? I am surprised that I have not had a word from him. If you should be able to get hold of him, hurry him up to write to me.

Where is the Comité Nacional? Is it still in Valencia, or has it removed to Barcelona? It is ironic that the CNT with its great revolutionary tradition must now trail after the Government. I sometimes do despair of the situation. I do not think I could continue if it were not for my undying faith in our comrades and in the Spanish masses.

My dear, I have received the book of the Colonie d'Enfants d'Argentine. It looks very beautiful - quite different from what we saw, you and I. But as I have never set eyes on it, I could not write about it, much less will I write about those I did see: you know the reason why. When you write me, do not fail to tell me how the Baeque Home for the children is faring? That was more encouraging than the others.

No doubt you have received my letter informing you that I have sent a package of food-stuffs to you, while I was in Paris. They promised me that it would reach you in about ten days or two weeks. So it is not yet time for it to be in Barcelona, but I do hope it will reach you and that you will distribute the articles as I have asked you to do.

Well, my dear, this is all for the present. I am looking forward to hear from you, and especially to get new copies of the miscellany material as quickly as possible.

Remember me kindly to your sweetheart and your secretary, with my old affection for you

P.S.--Please tell Abe that I am anxiously waiting to hear from him. Tell him I heard from Mollie today and I sent her a cheque which she will forward to F.W.
- Give him my love.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 25, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin [Gudell]. —
1 p.; 22 x 17 cm.

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19320

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84

TELÉFONO 14781 - 41

TELÉFONOS:

CENTRALITA 14781

SECRETARIADO

41

EDICIONES

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BOLETÍN FRANCÉS

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BOLETÍN ALEMÁN

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BOLETÍN INGLÉS

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BOLETÍN SUECO

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BOLETÍN SÓLBARO

50

BOLETÍN PORTUGUÉS

50

Barcelona 25. 11. 1937.

Liebe Emma!

Ich habe gestern mit Frau Adams gesprochen. Sie sagte, dass Sie haben die Briefe nicht bekommen. Es wundert mich sehr. Alle andere erzählen mir, dass alles ist gut angekommen. Von heute ab, werde ich die Briefe numerieren. Jedes Brief oder Packet wird ein folgendes. Das Buch „Process...“ hat Nr. 1. Dieser Brief Nr. 2, und so weiter.

Fragen Sie bitte den Briefträger, vielleicht hat er ~~die~~ ihre Briefe, anstatt 18. Castletown Rd. ~~zu~~ abgegeben in 28 Castletown Rd., oder nicht abgegeben. Vielleicht hat er die noch.

Von Ihnen ich habe nur ein Brief bekommen.

Herzliche Grüsse von alle Genossen
und noch herzlicher von mir
Martin

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 26, London [to] Paul [and] Es[landa Robeson, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18095

Nov 26th 37.

Dear Paul, dearest Essie.

I read of your plans for this winter in an English paper while I was in Spain. I was delighted for "selfish" reasons more than any other because to know you in London means taking away much of the chill and the loneliness I have always felt here, means also to hear your voice Paul my dear and see you in worthw while plays.

As you see I am safely back from Spain. Safely, but with my spirit left behind in the world forsaken and betrayed heroic country. I should have preferred to remain. But my comrades insisted on my going back to England to resume the work for them I began last year. So here I am not very enthusiastic or sanguine about the success awaiting me for xxx the truly gallant fight the CP and FBI are making.

I want so much to see you. Once upon a time you used to enjoy my cooking. I should be overjoyed to have you to dinner some evening or some Sunday. Or I will come to you if you want me. Please telephone me or write when we might again come together.

With love for both of you my dears.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870929324

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 26 [London to Edgar G. Newman, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18053

Nov 26th 37

Werter Genosse. Ihr Schreiben erreichte mich gestern in einer Sitzung in der Fenner Brockway zugegen war. Zu Ihrer Beruhigung kann ich Ihnen mitteilen dass bis jetzt nur ein Exemplare der Englischen Übersetzung nach Paris befördert wurde. Fenner hat mir fest versprochen seinen Kamaraden in Paris sofort zu benachrichtigen dass der Name des Bruders von K.L nicht erwähnt werden wird. Er hat dementsprechend nach Paris geschrieben. Von mir aus ist weder eine Deutsche Kppie oder Englische versandt worden mit Ausnahme des Deutschen textes den ich Ihnen schickte ~~wurde~~ und den ich Fenner gab. Sie können also beruhigt sein.

Ich weiss nicht ob Sie die ~~kurz~~ Ausgabe von LA NOUVELLE ESPAGNE die von der CNT Delegation in Paris herausgegeben wird gesehn haben. Sie enthalt den Brief von Genossin Katia Landau an die Spanische Behorde gesehn haben. Oder waren Sie es der den Brief an die Zeitung meiner Genossen gesandt haben. Ich bedaure dass ich nicht auch einen Kopie für unsere Zeitung die hier erscheint zur Verfügung hatte, sie waere in ~~kurz~~ SPAIN AND THE WORLD ERSCHIENEN. Nicht nechste Nummer kommt erst den 10ten Dec. heraus. Selbstverständlich wird der Brief abgedruckt werden wenn auch mit Verspatung. Eine Kopie wird auch an die Anarchistische Presse in America abgesandt werden. Die Burgerliche Presse ist wie es scheint in eine Verschwörung des Stillschweigens eingetraten in Bezug auf die politische Verfolgungen in Spanien. Stalins Arm reicht eben sehr weit. Jedenfalls hat auch die New York Evening ~~World~~ Post, die liberalste Zeitung in New York auf meine Anfrage wegen Article über die Leiden der Revolutionare in Spanien nicht geantwortet. So werde ich mich ~~nur~~ nur auf die Anarchistische Presse konzentrieren müssen.

Haben Sie mehr Nachricht über den Zustand Genossin Landau. Der Gedanke an sie verfolgt mich Tag und Nacht. Ich zerbreche mir den Kopf wie man ihr helfen konnte. Leider bin ich hier auf fremden Boden, habe also wenig Einfluss. Ich soll Montag eine Frauen Sitzung besuchen wenn Sie mir etwas ~~kurz~~ neheres über Frau L. senden konnten konnte ich eventuel die Anwesenden auf den Fall aufmerksam machen.

Mit kameradschaftlichen Gruss.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937] Nov. 26 [London to Facundo] Roca, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 25 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

26 de Noviembre de 1937

Querido camarada Roca. Salud.

He sido notificada por el Banco en esta plaza que cheque por 1684.- ha llegado de París. Muchas gracias por tu atención a este asunto. He recibido asimismo tu carta. Hay un punto en ella que me produce alguna sorpresa. Es lo que me dices con respecto a Oriol Fernandez. Dices que su caso, por razones muy importantes no debería ser dado mucha publicidad. Esto es lo contrario de lo que el camarada Fernandez me pidió a mí que hiciera. El me dijo que la publicidad fuera de España de su caso era absolutamente necesaria. No solo para conseguir su libertad sino también como defensa sobre las miserables acusaciones hechas en contra de él. Fue a requerimiento que Souhy hizo una copia de su caso y el cual me iba a ser enviado clandestinamente. Naturalmente, no deseo hacer nada que pueda hacer daño a nuestro querido camarada o a la situación general de las cosas; pero, por otra parte, creo firmemente en la necesidad de una campaña de publicidad en favor de las víctimas del Gobierno Negrin-Stalin que están llenando las prisiones. Será debido a la campaña que se haga desde fuera que la libertad de estos camaradas podrá ser conseguida. Nosotros tuvimos que hacer lo mismo acerca de los presos políticos en las cárceles soviéticas y de este modo salvamos más de una vida por la propaganda llevada a cabo fuera de Rusia. Ruego me escribas otra vez dándome las razones por las cuales tu crees que al caso de Oriol no se le debe dar publicidad.

Creo que ya te he dado cuenta de mis planes de organizar un cuarto de lectura de nuestra prensa española en relación con una oficina de la SIA. Desafortunadamente he encontrado gran dificultad en encontrar un local adecuado. Los alquileres están muy elevados y la timidez británica, que más bien es cobardía, no está dispuesta a alquilar oficinas que estén conectadas con la CNT que sean para dedicarse a actividades antifascistas. Pero he visto dos o tres locales que tal vez puedan ser utilizados y espero dentro de una semana poder resolver algo definitivo. Entonces empezará el trabajo, pero te he de decir que será algo como tratar de llevar piedras a cuantas en los Pirineos. Tu y los demás camaradas en la oficina de París tenéis la mar de suerte. Vosotros obtenéis siempre respuesta de los franceses a vuestro trabajo. Los trabajadores ingleses carecen de espíritu y esta es la tragedia.

He enviado el libro sobre la Revolución Española al doctor y espero verle la próxima semana. No se todavía que oferta me hará, pero probablemente querrá que se le concedan los derechos de

The Emma Goldman Papers

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2 p.; 25 x 18 cm.

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1937
el editor que acepto para ser publicado la obra sobre anarco-sindicalismo. Esta obra sera publicada a fin de ano entrante. El citado editor tiene las oficinas de el Continente y tiene que ser consultado si la obra puede ser publicada en otros idiomas. Es una lastima que la persona que se encarga de la traduccion de Revolucion Espanola termine el trabajo mas pronto de forma que el mismo pueda ser utilizado por el editor que esta revisando el A proposito, rue ote preguntas al camarada Gelves si el arregle definitivos con un editor americano para Revolucion, pues si no ha hecho esto yo estaria dispuesto a la traduccion o el original a un numero de editores que me parezcan personales. Consultalo con Gelves y comuniquame lo que suelva.

Mi telefono es FULHAM 6829. La hora mas para que me encuentres en casa es media noche. Me agrada oir tu voz alguna vez y oir cualquier noticia de importancia que tengas que darme. Mientras tanto no dejes de enviarme material importante que me sea de ayuda en mi trabajo actual.

Mi traductor esta lleno de trabajo y solo puede hacer algun trabajo para la oficina quitando horas a su familia. Mientras el tiene los mejores deseos de hacer todo lo que puede, no puede, sin embargo, traducir con la rapidez que yo necesito. En este sentido tambien la oficina en Paris tiene mas suerte que yo, ya que vosotros hablais frances. Me consideraria satisfecha si un camarada espanol que supiese ingles pudiese dedicarme un tiempo a ayudarme en la oficina de Londres.

Si escribes a los camaradas Herrera o Vazquez que les escribire tan pronto como ultimate los arreglos para instalar la oficina.

Delegacion.

Da mis saludos fraternales a los camaradas.

Con saludos afectuosos para ti.

P.S. El "Daily Express" de esta plaza ha publicado un material acerca de nuestros camaradas en Espana. Recuerdo una contestacion que yo le envie, pero que hasta ahora no ha sido digno de publicar. Si no la publican hare copias para repartirlas entre el publico. Es necesario salir al paso a estas cosas no hace sino sentir a desmentirlos en lo que publican o lo to de causa o solo con caracter tendencioso.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880726116

[Receipt] 1937 Nov. 26, London [to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

26th Noviembre, 1937.

Recibido de the la Oficina de Informacion y de Prensa en Paris,
por conducto del camarada Roca, la suma de seiscientas ochenta
y cuatro libras esterlinas, cuya suma es el equivalente de
100.000 francos que el Comité Nacional, de Valencia asigno para
las actividades de la Oficina de Londres de la C.N.T.-F.A.I.

£684.0.0.

Londres, 26 de Noviembre de 1937.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 26, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer].—
1 p.; 21 × 17 cm.

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18230

Paris Nov. 26th 1937.

Dearest Emmotohka,

I got your letter yesterday, the one dted NOV.24th. and the check for the 10 dollars. It is very nice of you to have sent it. I will cash it today and return the money to Shapiro from whom I got a 10 dollar bill which was mailed to Marseille. I expect Selma to return this money, and as soon as it will come, I shall forward it to you with many thanks. The money Sanya gave me was from the Fund and that was rather unpleasant.

Am glad to have your statement about the 5 dollars. I will show it to Abe when he comes here, it's no good to write to Barcelona about such matters.

What surprised me very much was your question: whether I received the letter with the ten Shillings? Dearest, when did you send it out, and in what form? By ordinary or registered mail?

The only letter I got from you since your departure, was the one in which you sent the check. Before this, there came only one single post card dated Nov. 18th. Nothing else!

If you sent your letter (with the ten Shillings) registered, then it's O.K. you will get it back. But if you sent it as an ordinary letter, it would be a great mistake! The post office is now testing every letter and money should not be put in in an ordinary addressed letter! In any event, we never got it. It is a great pity if it got lost!!!! Did you send it out with some one? May be that party, just forgot to mail it (as it sometimes happens) and still has it in his pocket? Please, do find out whatever you can.

I subscribed you to: TERRE LIBRE, Le COMBAT and L'ESPAGNE NOUVELLE (each 6 months) but not the Russian paper for which I was waiting to get the ten Shillings.

It is too bad about your health not being better. Shall I ask Spector for the other medicin against the cough?

My cold is almost over, in a few days I will forget about it.

So long, dear! We both embrace you and send you our love and very best wishes for a quick recovery from all your troubles.

Yours devotedly

Mollie

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726163

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 26, New York [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / M[arie Al-
monte]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 19 cm.

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23590

Modest Stein
41 West Ninth Street
New York

Nov. 26 - 1937

My dear Miss Goldman,

I am writing this letter to you at the request of Modest, in answer to the letter from you that Walter Stanes forwarded. — You failed to mention your address so we are writing both to Paris care of Nellie Alperine & London. You will find this a duplicate of Modest's letter to you. — He is feeling much better but it is still a great strain on his eyes to write. — He has been getting to work the last two days & that is about as much strain as he can stand now to write his letter. —

"I did not figure out our proportioned share of the results for the sale of "Bon Reprint" & "adjacent properties", for the reason that you have not given me the exact amount of what you paid for it."

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1937 Nov. 26, New York [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / M[arie Al-
monte]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 19 cm.

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2) " But here are some figures" 28591

" I paid 20.000 " francs

" You paid either 80.000⁰⁰ or 100.000⁰⁰

" First of 200 - we must deduct the
commission (3,7 ~~000~~) from the Total 75.000⁰⁰

75.000⁰⁰

3.700

71.300

" In case you paid 80.000⁰⁰ we divide 71.300
in five parts - 3 which you get four parts
and I one part

" 71.300 divided by 5 gives 14260, meaning
that I am to receive 14260 francs &
four times that much or 57040 francs

" my share	14260
your "	57040
agent commission	3700

Total 75.000 francs.

' In case you paid 100.000 francs for
your share that would mean that
you paid five ~~times~~ times as much as I.

In that case after deducting the commission
3700 from the total of 75.000 we divide

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23592

Modest Stein
61 West Ninth Street
New York

"the remaining 71.300 in six parts."

"71.300 francs divided by 6 gives
11.883.33 - meaning that in that case my
share would be - 11.883 francs & 33 centes
yours would be five times that amount or
59 416 francs & 65 centes."

my share 11.883.33

your share 59.416.65

agents commission 3.710

74 999.98

"Short two centimes of 75.000.00 due to
omission of fraction"

"When sending me the amount due you
may disregard all the above technical
ties and just bear this in mind"

1. If you paid 80.000 francs my share is
14 240 francs

2. If you paid 100.000 my share is
11 883 francs
= 33 centes

"There is a possibility that you have
said a totally different figure - In this case

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monte]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 19 cm.

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4 figure out how many units of five
you have paid (for example) 75.000 francs
would be 15 units of five "

85.000 francs would be 17 units of five
90.000 " " " 18 " " "

" I myself sent 20.000 or four units of five
after deducting the commission divide
the balance of the money received from
Bon Spirit by the number of units
of five I've paid together. Multiply
the result by four & that will be
my share - the rest will be yours.

" However, I don't think so. That shall
be necessary as I believe my original
figures on your paying 80.000 francs for
Bon Spirit is correct "

" I shall send Mary some money
out the proceeds of my first job that I
get done. If you can in the mean-
while advance her some money I shall
feel pretty relieved as I am quite
worried about her. "

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726163

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 26, New York [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / M[arie Al-
monte]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 19 cm.

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23594

Modest Stein
41 West Ninth Street
New York

" I would like very much to hear from
you about yourself. So far it has been
mostly "Bon Spirit" - I hear about your
exile but it is all published in the
Jewish papers & I cannot read Yiddish
& it is a bit late to start to learn it,
though I believe it would not be difficult

" I do not know how far the movement
to get you into the U.S.A. has gotten
in fact there seems to be some friction
in regard to Roger Baldwin, but all my
information is second hand even third
& is very inaccurate. " I shall surely
see you when you come to Canada
even if I have to get out my red
passports in order to make the trip "

" Give me about that money the
value of the franc in American money
does not make us difference, whatever
bank you send it to will pay me.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 26, New York [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / M[arie Al-
monte]. — 6 p. ; 28 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6/ according to the quotations for the ~~figure~~²⁸⁵⁹
on the day of payment, - just have them
pay me in dollars. "At present I
think 100 francs is worth about 3.40"
"I have to run to the doctor now
for eye treatment, I go to see him
every day for treatment that usually
consists in practically counting
myself every time he fobs around
with my eye, but I am coming
along -"

True as ever
He.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937] Nov. 26 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / J[ack] R. White. —
3 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

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8 Tournai ¹⁷⁷³⁴ Sq. E
WC,
Nov 26 th

My dear Emma.

Thanks for the Kerenski
pamphlet which I return herewith
after reading it carefully &
for your 2nd letter.

Kerenski is a fearful story
which I was already fairly
familiar with, though your
pamphlet has added to my
knowledge of detail.

But I thank you for the
whole point in assuming that
Intok, as Intok's misdeeds
have nothing to do with
his followers here, still less
with odd free lances who may
be in contact with his
followers.

If I could find a single
Englishman capable of
mistakeable hate of anything
other than anarchists, I should
feel I had found the first

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929121

[Letter, 1937] Nov. 26 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / J[ack] R. White. —
3 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

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2

17738

requisite thread for
revolutionary activity.

I have come across one mind
in England F. B. Ridley with
any originality or synthetic
sense at all. I have only met
him once for a short time, but
I have read 2 of his books,
'History at the Cross Roads'
& 'The Pathway to Fascism'.
He is to be at the little
conference tonight. So far as
I know he is not in the
least a Trotskyist, but even if
he were, as Trotsky were to
be present himself, I
would attend to hear Ridley's
ideas hammered out against
those of others.

This prevailing love or fear
of identification with
particular groups is great
to me. All alike to-day
are bankrupt, & talk stale
lifeless nonsense. I would
attend a conference in

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929121

[Letter, 1937] Nov. 26 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / J[ack] R. White. —
3 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3
hell, over which Sartre
preluded, if I thought I
could come across ~~the~~
the perverted form by an
original idea or a deep
historical analysis.

I know The H.S.I. may are
an efficient filing office
and conscientious planners
to be ready to meet them
& refuse to meet people
like F.A. Ridley & C.L.R. James
is to prefer mediocrity to
genius, a thing I will
never do & even if the
genius is standing on its
head.

I enclose you a few C.I.V.I.C
leaflets. Have you heard
of our Liverpool meeting
It is in its way a unique
combination. You have not
yet congratulated me
on incarnating an instrument
to strike at the root of the
prevailing paralysis of soul
& mind.

Yours sincerely, J. R. White

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 27 [London to] Mollife Steimer, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 20 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18284

Nov 27th 37

Kollitchka. I am shocked to hear that my letter with the ten shilling bill failed to reach you. While it is not a great sum, it means a loss just the same which I can ill afford just now. I cannot remember the date when the letter was mailed, not registered unfortunately. Well, it cannot be helped. Inclosed is a check for 78 francs for the postcard. I hope it will reach you this time. I miss the paper else I would let it go altogether. I hope Selma or Abe's people will return the \$10. I sent it only because I knew you must be broke this being the end of the month. Of course when Abe writes he will be out of Spain in two three weeks it may mean months. It takes a hell of a time to get anything done there or get away. Something must have happened for Abe to want to leave. He was determined to stay on until summer anyhow. It is indeed most difficult for none Spanish to stand the strain, the cold and the hunger besides the things one cannot agree with. I hope Abe will let me hear from him soon.

I will read the Barton article and of course, thank you for it.

With much love.

Murling Seniuska. Thank you for your sweet letter. My dear I have often wanted to do something that would some day enable you to break your chains. Every time I am with you and Kollitchka I can see how you suffer and how you hate the slavery. If the money for the film camera will be the first step towards your liberation it will be worth more to me than the money. I hope you can really attend the school you told me about.

I embrace you with love.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 27 [London to] Jack [R.] White, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

27th November 1937.

Captain J. White,
8 Torrington Square,
W.C.1.

Dear Jack,

If we have nothing else in common it is our rotten handwriting. I at least amend for it by sending you typewritten letters; but you go on writing ~~being~~ hieroglyphics which take the combined effort of Ralph and myself to decypher and he is as dumb about it as I am.

I have come back to such a mass of work that I really have not the time to argue endlessly about the practicability of joining forces between such extreme opposites as Anarchism and Marxism. Bakunin was more brilliant than I and he has to give up the alignment with Marx, Engels and their followers. Since then many years have passed during which anarchists have tried to combine with the Marxists adherents. It has proved detrimental to the anarchists and to our movement. And in light of the Russian Revolution, where the anarchists fought on every front and laid down their lives to help put Lenin in power, the German Revolution where again the anarchists had been used to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the Socialists; but last and most important the part of the Marxists in the Spanish Revolution, it would be sheer suicide to again ally myself with the various political Marxists factions. I am sure my dear to seem sectarian; but I am dealing with facts, not with sentiments.

However I have not said that I would not be willing to meet Mr Ridley or Mr James, or any other individual socialist. You speak of Mr Ridley as a genius. He may be that but the fact that you have only met him once makes your enthusiasm somewhat hasty. Besides you will admit that all of us react differently to people. What may be a great genius to you need not at all be the same to me. That only by the way. Not having met the man I am not in a position to say one way or the other. I can only say that if you can arrange for me to meet these people you hold in such high esteem I will be delighted to make their

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 27 [London to] Jack [R.] White, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

acquaintance. It has always been my opinion that the individual is bigger than his creed or theory provided they do not make it. I am therefore only too willing to meet the man you write about. I will be delighted if you can arrange for this week, either afternoon or evening beginning Thursday. I already have a number of engagements for the first three days of the week.

I quite agree with you that genius is to be preferred to mediocrity. Genius is the rarest thing in the world and not every one who poses as such fills the bill; but when it comes to a movement, genius would do it more harm than good. We unfortunately need the dumb masses even if the majority of it consists of mediocrity.

Yes I have read your C.I.V.I.C. leaflet. I consider it rather a sad commentary on British freethought that such an error should be considered something extraordinary in view of the fact of centuries of struggle against catholicism. I don't mean to belittle your part in it, no more than the part you are going to have in the Liverpool meeting; but I don't think you expect me to congratulate you. All the work we do is its own reward. We could not go on if we waited for recognition and congratulations for everything we do. I am sure I wish you luck in your undertakings.

Yours sincerely

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 27, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Martin [Gudell]. —
2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 24
TELÉFONO 14781 - 41

1933

TELÉFONOS:

CENTRALITA 14781

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Barcelona, 27 de Novembre 1937

Mtrs. Emma Goldman:

Chère camarade:

Il y a trois jours que est venue me voir votre amie Adams et m'a communiqué que vous n'avez rien reçu du matériel que vous m'avez laissé pour vous transmettre. Je pense vous assurer que tout ce matériel est parti d'Espagne et s'il s'est égaré, ce sera, sans doute, à la poste anglaise et il serait convenable que vous fassiez l'opportune réclamation. Je ne me rappelle pas très bien, mais peut-être j'ai mis dans une ou deux enveloppes le n° 28 au lieu du n° 18. Cela n'est qu'une supposition. Si pour faire la réclamation vous avez besoin que l'on fasse quelque chose d'ici vous n'avez qu'à le dire; mais je pense qu'il sera suffisant avec votre réclamation.

Augustin m'a parlé de que vous n'avez pas reçu le matériel concernant Aurelio. Je ne me rappelle pas de quel matériel il s'agit car je ne me souviens pas que vous l'avez laissé. Peut-être vous faites référence à quelques articles parus dans la presse française concernant à Aurelio.

Nous avons fait la traduction et lui-même s'est engagé à y répondre avec des rapports concrets. Encore nous n'avons pas reçu cette réponse, mais aussitôt que je l'aurais je vous ferais parvenir une copie.

En ce qui concerne le matériel de G. Oliver, je ne vous l'ai pas remis car il ne m'est pas parvenu du Ministère de la Propagande. Je vous le ferais parvenir opportunément.

Si vous me faites parvenir vos lettres directement, avec grande attention à ce que vous dites, car nous savons que l'on lit nos lettres très soigneusement.

Veuillez agréer, chère camarade, mes salutations bien fraternelles.

*Ich schicke Ihnen heute auch ein
Zertifikat von Arthur Chambers. Das sollen
dem Gen. Fenner Brockway übergeben.
Vor einige Woche er hat es verlangt
und erst jetzt schicken wir es ihm*

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 27, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Martin [Gudell]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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19334

weil nur gestern haben wir es bekommen.
Ich habe heute von Paris zwei en-
glishische Theaterstücke bekommen, die
waren in eine "Hörseque" "Hörseque" ein-
gewickelt. Ein heisst Wintersit by
Maxwell Henderson und der "Mother"
based on Gorki's novel by Bert
Brecht. Ist es nicht für "Ludizato de
Espectaculo Publico"?

Hertzliche grüße für Ihnen und
Freunde
Euer Martin

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 27 [Paris to Emma Goldman, London] / E[dgar G.] Newman. — 1 p.; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Werte HGenossin,

27 novembre 1937.-

Besten Dank fuer Ihren Brief vom 26.11.

Ich bin sehr froh, dass der Brief noch nicht weiter verbreitet ist. Hier in Paris existiert wohl nur ein Exemplar, welches wir bereits neutralisiert haben.

Ich weiss nicht, wer den Brief von Katja Landau an das CNT Organ gegeben hat. Der betr. Brief ging mir im Original zu und habe ich ihn sofort an die zuständige Stelle geleitet, die fuer die Verbreitung gesorgt hat. Ich hatte allerdings geglaubt, dass Sie eine andere Abschrift durch Souchev bereits in Haenden haetten, sonst haette ich Ihnen direkt eine Abschrift gleich zugeschickt, ohne auf die Veroeffentlichung zu warten.

Alles Neues, was wir von Katja haben geht aus einer Karte hervor, die die Frau von Gerh. Henschke an ihren Mann geschrieben hat. (s. anl. Abschrift) und die gestern eingetroffen ist. — Wir halten natuerlich die Nachricht fuer durchaus keinen Beweis ueber den Tod von Kurt. Es passt naemlich zu gut in die Ziele der Regierung, denn

- 1.) erreichte sie dadurch, dass der peinliche Hungerstreik abgebrochen ist (der dadurch m.E. so wertvoll war, dass er im Ausland grossen Lärm verursacht hat und zahlreiche Protestationen bekannter Leute an Negrin und andere Minister, auch Compañys hervorgeufen hat.)
- 2.) die Delegation, die endlich unten ist, wird sich mit der Bestaetigung des Todes von Kurt begnuegen, und keine weiteren, unangenehmen Nachforschungen anstellen.

Jedenfalls haben wir darauf das Programm des Bruders geaendert. Wir werden sehen, dass England fallen laesst und morgen oder uebermorgen nach Sp. geht,

- a) um zu versuchen, Katja mitzunehmen. Es ist ja nicht klar, ob sie wirklich frei ist,
- b) um zu versuchen, Beweise ueber das Schicksal Kurts zu bekommen. —

Seit gestern abend versuchen wir vergeblich, Ch. Wolff zu erreichen, denn von seinem Rat werden wir die Realisierung unserer Plaene stark abhaengig machen, sowie auch vom Rat von F. Adler, der morgen in Paris ist, aber der wohl nicht ganz uneigennuetzig sein duerfte bei Beurteilung der Zweckmassigkeit. — Wir denken aber, dass Empfehlungen von A. viel zur persoenlichen Sicherheit Freddie beitragen koennten.

Ich werde Sie dann weiter auf dem Laufenden halten.

Mit kameradschaftlichem Grues

Edgar G. Newman

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 28, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / W.S. Van [Valkenburgh].— 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Walter Sterrett
419 East 5th Street
New York N Y

28 November 1937

17423

Dear B: A letter dated the 9th of October reached me in the afternoon on the 20th of November without the enclosures you mentioned for Vanguard, and Fitis. Thara was, however, a letter for Stella and one for Modest Stein. I mailed both and have received an acknowledgment from Marie Almonte in behalf of Mr Stein who was ill at the time she wrote me— she thanked me and asked for your address since you evidently failed to note it in your letter. Stella has not acknowledged receipt of her letter as yet. I also made copies of the first five paragraphs of your letter and one of each to Vanguard, Fraia Arbitar Stimme, Cultura Proletaria, Il Martello, Tom Bell, Yelensky, Ben Capes, Jeanne Levey, Modest Stein, Fitis. It made a page and a half of closely typewritten script of most interesting information. Indeed you need a secretary, quite as much to make sure you enclose everything you say you are enclosing as to do your typing, difficult as I know that also to be.

Certainly, it would have been ill advised fully to have blamed you for not responding to letters sent to France while you were in Spain. I was more concerned about your safety than about a letter though of course I was most anxious to hear from you for news from Spain is sparse and unsatisfactory, the press stories being so irresponsible and distorted. I read with interest your letter regarding the position of the CNT-FAI as compared with previous letter between May and the latter part of August. It is one of those things which one situated as I am, far from the scene of things changing every minute, that leaves one in an impossible position wherein to criticize even though it seems that there is so much to find fault with. The contention that one not actually on the spot is in no position to have much to say is unanswerable— which merely makes matter worse for it is like swallowing castor oil without a chaser. It may all be explained satisfactorily in time, after it is all over, but to wait until then is so difficult. Another thing is the wholesome doubt about the leadership of the CNT in the light of some of the things they have done and statements they have made like the one of Lopes' about the plot and the Friends of Durruti. We know that such statements are mere subterfuge behind which there must be a reason, but a subtle reason which is calculated to make everything else uttered from the same source, doubtful.

Here, we really get more information about Spain from the POUL sources than from our own press. Even Cultura colours things most atrociously and the socialist press carries scarcely anything at all. Wagner, in the IWW One Big Union Monthly, has brought out some extremely interesting stuff from Souhy and Libertaine. Bertram Wolfe also has written a series of splendid articles having to do with the background prior to July 1936. Beyond this, there is little offered as consolation for the comrades. You know, of course about Rucker's new pamphlet THE TRUTH ABOUT SPAIN— a 48 page brochure chock full of vital and necessary information. But the trouble with a pamphlet is that it so soon ceases to be current.

You will please try to include in your next something with which to work, no matter in what form it may be. I will gladly type anything from whatever source and in whatever shape it might be. We, here, are simply famished for information as to what happened yesterday and what is likely to happen to morrow. What is the significance of the reported deal England is supposed to be making with Franco wherein Catalunya is to be left out and if there is really to be an annihilation of the population of Catalunya from the sea on the East and through Aragon from the West.

We understand that the communists have already done their worst and that their importance is receding but still they are a factor now with the caiques, now with the Fascists and then again joining hands with the Catholic Youth. It would seem that the final decision of Russia to bow to the will of England in withholding further support from Spain should open the eyes of even the most willfully blind of the faithful that Russia is just another national dedicated to self preservation.

If you could possibly let me have any notes you may have made, I will transcribe them and do with them what you will— but for goodness' sake let us have something here that will give us something to work with.

Tresca tells me that next week he will bring the entire letter as I sent it to him—that is to say that part having to do with Spain. He also tells me that Morris Ernst is very much interested in your getting into the States and we have a tentative arrangement for a meeting with Ernst in connection with that subject.

Grishkan has a little more than \$150. on hand and it will not be difficult to raise the remainder necessary when the time comes for it to be put to use. Will you please make

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 28, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / W.S. Van [Valkenburgh]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17424
EG:1
it little more clear what becomes of the \$300. Is it left as a deposit against your becoming a public charge or is it held as a guarantee of your return at a stated time? If that is the case, then the three hundred would simply be held by the customs authorities and returned at the time of your departure. Now as to the return ticket, you say that would be helpful in gaining entrance into Canada (?) or into the US (?). . . . Your wife... "But there would be the expense of a return ticket which would help with my entry in Canada and then means to live a few months, about five hundred dollars for that minus the \$300 that should be considered as a loan." Do you mean \$500 in all, minus the \$300 which would only leave \$200 for passage both ways and sustenance.... You must mean \$800 in all- \$300 for the deposit and \$500 for the return ticket and wherewithal with which to live in Canada till you can earn something! You will let me know for the above quoted sentence does not quite say that.
The matter of getting someone to do the necessary secretarial work in connection with the projected visa is the least for you to worry about- in a pinch, Sadie would help and do whatever I cannot do. It is more important to decide upon the method and upon whom to enlist and whom to approach and the best way to make that approach. I would not want to accept responsibility for tactfulness, dear EG, for that is one of those things I want there to get when it was being passed out. Has Baldwin been recently in touch with you? Perhaps the prestige of the ACLU may do the trick and perhaps RB will undertake the job, but I humbly suggest that someone else work with him for both he, personally, and the ACLU are definitely under the influence of the 12th Street gang. Perhaps Ernst and Ross or Weinberger could work in conjunction with Roger and I am sure it would be better if some such arrangement could be made for the ACLU isn't going into fits of ecstasy over your entrance into the States without some tall pushing. I think you should just sit down and compose a little item on paper outlining just what you do and do not want done and then I will confer with the comrades and any others, who in your opinion, it would be wise to enlist. We do not have to use the FAS address- that was used for convenience when the issue of raising funds came up. Moreover the letter heading would scarcely suffice for letters having to do with the ~~existing~~ campaign for a visa for we haven't the right names there for that purpose. The matter of postage will be taken care of and I don't see why a private address could not be used instead of that of the FAS. It would not be necessary to have a telephone as far as I can see. But even if that were necessary, one can hire such facilities where one has the use of a central, prominently located address with the privilege of receiving telephone messages for a few dollars a week... In a pinch, it could be arranged that way. The most important thing, as I see it just now is the procedure preparatory to opening the case in Washington and the selection of the people to use as a front. I think you should have the first and final say in this matter because you know folks we have no way of knowing and our comrades need your personal guidance in a matter as important as this. The pity is that you can't come now when the work you could do would be most helpful rather than wait till next spring which all our comrades may be dead- today's Times says Franco gives the Government till December 5th to unconditionally surrender or else face extinction! You will write as soon and as fully as you can- I am too distracted with this all to be able to write more today. Greetings, dear comrade-

van

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416

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 28, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Pedro Herrera [and] Mariano R. Vázquez. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo
 y
 Federación Anarquista Ibérica
 —
 Relaciones Exteriores
 —

Nº 763.

BARCELONA, 28 de noviembre de 1.937.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
L o n d r e s .

Estimados camaradas:

Os adjuntamos a la presente, copia de un artículo aparecido en "La Correspondencia de Valencia", del día 25 de los ctes, para que sea reproducido por vosotros.

Es de señalar la importancia que tiene, que órganos en la prensa ajenos a nuestro Movimiento, hablen de esta forma de la conducta de nuestra Prensa.

"La Correspondencia de Valencia", es órgano de la Unión General de Trabajadores.

En espera de que procederéis a la reproducción indicada, os saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR F.A.I.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL C.N.T.

Pedro Herrera

CONFEDERACION ANARQUISTA
 IBERICA
 F. A. I.
 COMITE PENINSULAR
 SECRETARIADO

CONFEDERACION ANARQUISTA
 NACIONAL
 SECRETARIA

Mariano R. Vázquez,

Secretario.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter 1937] Nov. 28 [Paris to Emma Goldman, London] / E[dgar G.] Newman. —
1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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18055

28.11. Wir haben gestern noch Ch. Wolf erreicht und daraufhin
beschlossen, dass Fredi Landau vor, ausfig nicht nach Spanien geht,
sondern hier abwartet, bis die Verbindung mit der Delegation herge-
stellt ist, - um von ihr erfahren, wie jetzt die Sache steht, -
Ausserdem geht diese Woche eine Delegation gebildet von
Major Attles, Ellen Wilkinson hinunter. Wir wuerden versuchen, die
Leute in Paris zu erreichen, -
Schliesslich erfahren wir heute von Fritz Adler, dass ueber die
Sachen im Manchester Guardian gestern und vor 4 Tagen ein Artikel
erschienen ist. Koennen Sie, werthe Genossin, nachforschen, was es damit
auf sich hat und mir die betr. Exemplare des M.G. senden, da wir sie
hier nicht mehr auftreiben koennen?
Allerbesten Dank im Voraus

Ihr



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 29 [London to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

in all the years in England I have never had either. It is the old
refrain but remains pugnantly new all the time
Love to the family and yourself.

18204

Nov 29th 37.

Darling. I understood that your weeks holiday in New York is not going to leave you time to write me at length. It is alright especially as I got your card. Still I am awaiting your account eagerly especially about your visit with Moe and Ruth. I wrote you at length early last week. You will have found the letter on your return to Bearsville. I also inclosed copy of my letter to Rudolf. As I am not sure whether you still receive Spain and the World I am sending you a copy of my Durruti tribute to the first anniversary of his death.

While I have a hundred irons in the fire since I returned I cannot attend to any one thing until we have the new offices I am trying to find for a reading room, a small exhibition of childrens drawings I brought with me for an office of the London section of the International Anti-Fascist ~~Solidarity~~ Solidarity ~~and~~ a new organism created in Spain by our people, and also an office for Spain and the world. Not that I am hopeful this will attract more attention and response than anything else I have tried in this damnably unyielding country. But until I have established a sort of center for people to come who are seeking to learn something about Anarchism and the CNT-FAI I will really not be able to judge whether there is anybody who gives a damn. The CNT-FAI agreed to my suggestion of a center and will back the expenses connected with it. The difficulty is to find a suitable place. Rents are frightful in the center of London, and several owners have refused to let us have their premises that was what we wanted. But we have not given up hope, though it may take time to find the place mit alle miles. Meanwhile I am preparing the stuff that will have to be sent out to some trade union branches, the only hope, faint as it is of reaching the workers in this country. And also a letter to people in various walks of life to interst them in the new organism the CNT-FAI have organized. I see a section has already been created in America, Rudolf is in charge of it. The abbreviation of this new body is SIA. Its functions are to take care of refugee men women and children of which Catalonia alone has over two millions, and also to look after victims of bombardments and other such dreadful shocks which are now a daily occurrence in every city and hamlet town in anti-Fascist Spain. All this work before does not exclude the work of the London Office of the CNT-FAI which remains in my flat. It is just as well that I will be kept busy. For, to live in England without strenuous activities would drive me mad. It is hard as it is. The weather this year so far has been more

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 29 [London to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18205

atrocious than ever. Thick fog every day and evening since I arrived the 18th. Last Thursday friends of mine took me to see the Habima company in Uriel Acosta. They came for me in a car. It took us an hour to get to the theatre and it mean taking ones life in ones hand so impenetrating was the fog. You can imagine how depressed I feel all the time.

You will see by the notaires what is left of the sale of Bon Esprit. It will be less when Stein gets his share. Between you me and the map post it is Rodkas negligence which is responsible for part of the loss. I wrote him for an authorisation last March I believe. At that time the pound was 105 francs. It did not arrive ~~until June~~ until June when the pound was 120 francs. Since then there was an other delay of months because Mollie did not send me the letter Sandstrom wrote about a receipt for 720 which Mussier is supposed to have sent me in 1930 and without which the new owner could not take possession of Bon Esprit. It was not until my return from Spain the 6th of this month that I could settle this now expence. In other words the damnable delay made me lose 42 francs on the pound on the 75,000 nearly two thousand dollars. There seems to be a regular curse on all ~~my financial~~ financial transactions I touch. It was the same with Living My Life. Now the last piece I woned or ever again will own. I am sick at heart. And there is the sad thought of all that bound Sasha and me to Bon Esprit. Well, it has to be faced sax as so many other painful experiences my life.

I am looking forward to you account of your visit with Moe. It must have meant a great deal to have you and David for 24 hours. I know what it feels like to be alone especially nights. I am at least in possession of my limbs and can get about. But my own brother how he must feel. I dare not think of his tragedy too much. It makes me so unhappy. I must at least keep in touch with him regularly every week.

The inclosed copy of my letter to the Londo Express will show you the lies one is confronted with about the CNT-FAI and the black columny. Of course the rotten sheet did not bring in Spains tragedy and suffering are no longer news, the papers are no longer interested in the heroic struggle and sacrifice. I spent nearly a pound for two cables without result. The New York Evening Post did not reply at all. And the Scripps syndicate refused them but they would consider the articles if I will submit them but they would not give me a guarantee to pay the cost of secretary. It is too vague to me to waste my time and spend at least eight pounds secretarial help. So I will prepare a few articles for our own paper. If only our papers had such puny circulation. Such wonderful material of the collectivise farms I brought with me. But where is one to place it? In America I could make use of it for the platform. No one can not hope to fill a fair sized hall. And the inertness and cold indifference of English audiences take all desire for public speaking.

Yes, indeed the Fifth Ave Hotel brought many pleasant results. But also the bit of pang that A. is closed to me, the only place where my efforts could bring results and the work some satisfaction. It is the

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 29, London [to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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London Nov 29th.37.

18287

Dear Modest. I wrote you from Paris on my return from Spain. I do not remember the date but it was about the tenth. Unless your condition of your mental trouble has given you a great deal of suffering I should have a reply by this time. Last week I received a letter from Bernard in St Tropez. Here is a copy of it. You will see what a dreadful loss we both have incurred between the time I wrote you for your authorization when the pound was 105 francs and now when it is 147. About \$1800 ~~xxxxxx~~ on the sale of Bon Esprit and being a better mathematician than I you can figure out what you are losing. But it is no use lamenting what cannot be recalled. From Paris I wrote you that I could not drop the negotiations of sale not only because of the 3700 francs I would have had to pay the agent. But also because it was too excruciating to have to return to Bon Esprit. I was quite certain after my two weeks alone there and only with the haunting memories of Sasha that I could never live there again. And to keep the place unoccupied over winter would also be a considerable expense for its upkeep or let it go to ruin. The speculation that the frank may rise ~~xxx~~ did not appeal to me either. Besides the European sky is too black with war possibilities. If at least St Tropez were more centrally situated, near a large city. But to be cooped away in Bon Esprit, or not have a chance to get there even if I wanted to go on using it was also not a pleasant prospect. In how our places are SOLD. There is no help for it any more.

Do you want me to give Mary anything out of the amount due you. Whatever Mary lacks she has enough stubbornness to beat the two of us. For years her mind was on an operation. It was only Sasha's grip on her which prevented this crazy idea. Every physician and surgeon who ever examined her and made X-rays of which she must have a large collection advised against an operation except one in Nice who is a regular butcher and cares nothing for his patients. Its all for his glory. He said she would recover if "he" operated. When she was with her people in Czechoslovakia a great specialist consulted by her mother said an operation would be her death. She reported it herself. But nothing would avail but she must return to Nice and have an operation. So far she has not yet carried out her idea fixe nor do I know how she lives. I sent her five hundred francs. But that will not go far with the present cost of living in France. Frankly I don't know what will become of the unfortunate creature. ~~ixxix~~ Still I will send her five hundred francs a month for a year. I can do no more.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 29, London [to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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10288

Moe whom you will remember has lost his position owing to years of illness ~~and~~ His leg had to be amputated and it is only with the greatest of care and rest that he is at all able to go on living. His wife an invalid for years and away from nursing for a long time is now forced to take cases occasionally to earn their living. I must send them something every month. I am telling you this only because I do not want you to think that I am not doing enough for Emmy. ~~Anyway~~ Anyway let me know whether to send you the full amount or if you want E. to have something out of it. I will act accordingly.

London is as hateful as ever. But with the whole world a fortress one has no choice between one and another. I had planned to sail for Canada on my return from Spain. But my comrades there insisted on my resuming work for them here. And as nothing means so much to me now than the struggle in Spain I came back to London. I may go to Canada in the spring, largely for the purpose of trying of trying to get back to A. for six months. My friends there mean to try. But I cannot say I share their hopes.

I wonder how you are dear Mods. Any improvement in your face, I don't mean in the sense of beauty, you always had that of course I mean in health. Please do take an hour and write soon.

Affectionately as always

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 29 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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19319

Nov 29th 37

My dear Martin. I did not tell Mrs Adams that I did not receive your letters. I only asked her to tell you that half of the material I gave you, notes on collectivisation from my tour with Soucy and the F. case did not reach me. I have received YOUR own letters dated the 11th and I believe 6th of this month. But not the material. It is not the fault at this end, everything arrives except from Spain

Thank you for the L'Adunata. But we are getting it. I inclose a copy of my letter to the Catalan Express. Of course they did not print it. Perhaps the Soli will use it. I also sent a copy to Vazquez whom I have just written on a number of things. You can see the difficulties confronting me here. A complete conspiracy of silence in the press, or the most outrageous lies. No comrades worth mentioning to work with. But of course I will not give up.

Just now we are having a hard time finding a place for the reading room and offices I mean to establish. Most owners do not want to have us and the rents are high. But we must make an another effort. Dear Martin I told you about the reading room I mean to establish. For this I must have as many of our papers in Spain as possible. We just heard from the Fragua Social asking us to subscribe to their paper. That is ridiculous. Surely they want the outside world to know about the struggle of the CNT-FAI. The less they can do is to send us their paper. Will you write them and explain.

In haste with greetings to all the comrades and yourself

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Nov. 29, London [to Mariano R.] Vázquez, [Paris] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 29 de Noviembre de 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

725

Querido camarada Vázquez:

He recibido tu carta desde París, relacionada con la publicación en América del libro "El 19 de Julio", de lo que me alegro bastante, si bien he de manifestarte que el costo de publicación en los Estados Unidos es muy elevado lo que desgraciadamente hace casi imposible que las obras estén al alcance del proletariado. En Inglaterra, donde la mano de obra y los materiales cuestan menos, la publicación de una obra sale por la mitad de lo que cuesta en los Estados Unidos.

Sin embargo, la autorización que tu me enviaste cuando estaba yo aun en España, no era para publicar "El 19 de Julio" sino el libro "Proceso Histórico de la Revolución Española". Te interesé que me consiguieses la autorización para publicar esta obra porque los editores ingleses, George Allan and Unwin, habían escrito a la Oficina de Propaganda Exterior, expresando interés por la obra, que tal vez se decidirían a publicar. El traductor de la mencionada firma se ocupa actualmente de la lectura del libro y han quedado en avisarme si es que lo publicarán o no. En caso afirmativo sería una lástima rehusarlo, ya que como te he dicho antes, libros en Inglaterra salen mucho más baratos que en América. Según tengo entendido, en París están haciendo una traducción al inglés, que supongo sea de la Revolución Española. De ser posible debería ser usada también para Inglaterra. Por supuesto, yo podría igualmente encontrar quién lo publicase en América, ya que estoy en contacto con varios editores; pero ello ha de ser decidido por la C.N.T., desde luego. Unicamente deseo hacerte presente que creo ~~equivocado~~ equivocado el que los camaradas que trabajan en París tengan la facultad de decidir las obras que han de ser publicadas en inglés, ya que no se puede esperar tengan el conocimiento necesario del idioma para poder juzgarlo; como tampoco un conocimiento profundo de la psicología anglo-sajona para poder determinar qué obra será de más agrado a lectores ingleses y americanos. Fué basada en estas consideraciones el que te pidiera que me concediesen el derecho de intervenir yo en el asunto. No tengo ningún interés personal en ello, excepto que lamentaría que vuestros libros fuesen publicados al inglés mal traducidos y en condiciones que no permitieran fuesen a parar a un gran núcleo de lectores.

Próximamente volveré a escribirte sobre otras cosas, tan pronto como termine con la instalación de la nueva oficina y cuarto

de lectura encaminado a atraer la atención de los obreros ingleses hacia los asuntos de España.

Tuya y de la causa porque luchamos
Salud. Emma

Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 29 [London to Mariano R.] Vázquez, [Paris?] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

M 2155

London Nov 29th 37.

Dear comrade Vazquez. I received your note ~~via~~ from Paris regarding the publication in America of "El Julio 19 36 a Julio 37th. I am glad to hear it is to be published in America. Unfortunately the prices for books in America make them prohibitive for the workers in England where labor and material are cheaper, hence books are published for half the price than in the States.

However, the authorisation you sent me while I was still in Spain was not for "El 19 de Julio" it was for "PROCESO HISTORICO DE LA REVOLUCION ESPNALO". I asked you for ~~this~~ the authorisation of this book because the English publishers Goerge Allan and Unwin have written to the Oficina de Propaganda Exterior expressing interest in the work and saying they might publish/ It. They are now reading the book as they have a Spanish reader and they will let me know whether they intend to get it out. If they do it would be a mistake to refuse their offer because as I said books in England can be had at a smaller price than in America. I understand an English translation is being made in Paris. I suppose it is of the Spanish Revolution. If possible that should be also used for England. I could of course also find a publisher in America as I am in contact with several. But that is the affair of the CNT to decide. I only wish to point out that it is a mistake for Spanish comrades working in Paris to have the authority to decide English publications. They cannot possibly have the knowledge of the language to judge its accuracy, or the knowledge of Anglo-Saxon psychology to know what will appeal to English and American readers. It was for this reason that I asked for the authorisation to deal with the matter. I have no personal interest except that I should hate to

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Nov. 29 [London to Mariano R.] Vázquez, [Paris?] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 25 × 19 cm.

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19156

your books published in bad English and by comrades themselves who have

no way in reaching large numbers of readers. For the rest you can decide for yourself.

I will write about other matters just as soon as I have established new offices and reading room as a center to attract the workers in this city in the work for Spain.

Salud.

However, the information you sent me while I was

still in Spain was not "I am in Spain" it was for "PROGRO

HISTORICO DE LA REVOLUCION" I received you for this

the authorisation of this book for the publishing

books. When published, it will be the first book in the series.

order extra copies for the workers in the work for Spain.

It may be that you have a Spanish reader and

they will be interested in the work for Spain.

It would be a pity if the work for Spain is not

book in the work for Spain.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Nov. 30 [London to Roy W.] Howard, [New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10289

Nov 30th 37.

My dear Mr Howard.

Thanks a lot for your kind letter of the 19th inst. I rather think there was some kind of a misunderstanding. The United Press did send a man, his name is Reuel S. Moore, and he was awfully nice. He did see some of my photographs I brought with me out of Spain and we talked of the articles I wanted to write. But he saw no material in by that you mean complete articles. I did however tell Mr Moore that I had taken copious notes of all the collectivised villages and factories I had visited, also notes of the new schools, and last but not least the great work done by a group of university women in raising the statue of the Spanish women so far behind their position in many other countries. Mr Moore said he would cable you that I would expect a guarantee of the expense of a secretary and the loss of two weeks in preparing the articles in case you should not accept them. Yesterday when your letter arrived I called Mr Moore on the phone. He told me that he had written you all particulars and he hopes to hear from you. So do I. I would very much like your ~~xxxx~~ chain of papers to bring the articles because I would be sure of fair treatment. Being so far away from my erstwhile country and with so many sad experiences with news-papers in the States I would not feel quite so secure as with you. I take it the tradition of fairness your father had established still prevails. When I say secure I mean I would be sure that no vital changes to destroy, or misrepresent the spirit of the articles would be made.

If you are still interested please cable me or write exactly what you want as far as the length of the articles is concerned. Mr Moore spoke of 2000 words for separate articles. They could be shorter if necessary. Naturally they will be written in a simple and vivid style rather than academic. My plan would be to write an introduction comprising the political situation in anti Fascist Spain as I found last year and on my recent visit. Then three articles dealing with collectivised farms and industries. One article on the new schools. And finally one on the work of the women. Or just on the collectivised undertakings. I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours

P.S. Mr Moore as a true news-paper man did get an interview with me. But that should not interfere with the articles.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 19]37 Nov. 30, London [to] Samuel Fr[ie]dman, New York / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p. ; 8 × 13 cm.

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Lin

London Nov 30th 37.

Dear Comrade. We have received the shipment of comrade Rockers pamphlet on Spain. It will be utterly impossible to sell them at ~~£1.50~~ 15 cents which means fully 7d here. If we are to sell it in large numbers we will have to charge no more than 6d and get it from you at fivepence, about 12 cents. The pamphlet is one of the most important small works Rudolf has written and we want it broadly circulated. Alas, England is a poor country for literature at best. So do let us have a reasonable reduction so we can sell a lot. I am in the throes of writing a long report about my visit to Spain, also about the political persecutions. I hope to have it ready to mail you and our English comrades early next week. Greetings to all the comrades.

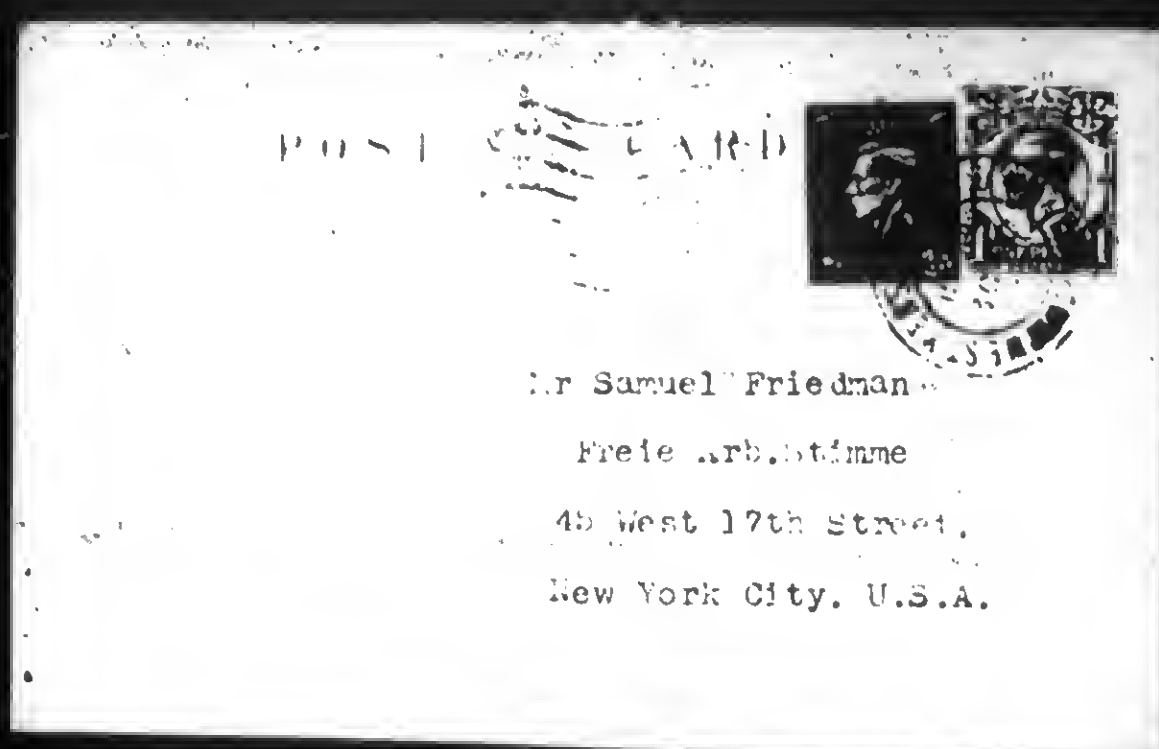
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428

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[Postcard, 19]37 Nov. 30, London [to] Samuel Fr[e]dman, New York / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p.; 8 × 13 cm.

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[Postcard, 1937? Dec.? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].--
2 p.; 7 x 11 cm.

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17199

PS will write that appeal Sun. when
Friday I have the material from you. Don't
want to tackle it without that.

Dearest Emma, thanks for card. I left my old-
fashioned but most useful leather bag on the divan
in the back room when I came on Wed - I guess you'd
not be too 'grand' to bring it along to the Ivy
with you tomorrow, dear; give it to the page-boy
to mind for us in the cloakroom.

Blessings, and I looking forward to seeing
you tomorrow.

Much love

I too am ver. glad I came Wed. I feel happier
about things now - and feel with you that one can
but try, as telling of this.

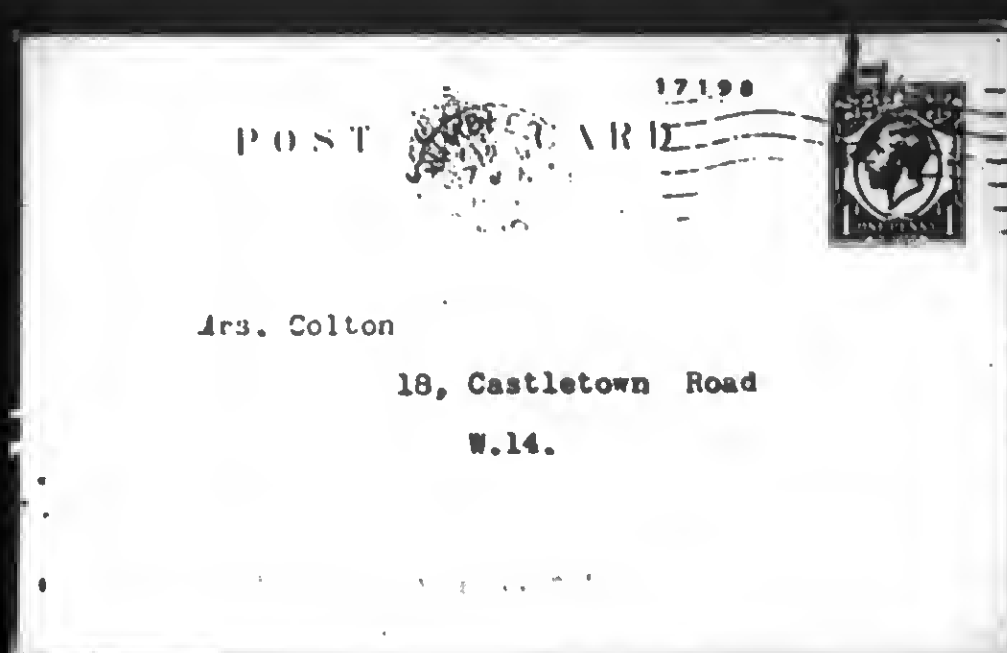
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[Postcard, 1937? Dec.? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. —
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Dec.?] London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman].—
2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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40x434
40x151

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W.14

London

Sunday

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

My own, sweet thought Ethel.
Your flowers have brought
the light of spring. They are more
brilliant than the dreary weather. Have you
again by your loving thought.
Here is Nevins' letter. Do you
blame me that English people
freeze my blood. He exceptionally
only proves the rule, doesn't he?
Dearest would you write Hain
man? Here is a copy of the text
"Nevins" married with some names
among the contributors in the
magazine "Authors take sides."
Ralph is looking up here

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The Emma Goldman Papers

810519631

[Letter, 1937 Dec.?] London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman].—
2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

addresses. I am going to
write the same of Bern to
whom my name may have
come meaning - good, as well.
I hope ^{may} the same among Bern
you know as you may
know some one who
knows Bern. I will send
you the rest.

Wahung has offered no
suggestion as to go would
write. Had the readiness
and callousness of people
in the face of the tragedy in
Spain! It really makes me
glad to see. More reason to
cling to the one warmly responding
human being, you my dear
child. Not true. Emma
is definite about Reg going on as planned.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Dec.? London to Augustin? Souchy?, Barcelona?] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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18212

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W.14

London

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear Comrade. Thanks for your letter and for forwarding my important letter to Vazquez. Here is some more that must go to him quickly and safely.

"Naturally you cannot understand that an English publisher is more pedantic than a Spanish. He simply will not make a decision unless he has the whole manuscript before him. SO I MUST INSIST THAT YOU RUSH THE BALANCE OF THE MSS IN THE ENGLISH TO ME. How long does it take your translator to do the job which by the way is by no means perfect and will have to be revised. If we wait much longer the ~~PROCEIO~~ PROCEIO HISTORICO will be out of date. So I repeat RUSH THE REMAINS OF THE MSS OR AS MUCH AS YOU CAN GET FROM THE TRANSLATOR

Inclosed are our folder for SIA and our special Supplement for the SIA to SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

SALUD.

434

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec., Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein]. — 1 p.; 29 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23671

Nice, December 1937.
American Express Co.,

Dear Emma:

I thank you very heartedly for the five hundred for the next month from you and the five hundred for Modest. I will thank him myself very soon. They came late but welcome, I bet! I am very, very glad and relieved.

After two months of atrocious suffering, of whom I nobody can really tell the nature, only that the attacks make me suffer more and more and are longer --- I am a BIT better. I will, though, after the holidays, go for observation to see if the intestines have fallen still. If you would see my Xrays made last year you would understand, dear Emma. Such a fallen intestine my doctors have not seen before. Well, then.

I had such a lovely stay with Kay and Laurence and our friendship has come to bloom more than ever. They are the finest people I can think of..... If I am well enough I will accept their sweet invitation to come back. Only when I will have to stay in bed for two months again as I did there, I think I have no right to do so.....

Am living near Nelly. See her often and she also is much alone.. She looks splendid, always well, (knock wood) and always nicely dressed etc.....

Yes, sure, you are right, the weather here is O.K. It is, the thing you know. Emma of my past that I have to think of every step, it makes it very sad.... I want Nice and I don't like it --- all the for the same reason. I will soon have the force to go to our beloved Sashenka. Oh, Emma, I am looking forward to now, though I am not quite ready yet. All will start anew... you know and you understand all that.....

Haven't hears a long time from Stella and would like to know how she is and the children.

I hope Emma, that you are physically well, and know that I am always very glad when you write me. I hope you have forgotten about that very nasty letter you wrote me, that was not worth of my friend Emma.

Your Emmy always.

Emmy Eckstein

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 1 [London to Edgar G. Newman, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18056

Ms Dec. First, 37.

Dear Comrade, English has been my language for a ~~half century~~
half century. It comes easier than German, especially when I am
in an hurry. And I am to day. I received your letter Monday but
Tuesday being the day for my large American correspondence I had
to postpone writing you until to day.

Before I received your letter I talked to Fenner
Brookway over the phone. I suggested that he get in touch with
Atlie and Wilkinson that they should interest themselves in Katia
Landaus case even if they are not brave enough to take up all the
POUM and CNT-FAI prisoners. He assured me that this had already
been done through Marton. Fenner did not know where this Labor
delegation could be reached in Paris. Else I should have wired you.
I sincerely hope you succeeded in getting in touch with them before
they go to Spain. I have little faith in Atlie. But Wilkinson may
be human enough to demand the liberation of Katia Landau. The main
thing is she should not depend on promises, but insist right there and
then.

I have succeeded in interesting the secretary of the
SIX POINT GROUP, a powerful womans organisation in London. They have
done much for several women in Hitlers concentration camps. And Miss
Monica Whateley, the Seert. promised me to rouse interest in K.L.s
case. She is rather dependable.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 1 [London to Edgar G. Newman, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18056^A

I am glad to learn that comrade Landau suffering from the hunger strike has roused attention. I have not seen a word in any paper in London. Nor have I seen any reference to her case or the savage political persecution in the Manchester Guardian. It may have been before I reached London Nov. 16th. Since then I am reading the M.G. every day but have seen nothing. I cannot imagine that it escaped my notice. I am sorry.

My article on the political persecutions in Republican Spain will appear in our weekly papers SPAIN AND THE WORLD, published in London, in all the Anarchist Press on the Continent and in North America. I dare say it will also be republished in South America.

Fraternally.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 1 [London to] Monica Whately, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. --
1 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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17724

Dec. First 37

Dear Monica Whately.

I am sending you here with the list of the most outstanding cases, men and women in prison in Republican Spain. No charge of any sort, except the fantastic accusation of "Trotskyism" has been made against these unfortunates. All of them rushed to Spain to lie down their lives in the anti Fascist struggle. Now they are languishing in every prison of anti Fascist Spain.

I call your special attention to Mrs Katia Landaus case. and her letter to the Minister of the Interior. Her husband as I stated briefly the other night has vanished without leaving a trace and there is the justified fear that he may have been murdered as NIN, Rein the son of the famous Socialist Abramowitch and several others. No great indictment could be made against Franco's regime than the wanton murder of revolutionists by the Negrin-Stalin government in Spain. You may wonder that I say Negrin-Stalin government. Believe me it is not an exaggeration. For if Stalin is not in Spain in a physical sense his evil spirit is there and guides the hand of his satraps. More than England and France it is Stalin who has betrayed the Spanish people and the revolution. It seems incredible now. But as the truth will out some times it is certain that the world will leave the despicable part played by the Soviet government in Spain.

Please return the inclosed when you have read it.

Cordially.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 1, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo
Y
Federación Anarquista Ibérica
Relaciones Exteriores

Nº 825.

BARCELONA, 1 de diciembre de 1937.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. de Inglaterra.
Londres.

Estimados camaradas:

Por la presente os comunicamos debéis apresuraros a hacer gestiones para ver si lográis averiguar quien pueda tener por ésa, un manuscrito del camarada Santillán, para un libro titulado "LA REVOLUCION Y LA GUERRA EN ESPAÑA".

Es necesario que hagáis lo posible por encontrarlo é impedir su edición.

Examinado el mismo por el Comité Nacional de la C.N.T. y el Comité Peninsular de la F.A.I., hemos coincidido en considerar como un peligro enorme su edición.

Esperamos pues, que haréis los esfuerzos precisos para ver de localizar quien pueda tener ese manuscrito é impedir su publicación.

Cordialmente os saludan,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR F.A.I.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL C.N.T.

Pedro Herrera.

Mariano R. Vázquez.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 1, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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Nº 825.

BARCELONA, 1 de diciembre de 1.937.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. de Inglaterra.
Londres.

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POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR F.A.I.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL C.N.T.

Pedro Herrera.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Invoice] 1937 Dec. 1, Garden City, N.Y. [to] Emma Goldman, London / Garden City Publishing Company. — 1 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

STATEMENT

DATE Dec 1 - 1937

GARDEN CITY PUBLISHING COMPANY
INCORPORATED
GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK

Emma Goldman
C/o Max Barr
106 Cunningham Road
London W12 England.

Author

DATE	ITEM	CURRENT NO.	PREVIOUS	CREDITS	BALANCE
Sept 1	Bal		14 32		
sent check 13-54 Dec 1 26 Past Due 34					

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 2 [London to Alexander Schapiro, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17959

Dec. 2nd 37.

Dear Sania, I have been so busy since my return I had no time to thank you for the translation of my Durruti tribute. You did a grand job from that rush article I wrote a few hours before my departure from Paris and while I was cooking "the Lords supper" for the kids and myself. Thanks a lot my dear.

I discovered that the SIX POINT GROUP a Feminist organisation in London has undertaken to plead for ~~the~~ women politicals in ~~various~~ prison of Fascist countries. I at once called her attention to the women in prison in anti Fascist Spain and especially to Mrs Katia Landaus case. She went on a hunger strike Nov. 11th. While I have had no further news about her condition I know it must be grave because she is very frail when I saw her in one of the womens prisons in Barcelona. She was arrested before Kurt Landau who as you know has vanished without leaving a trace.

I saw Monica Whateley, the secretary last night. She told me she had been asked why she does not also take up the cases of women politicals in Soviet Russia. She said she would if a list of names could be given her. I wonder have you and Fanny such names and particulars of our women comrades in Stalins concentration camps? If you do please let me have them as soon as possible. I am writing Abramowitch and Steinsberg to send me the names of their comrades. Monica Whateley is rather a determine person and dependable as to keeping her promise. Moreover, she is a fiery feminist and would go a long way to pleade for women in whatever distress they may be. At any rate it will do no harm to let her try to demand an answer to her protest she means to send the Soviet government. Not that I think she will ever get it.

Have you read about the pact between the Russian trade unions and the Second International? It is such a farce. Some comment should be written about it. Don't you want to do it?

If I believed in the efficacy of prayer I would pray most devoutly that the conference of the I.A.A. will not end in a break up. It would really be a great disaster if our people will not be large enough to set aside their misunderstandings for the bigger issue of maintaining and strengthening morally at

The Emma Goldman Papers

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17940
importance of the CNT regardless of what the committee
guilty of or not. I dread to think there might be a split.
Your good offices Sania dear. There is so much at stake.

Affectionately always.

Kind greetings to Fanny. What about Carbo, where is he?

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443

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 2, London [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Monica Whately. —
1 p. ; 12 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

AD THE SIX POINT GROUP

17723

Telephone No.
MOUNTVIEW 1723.

31. BROOKFIELD.

WEST HILL,

LONDON, N.E.

2nd December, 1937.

Dear Emma,

I return your list as asked and a copy of the letter which I have sent to Ellen Wilkinson and also to the Spanish Embassy here. I cannot, of course, take up the cases of the men but only of those women who are being held as hostages without being brought to trial.

I will let you know the results of my enquiries.

It was so nice to see you last night.

Very sincerely yours,

Monica Whately

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 3, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, Hyères, France] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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A-01151

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London Dec. 3rd 37.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dearest Ethel.

I received your card. I admit it is not quite as satisfactory as your interesting letters. But I can wait until you will find time. I should hate to have you work beyond your strength to satisfy my enjoyment of your dear letters. Darling don't ever think that I will feel "fed up" with anything you write me. I wish I could put you at ease about this and other things. For instance, with your sticking to the I.L.P. My love for you and my regard has nothing to do with your political adherence. It has to do with yourself, with your passionate hatred of sham and hypocrisy and with your revolutionary spirit. I admit I was a bit surprised when you write that ~~your~~ ~~movement~~ "the very name of your movement frightens people away". My sweet Ethel since when does one join a movement when it is already a success? Since when are revolutionists deterred from joining a movement because it is still anathema? It seems to me that would just be the time to throw oneself into it with all one's intensity? Besides the first motivation of joining a movement should be one's passionate faith that it stands for real changes and not merely for political scene shifting which even the most sincere parties represent. But as I wrote before I would not want you to join the A. movement unless you reach the point that it is the only ideal of a new social order. So do not let this worry you about whether you should or should not leave the I.L.P. Yes, dearest I know your Party stands for more advanced ideas than the other labor parties. But also it stands for ~~dictatorship~~ dictatorship, true proletarian dictatorship. The trouble is that dictatorship is deadly no matter who dictates. But let us not worry about our differences on this issue. We have so much in common, our sweet friendship among them we need not discuss our political differences. Only one thing more. I do not doubt the sincere and good people in the ranks of the I.L.P. I only doubt their revolutionary fiber.

Dearest my usual rotten spelling made me write SIA with a C. It is the INTERNATIONAL ANTI-FASCIST SOLIDARITY GROUP. I just got the announcement of the French section. It certainly has some distinguished names. Here are the most outstanding, Leon Jouhaux • Victor Marguerite, Prof Paul Rovet, Maurice Rostand and ever so many well known people in France. The French Anarchists are the movers of the SIA. Yet it has not deterred leading Frenchmen from sponsoring it. I be damned if I know anybody outside of yourself and Fenner who would be ready to sponsor the British section of the SIA. Do you know anybody? That is just it, the paralysing timidity which is really

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 3, London [10] Ethel [Mannin, Hyères, France] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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some of the other cases. Please send me back the inclosed ~~xxx~~ material. Katia Landau went on an hunger strike Nov 11th. I have had no further news about her. She looked so frail when I saw her in prison in Barcelona. I don't see how she could survive a long

cowardice that is the most difficult to overcome. Yet I am determined to make an effort of organising the SIA section here. Will you join, and can you suggest others? Do you know Miles Mellison? Could you get him to give his name as a sponsor, or anyone else who would be likely to. I may get Stella Churchill but I am not going to bother about those who "graciously" permitted their names to be used for the opnsort. The first thing Sybil Thorndike asked me was whether she would be expected to contribute financially. Isn't it frightful? I may approach Paul though now that the Communist have rope him in I fear he will not feel quite so free as before. Still, I am not going to give up my faith in Paul. He was always so big and generous. I attended a party ~~Wagburg~~ and his lady gave the other night. My gawd, what people were there. Lady Hasting who for some unknown reason must have had a change of heart towards me. She greeted me profusely. And that terrible person Langdon Davies who wrote a book about the CNT-FA, and has recently begun to write and speak the most outrageous lies. I understnad that in his debate with Fenner he charged the CNT with having sent out their large capital to Europe. I wish it were true. But the damned fools carried everything they found in the churches and palaces to the government. And then had to beg for loans. You can see that the scribes go with the wind. The moment ~~xxxx~~ Langdon Davies saw the Communists in power in Spain he hung on to their coat tails. Thats what makes it so hard to do anything in this country.

Dearest mine have you any idea when you will return? We are ~~arranging~~ arranging a public meeting in Conway Hall for Jan 14th where I will speak on the betrayal of the Spanish people and the Revolution. I would be so happy to have you on the platform for a few words. Let me know what your plans are and about the SIA.

Barbara is here typing envelopes. She looks lovely in her red dress. Yes indeed when we have our new quaters in condition for work I will ask her to help us. Perhaps I will even be able to pay her a little. I was shocked to hear that she works for 35 shillings a week. How can she live on that?

I am quite certain that the News Chronicle will not touch anything I am connected with. Not even the Guardian. I wrote to ask whether it would take an article on political percecution in Republican Spain. The M.G. declined. I am sending you tomorrow a record of some of the outstanding cases of political prisoners. I sent a copy to ~~Rax~~ Fenner, he did not use it in the N.L. He sent it to Paris to his comrades. I am going to write about the dreadful state of affairs for our own press, SPAIN AND THE WORLD and our papers in the States. History does repeat itself. When I came out of Russia and started a campaign for the Russian politicals ~~wxxx~~ I was told I am working into the hands of the counter revolutionary elements, the enemies of the Russian evolution. I was told the identical thing the other evening. Not that I am counter revolutionary but that I will be working into the hands of Franco if I write against the political percecution in Republican Spain. That will not ~~be~~ from ~~exposures~~ the Communist ~~have~~ they have betrayed the Spanish Revolution, have killed off a lot of people and have filled the prisons with their victims. I wonder whether the News Chronicle would take something from you about the fate of Kurt Landau, his wife and

I am giving the three new medals to all the good comrades with.
Barbara has been crying every day while I have been here. She has cried every day while I have been here. She has cried every day while I have been here.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 3, London [to Pedro] Herrera, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. —
3 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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19161

London Dec. 3rd 37.

Dear comrade Herrera. I have not written you since my return, to this city for a number of reasons. I waited to hear from Mane whom I wrote twice and asked to get in touch with me. As I have not received a word from him I concluded he is no longer in London. By the way, who is Fidel Martin? I know no one in England by that name unless you mean Mane. Does he also have the name Fidel Martin? I am sorry to report that Mane neither replied or phoned. I decided therefore to wait no longer and proceed with the job of finding suitable quarters, centrally located for our work here. Incidentally, the offices of the Spanish Trade Delegation would not have been of any use to us. First because the rent is £250 a year, far beyond the budget allotted to me for the work of the CNT Bureau. Secondly because the Building in which the S.T.D. offices are, closes at 7 o/c in the evening. As our friends interested in our work for the CNT-FAI and SIA are working people we must have a place open at least until 10 P.M. For this reason we began a search for more modest, less expensive and more suitable offices. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ We did not reckon with the numerous difficulties that will confront us, among them being the objections of the "good" British business man to anything that has to do with anti-Fascist Spain. Well, we finally found premises though not entirely what we wanted, still as nearly as we can afford and also where we will not be bothered too much.

The place consists of ~~six small~~ ^{five} small rooms for offices, for the SIA, the CNT-FAI, SPAIN AND THE WORLD, and also for an office for our Film. In this way we will be able to divide the rent of £150 a year and the other expenses to maintain the place. Also it will save a lot of time and energies to have everything under one roof. London is a waste City, it takes no end of time and wears one out to get from place to place. That's why it will mean much to me and the very few comrades who can be of help when we will be located in the same place.

I don't know whether I told you that it was my plan to establish a Reading Room of our Spanish Press and publications in all other languages we can get. It will bring people, I hope to our center and perhaps in that way help us to reach wide circles in behalf of the work for Spain we want to do. Also I am going to organize small exhibitions of the drawings of children I brought with me from the schools I visited in Barcelona, of photos of the collectives I have visited and anything of importance you and comrade Vazquez will send me.

About the SIA, I must confess I have not much hope for it in England especially now that the Labor Party has begun an intensive campaign for Spain. It is finally realizing the criminal character of the Non-Intervention fake. It is not big enough to admit that in supporting the British government in Non-Intervention the Labor Party is as much responsible for the aid given Franco by Germany and Italy as the Baldwins, Edens, Chamberlains ^{than}

Reading Room and publications

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H 9 1 6 2

2

and the Popular Front in France. However, I am glad the British Labor Party has at last recanted and is pushing its campaign against Non-Intervention. It is late in the day. But as we say in America BETTER LATE THAN NEVER. At the same time it is necessary for you dear comrade and the others connected with SIA to bear in mind that in addition to the Labor Party there are in England numerous organisations under various headings but all worked by "our friends", the C.P. who claim to work for the anti Fascist struggle ~~that it is~~ who are but few cannot hope to compete with. Nor can we hope to get their help for the SIA. You have no idea how bitter is the ~~opposition~~ opposition to anything coming in the name of the CNT-FAI, ~~or even the CNT alone~~. The lies spread about all of you dear comrade ~~xxxxxxx~~ and the misrepresentation make it almost impossible to achieve anything here. Of course we are determined to go ahead just the same, ~~and~~ to be deterred by nothing. But I have to impress upon your mind not too expect too much either morally or financially for the SIA. ~~xxxxxxx~~ It will indeed be pioneer work to break through the hard crust of prejudice and deliberate sabotage of the various societies under all kinds of names who claim to work for Spain. I inclose an announcement of a concert. I happen to know the people back of it. I can assure you very little will reach Spain, ~~or~~ and whatever does will not be for the general care of Francos victims but for certain ~~party~~ members. This is only one example for the difficulties in our way.

Just as soon as our new quarters are in order I will send out a circular letter to a number of people with the first appeal you sent me asking them to join the SIA and send subscriptions or contributions. I see that the French section has succeeded in getting a few outstanding names in literature and science. I wish I could tell you such people in England will consent to sponsor the British Section. But I can think of only very few outstanding people whom I will write to of course. I will let you know.

I feel much relieve that the care of the refugee children will be in the hands of the SIA. I only fear that if Fedricas former secretary in the ministry will be depended upon for the proper organisation of childrens homes they will not be much better than those dreadful ones I saw in Valencia. It was he who took me to the ~~one~~ and who did not find anything out of the way that the homes should be so dismal and depressing. Incidentally, the same was the case with the comrades of the SIA in Barcelona. The homes I saw there were also horrible. Ask Martin Gudell he was with me. He will tell you. The only well kept homes I saw were by Basque comrades in Barcelona, and the refugee home for children kept by women of Mujeres Libres. Why it should be possible for them to give the children cleanliness, comforts and cheer and not for the comrades ~~xxxxxxx~~ in charge of the SIA when I was in Barcelona. I hope therefore you will get more competent people, preferably I should

At the time I was in Barcelona I can not understand

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3

19163

suggest some of our women comrades. They surely understand the need of children better. But whoever it is I hope considerable improvements in the refugee homes will be made. As I left them they were most discouraging.

from
In regard to the expences for the work on the SIA. The budget I gave comrade Vazquez for the general activities of the London CNT-FAI Bureau represented a minimum weekly expenditure. I could therefore not also cover the cost of the work of the SIA in that budget. But after deducting the expences of the CNT Bureau during my absence from England and my own expences of three months I still hope to have some money on hand from the original fund I have raised for the homeless children in Spain. I will draw from that for the present and let you know later how we stand. As to returning anything from the fund the Comité National per comrade Vazquez assigned. I hope I will be able to do so though as I have already told you I do not think we will be as successful in raising money as last year, partly because the campaign of the Labor Party will now drain all channels and so as the C.P too is doing it, there will be little left for our purposes. But we will do our very best.

to Pedro
I see your letter is, dated Valencia. I thought you together with the National Comité have removed to Barcelona. I am therefore at a loss to know where to send this especially as you failed to state the address of the CONSEJO GENERAL DE THE SIA. For greater safety, I am sending this to the Comité Regional Barcelona asking them to rush it to you.. Please send me your exact address. Please show this letter to Vazquez, or perhaps I had better send him a copy. Please write me French if possible. Our faithful Spanish comrade here who has been doing all translations for me works very hard and I would like to relieve him of the task of ~~translating~~ ~~your~~ your letters to me. Of course if you have no French Sect, continue writing in Spanish.

Meanwhile keep writing me to the above address. Just as soon as our new place is ready for our use I will send you the new address.
Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 4, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman]. —
4 p.; 29 × 21 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London Dec. 4th 37

TELEPHONE : FULHAM 6829



Lieber Helmut.

Ich war so beschäftigt seit meiner Rückkehr in London dass ich nicht einmal Zeit hatte den Empfang Deines Berichtes für die I.A.A. ~~hatte~~. Erst, gestern Abend began ich denselben zu lesen und zwar hörte ich erst um 4. heute morgen auf. So weit finde ich den Bericht ausserst gründlich und interessant. Ich bedaure nur dass er so viele persönliche Reibereien enthält. Ich sollte meinen dass die tragische Lage Spaniens alles andere in den Hintergrund senden würde. Wozu war es nötig deine persönliche Feindschaft mit Souchy und Martin im Bericht ~~zu veröffentlichen~~ breit zu ziehen. Zugegeben dass beide so schwarz sind wie Du sie ~~zeichnet~~ zeichnest. Du hast mir ja selber gesagt dass man niemanden nur von einer Seite beurteilen kan oder soll. Ich weiss, Souchy hat die Tendenz mit aller Welt Hand in Hand zu gehen und dass er eitel ist. Aber ich kann nicht glauben dass er unerlichst ist. Soweit Martin anbelangt, so fand ich schon bei unsere Unterredung dass Du ihm gegenüber ungerecht bist. Du sagtest Martin wäre ein Lakai. Lieber Freund, dass wurde mir auch von Dir gesagt. Jeder der ~~nicht~~ nicht alle Handlungen der CNT in Bausch und Bogen verdammt wird jetzt von viele unseren Genossen in und ausserhalb Spaniens als Lakai, oder noch schlimmer, als Verräter an unsere Sache verleumdet. Martin ist eben mit Leib und Leben in den Kampf der CNT ausgegangen, nicht nur das, er ist ganz verschmolzen mit Spanien. Ich weiss aus persönlicher Erfahrung dass Martin weit davon entfernt ist alles gut zu heissen was das Comité getan hat oder tut. Aber er empfindet wie Du und ich, wie Rudolf and andere auch, dass jetzt nicht der Moment der scharfen Kritik der Spanischen Genossen ist. Eindruck über Menschen und Dinge sind natürlich verschieden und lassen sich meiner Ansicht nach schwer diskutieren. Ich fand Martin bescheiden und absolut selbstlos. Aber Du hast natürlich das Recht anderer Meinung zu sein. Nur hatte ich geglaubt dass in einem Bericht der IAA die von Weltbedeutung sein soll nicht gerade das Forum ist die persönliche Reibereien breit zu traten.

Du wirst Dich erinnern dass ich Dich frug ob Du für die I.A.A. einen Brief aus England erhalten hast von einem gewissen Meltzer. Du sagtest dass Du den Namen nicht kennst und kein Schreiben von den betreffenden bekommen hast. Um so überraschender war es für mich auf der 5ten Seite Deines Berichtes zu finden das Du tatsächlich Meltzers Brief erhalten hast. Oder war es Besnard der ihn Dir gegeben hat? Wer es auch war, meinst Du nicht dass Du

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 4, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
4 p.; 29 × 21 cm.

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In einem hast Du vollständig recht. Wir Ausländische ~~Kom~~
Genossen die den schweren Kampf der CNT helfen wollen können und
dürfen nicht nur ~~Papageier~~ als Hampelmänner dienen. Wir
müssen das Recht haben und uns bewahren nach eigenem Ermessen zu
handeln. Dieses ist umso notwendiger da wir ~~ich~~ besser informiert
sind was dem Ausland nützlich sein kann oder nicht. Im Bezug ~~auf~~
auf meine Vertretung der CNT in England und meine Arbeit hier habe
ich Vazquez und Fedrica frei und offen gesagt als ich in Valencia
war dass ich zu lange und zu alt in der Bewegung bin um Befehle
auszuführen. Ich könne die Anglo-Saxische Arbeiter Bewegung und
Psychologie jedenfalls besser als das National Komitee und ich kann
nur nach meinem Güttdenken handeln. Ich habe erst gestern and Vazquez
geschrieben dass ich nur selbständig wirken kann. Wenn es dem
Komitee nicht passt dann bin ich zu jeder Zeit bereit ~~mine~~
die Vertretung der CNT nieder zu legen.

Da ich nur die erste 25 Seiten Deines Berichtes
gelesen habe so kann ich vorleufig keine gründliche Meinung sagen.
Aber ich kann schon jetzt erklären dass ich mit Deiner Kritik
der CNT, ~~und ich will nicht in der Bewegung~~ sowohl wie mit Deiner
Annerkennung der Tragischer Notwendigkeit die unsere Spanische
Kameraden veranlasst hat so viele Kompromisse zu machen vollständig
einverstanden. Ubrigens hast Du kein Deutsches Exemplar. Sende es
mir wen Möglich. Es ist gut dass Du mir schreibst Vazquez kommt zur
Konferenz. Ich wusste nicht wo das N.K sich jetzt befindet, ob noch in
Valencia oder Barcelona. Ich werde also mein schreiben das jetzt ins
Spanische übersetzt wird an Roca senden. Er ist mehr zuverlässig
als Galve.

Im Bezug auf die SIA, es wird sowieso blutig schwer sein
hier eine Section zu schaffen. Die Engländer sind eben zu feige
Anteil zu nehmen an irgend etwas das mit unsere Ideen verknüpft
sind. Und die Arbeiter stecken zu tief in der Zwangsjacke der
Partei irgend wie selbständig zu handeln. Daring besteht ja das ~~Ungl~~
Unglück für unsere Ideen in diesem Mucker Land und meine eigene
Tragodie dass ich hier stecken muss. In Amerika könnte ich in einem
Monat mehr tun wie ~~hier~~ in einem Jahr. Aber da mir A. und alle andere
Länder verschlossen bleiben, so bleibt mir nichts übrig als
dieses ~~hiesige~~ kaltschnauzige Land. Du kannst mir glauben ich fühle mi
mich hier tief unglücklich.

Herzliche Grusse.

Emma

Ich hoffe das unsere Kameraden der IAA und CNT zum vernünftigen
Verständiniss kommen werden. ~~en~~ es waere der Todesstoss für den
Anarchismus der ganzen Welt wenn es zu dem Austritt der CNT kame.
Waere ich Mitglied der IAA so wurde ich zur Konferenz kommen. ~~Nicht~~
dass ich eingebildet genug bin meine Anwesenheit konnte verschont
wirken. Rudolf hatte natürlich grossern Einfluss. Jammerschade dass



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bei mir anfragen solltest wer Meltzer ist. Den schliesslich kenst Du mich und meine Stellung in unsere Bewegung seit Jahren, werend Du keine blasse Ahnung von Meltzer hattest. Ebenowenig wusstest Du ob es in England wirklich eine Anarcho Syndikalistische Grupierung giebt, und wer sie geschaffen hat. Nun, zu Deiner Aufklärung will ich Dir sagen dass ich die Union gegründet habe, dass ich sehr viel Zeit gewidmet habe, und dass ich aus dem Gelde die mir das National Komitee zur Verfügung gestellt hat ~~für~~ unsere Tätigkeit so viel als es eben möglich war zu der A.S.U beigetragen habe. Aber so unwissend und unfähig waren die paar Leute die der Union beitraten dass sie allein nichts machen konnte im Bezug auf weitere Tätigkeit (und dass sie anstatt propaganda ihre wöchentliche Zusammenkünfte mit Klatsch und personliche Norgereien vergeudet). Am tätigsten in dieser "würdigen" A.S.Arbeit war ~~ein~~ Meltzer der weder vom Anarchismus noch vom Syndikalismus auch nur die blasseste Ahnung hatte. Ich muss hier hinzufügen dass ausser Genosse Barr der schon lange in der Bewegung ist, keiner von dem Backer Dutzend in der A.S.U ~~jetzt~~ ~~Anarcho-Syndikalismus~~ ~~der~~ sich je mit dem Anarcho Syndikalismus beschäftigt hat. Die geistige Armut und tief Stand untern den Anarchisten in England, von einer Anarchistischen oder Anarcho-Syndikalistischen Bewegung kann überhaupt nicht die Rede sein, ~~ist es eben~~ ~~weil~~ meine Tätigkeit hier so schwer und Nerven zerreisend macht. Es tut mir leid dass Du es nicht für richtig gefunden hast bei mir anzufragen welches Bewandnis es mit Meltzer hat. Auch kann ich nicht erklären warum Du ~~begeleugnet~~ hast seinen Steckbrief empfangen zu haben. Ich muss gestehen ich bin sehr traurig dass Du den Boden Brief und die Anklage, dass ich nichts für die A.S.U hier getan habe in Deinen Bericht hingschleppt hast. Ich hoffe Deine andere Argumente ~~gegen Meltzer~~ im Bezug auf die I.A.A und die CNT gerechter sind, ~~auf~~ ~~und~~ Tatsachen ruhen und nicht nur auf Hören Sagen eines vollständig unbekannten der sich Anarcho Syndikalismus nennt ~~basiert~~ ~~sind~~. Ubrigens musst Du wissen dass die A.S.U von dem Brief Meltzers wusste und als sie davon ~~erfuhr~~ horte, den Brief abgelehnt hat. Als Resultat hat nun der Bengel Meltzer die A.S.U. verlassen, auch ein anderer ~~Starker~~ Mitglied dass nur Stankereien machte ist abgegangen. Vielleicht wird es jetzt möglich sein die Union zu reorganisieren und auf festem Boden zu stellen. Das Unglück ist dass wir hier auch nicht einen einzigen Genossen haben der fähig wäre organisatorische Arbeit zu leisten, zu sprechen oder schreiben. Und ich kann mich beim besten Willen nicht in tausend Stücke zerreißen.

Gerade kam Dein Brief. Deine Vorurteile gegen Souchy und Martin gehen sehr weit, lieber Helmut wenn Du sie beschuldigst das Material über den Fernandez Fall unterschlagen zu haben. Es war Souchy der der Typistin im Regional Comite das Material dass uns Fernandez gab zum kopieren gab. Im letzten Moment seiner Abreise nach Valencia und Madrid überreichte er mir ein Bündel Spanische Notizien. Wie ich annahm auch das Material über den Fall Fernandez enthielt. Ich gab das Packet dann Martin der es mir sub Rosa schicken wollte. Wenn irgend jemand das Material unterschlagen hat dann musste es das Regional Komitee getan haben. Ich gebe zu dass Souchy als er das erfuhr nicht den Mut hatte es mir zu sagen. Aber ich bin fest überzeugt dass es weder er noch Martin waren die der Unterschlagung gültig sind. Ausserdem ist nicht nur das Fernandez Material sondern auch Notizien über die Kollektive nicht angekommen. Hierin bestand sicherlich kein Grund der Unterschlagung.

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dabbe sein kann. Vielleicht schreibst Du mir über den Verlauf.

Kannst Du mir die Adressen der Schwedischen Anarchistisch und Anarcho Syndikalistischer Presse senden. Auch von Holland, wie überhaupt von alle Länder. Ich will hier ein Zentrum und Lese Zimmer für die Spanische und andere Presse organisieren. Nur auf diese Weise dürfte es vielleicht möglich sein Leute die sich für unsere Ideen interessieren heranzu ziehen.

Ich habe mir die Adressen der Schwedischen Anarchistisch und Anarcho Syndikalistischer Presse gesucht. Ich habe auch die Adressen der spanischen und anderen Presse gesucht. Ich habe auch die Adressen der spanischen und anderen Presse gesucht. Ich habe auch die Adressen der spanischen und anderen Presse gesucht.

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Freundliche Grüße.

Ich hoffe das was ich geschrieben habe Dir und den anderen Lesern nützlich sein wird. Ich habe auch die Adressen der spanischen und anderen Presse gesucht. Ich habe auch die Adressen der spanischen und anderen Presse gesucht. Ich habe auch die Adressen der spanischen und anderen Presse gesucht.

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18916



Paris.

den 4. Dezember 1937

Liebe Emma,

kurz zu Deiner Briefe vom 24. November.

Der Informant ist inzwischen abgereist. Vielleicht wird er mir auf beiden Seiten wenig Freunde eintragen - aber das war ja auch nicht der Zweck der Sache. Von Besnard hörte ich, dass er angenehm berührt war davon, dass ich keineswegs unkritisch bin.

Mimi sagt mir heute wieder, dass sie erst die Zusendung eines Fotos erwartet, das ein schwedischer Genosse liest. Es soll dieser Tage zurückkommen und dann an Dich gehen.

Was die spanische Hilfsorganisation betrifft, so ist das eben einer der vielen Versuche der Spanier sich bei der Unzulänglichkeit unserer eigenen internationalen Bewegung selbst zu helfen. Im Gegensatz zu den politischen Experimenten auf diesem Gebiete ist diesmal das neue Gebilde sicher lebensfähig. Als der Plan auf einem Plenum auftauchte, in Valencia, dachte ich mir nichts Schlimmes dabei und glaubte, dass die IAA sich das sehr einfach zu eigne machen würde. Was geschah aber auf der Juniolenen nicht, die CNT jedoch wie immer kehrte abh an den ablehnenden Beschluss nicht, sondern setzte ihre Sache fort. Formal sicher Unrecht; schließlich hätte m.E. das Juniolenen der IAA weniger doktriner entscheiden sollen. Hoffen wir das der Kongress die vollzogene Tatsache nachträglich noch im Einklang mit der IAA bringt, obwohl nun in Frankreich schon viel verfallen ist, nachdem die UA die hiesige Filiale übernommen hat und die IAA-Sektion zutiefst empört ist... Das historische Vorbeigehen in der französischen freihitlichen Bewegung ist damit in eine neue Etappe getreten! Ich verstehe wenig von diesen Sachen.

Die Veröffentlichung von Reveil kenne ich nicht. Ich habe Mollie in dieser Zeit nur telefonisch gesprochen und wollte dabei nicht fragen.

Das Material über Aurelio durfte Martin mit Absicht zurückhalten haben weil er, dem Befehl des Komitees folgend, Veröffentlichungen über diese Materie verhindern will. Typisch dass er mir kein Wort der Erklärung schreibt. Auf diese seltsame Art sind wir immer behandelt worden in B. Ich habe dann Galve hier um das Material gebeten, er sagt er habe es nicht und ausserdem wünsche von keine Publikation; und wenn ich damit nicht zufrieden sein könnte, so solle ich mich an Marquez selbst wenden der zum Kongress kommen wird. Was ich auch tun werde, sicher ohne Erfolg. Ich will mich jeden Urteils darüber enthalten ob eine Publikation über diesen Fall opportun ist.

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oder nicht. Karueber muesste wie in jedem Falle mit der CNT verhandelt werden. Ich bin bereit weitestgehend politischen Ueberlegungen Vorkommendes entgegenzubringen. Niemals aber werde ich verstehen wie man uns als spanische Kameraden behandelt - jetzt wieder die Unterschlagung des Geldes als durch Martin ohne ein Wort zu sagen. Ich glaube unser Verhaeltnis zur CNT soll nicht sein dasjenige gehorsamer Stiefelputzer wie Martin und ich, sondern das freier, solidarischer Kameraden. Das ist mein Konflikt mit der CNT, und hier bin ich immer wieder deprimiert trotz all meiner Liebe zur spanischen Sache und allem Willen zum Verstehen. Dies kann und darf man nicht verstehen wenn man Anarchist bleiben will. Es ist eine Tatsache dass die CNT jede Miterbeit wirklich kameradschaftlicher Art hat steuern lassen und dafuer das Stiefelputzersystem eingefuehrt hat. Siehe meinen Bericht... Ich bin kein Freund des theoretischen Rationalismus und besorgd und auch davon ueberzeugt, dass er eine etwas zu grosse geratene Portion Selbstbewusstsein hat, aber trotzdem sein Bericht ~~in~~ in seiner ganzen Verbitterung viel zu weit geht, vor allem der unglaubliche Schluss, so empfinde ich doch auch deutlich dass ~~er~~ wirklich im Grunde berechnete menschliche Gefuehle ~~in~~ in ihm verletzt sind, wenn auch diese Verletzung nicht so zum Ausdruck gebracht werden duerfte.

Was RRs Buch betrifft, so waere ich besonders interessiert an Information darueber ob man das Recht zu einer deutschen Ausgabe bekommen koennte, denn ich habe den Gedanken, dass unsere DAS-Gruppen eine solche Organisation muessten.

Herzliche Gruesse

Helmut

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870929074

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 4, New York [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Harry Rosenberg. — 1 p. ; 21 x 21 cm.

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17647

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812 Riverside Drive
New York Dec 4/37

Dear Miss Goldman:

It was more than
generous of you to reply - knowing your
numerous friends acquaintances etc
I really expected no reply.

There is nothing I
can say except that you will go down
in history as a great person whom the
world wakes - and that I will treasure
your letter amongst my dearest possessions.

There only remains for me
to say that you represent to me a most
perfect and exalted character.
Your unknown friend
& admirer Harry Rosenberg

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 6 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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18998

6 de Diciembre de 1937.

Querido Aigo Herrera:

No te había escrito antes después de mi llegada a ésta por varios motivos. Esperaba tener noticias de Mafe, a quien escribí dos veces, pidiéndole se entrevistase conmigo; pero como no me ha contestado pienso al tal vez es que ya no está en Londres. A propósito ¿quién es Fidel Martín? No conozco a nadie en Inglaterra por este nombre, a menos que te refieras a Mafe que también usa el nombre de Fidel Martín? Puesto que Mafe no me contestaba decidí no esperar más y me dediqué a la busca de un local adecuado, en sitio céntrico, para nuestro trabajo aquí. Por otra parte, las oficinas de la Delegación Española no habrían servido. Primero porque el alquiler era de 250 libras al año, mucho más de lo suma presupuestada para la oficina de la C.N.T. Segundo porque el local en donde están las oficinas de la Delegación lo cierran a las 7 de la noche y como nosotros amigos interesados en el trabajo de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. y S.I.A., es gente de labor, tenemos que disponer de un local que al menos esté abierto hasta las 10 de la noche. Así, pues, nos dedicamos a buscar una oficina más modesta, a más modesta y que reuniese las cualidades requeridas por nuestras actividades. Pero no contamos con las numerosas dificultades que habrían de enfrentárenos; entre ellas la objeción de estos buenos hombres de negocios ingleses a todo cuanto se relacione con la España antifascista. Por último dimos con unas oficinas, que si no del todo al menos cubren nuestras necesidades en su mayoría, y en donde me parece que no seremos molestados.

El local consiste de cinco habitaciones pequeñas para las oficinas de la C.I.A., C.N.T.-F.A.I. y S.I.A. una sala así como cuarto de lectura y Exposición, y una grande para nuestra película. De esta manera podremos dividir el alquiler de 150 libras al año y demás gastos. También será ahorrado mucho tiempo y energías con tener todo bajo un mismo techo. Londres es inmenso y el trasladarse de un sitio a otro no solo quita tiempo sino que cansa mucho. Por eso será tan conveniente para mí y los cuantos compañeros que puedan prestar su cooperación el estar establecidos en el mismo sitio.

No recuerdo si te llegué a decir que mi plan era abrir un salón de lectura de nuestra prensa española y otras publicaciones en todos los idiomas que podamos conseguir. Creo que esto atraerá a la gente y tal vez nos proporcione el fin que se persigue en nuestro trabajo por España. También voy a organizar pequeñas exposiciones con los dibujos

./...

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18996

que traje conmigo, hechos por los niños de las escuelas que visité en Barcelona; de las fotografías de las Colectivas visitadas por mí y de cualquier otro asunto de interés que tanto tu como Vasek me podáis enviar.

Por lo que se refiere a la SIA, he de confesarte que no tengo grandes esperanzas de que puedas prosperar en Inglaterra, especialmente ahora que el Partido Laborista ha inaugurado una intensa campaña en pro de España. Al parecer, se han dado cuenta por último de la farsa criminal de la "No Intervención", si bien se recatan de admitir que en su apoyo al Gobierno Británico en el asunto de la "No Intervención", el Partido Laborista es tan responsable de la ayuda recibida por Franco de Alemania e Italia que los Baldwins, Edens, Chamberlains y el Frente Popular en Francia. Sin embargo, produce satisfacción ver que por último el Partido Laborista Inglés se va arrepintiendo de la actitud tomada hasta ahora. Algo tarde es, pero como dice el refrán, más vale tarde que nunca. Al mismo tiempo, mi querido amigo, tanto tu como los demás camaradas interesados en la S.I.A., habéis de tener en cuenta que a parte del Partido Laborista existen en Inglaterra numerosas organizaciones bajo diferentes nombres, pero todas ellas controladas por "nuestros amigos" del P.C. Y nosotros que somos tan pocos no podríamos pretender competir con ellos. Pero tampoco podemos esperar que nos presten su ayuda. No te puedes formar idea del antagonismo hacia todo lo que dijeses de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. Las calumnias diseminadas acerca de vosotros hace casi imposible conseguir algo positivo aquí. Sin embargo, estamos dispuestos a seguir adelante con nuestros proyectos; pero te repito que no debes esperar grandes cosas en favor de la S.I.A., tanto en el terreno moral como financiero. Veridicamente constituirá un triunfo el poder atravesar el prejuicio y sabotaje deliberado de las muchas sociedades que bien están trabajando por España. Te incluye el anuncio de un concierto. Conozco a las personas que lo organizan y puedo asegurarte que poco de lo que se recaude llegará a España, y en tal caso ira a parar a manos de cierto partido político, en lugar de ir a socorrer a las víctimas de Franco.

Tan pronto como nuestras oficinas estén en marcha pienso repartir una circular con el texto de la que tu me tienes enviada, solicitando suscripciones o donativos para la S.I.A. Veo que la sección francesa ha conseguido alistar entre sus miembros a varias figuras de la Ciencia y Literatura. Quisiera estar en situación de poder decir que aquí habían personas de igual calidad dispuestas a prestar su apoyo a la sección inglesa; pero son muy contadas las que supongo contestaran a mi invitación. Ya te tendré al corriente de esto.

No sabes cuanto me ha alegrado el saber que la S.I.A. se encargará de los niños refugiados, aunque me temo que si el encargado de organizar los hogares para los niños es el antiguo secretario de Federico Montseny, no van a ser mejores que aquellas que vi en Valencia. Fue el quien me llevó a verlos y cuando se lo hice notar, no le pareció que eran tristes y de aspecto depresivo, Ocurrió lo mismo con los que vi en Barcelona; que por cierto estaban al cuidado de la S.I.A. Los únicos hogares de niños que vi bien cuidados fueron

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18997

los que estaban a cargo de los camaradas vascos en Barcelona y la que cuidaban las camaradas de Mujeres Libres. Confío, pues, que puedas conseguir a alguien competente, que se ocupe de los niños como debido y les proporcione un hogar limpio, bien puesto y alegre. Para estos menesteres las mujeres son más adecuadas, y si son camaradas nuestras, mejor. Mujeres entienden las necesidades de los niños mejor que los hombres.

En cuanto a los gastos en respecto de la S.I.A., el presupuesto que presente al compañero Vazquez representará los gastos mínimos necesarios para cubrir las necesidades generales de la oficina en Londres de la C.I.T.-F.O.I., sin que incluya los gastos que ocasionará el trabajo en respecto de la S.I.A. Pero desearé conducir los gastos de la C.I.T. en Londres durante mi ausencia y mis gastos personales durante tres meses, todavía es en poder tener un saldo sobrante de los fondos recaudados en un principio. Cogeré el dinero que haga falta de este fondo y oportunamente te avisaré como marcha la cosa. Por lo que respecta a la devolución del dinero que sea gastado de la cantidad asignada por el Comité Nacional y que me fue entregada por Vazquez, espero poder hacerlo así si bien como ya te he dicho, no creo que pueda recaudar durante la presente campaña tanto dinero como la vez anterior, en parte porque las actividades del Partido Laborista absorberán mucho de lo que el público pueda dar y lo que quede en el se lo llevará el P.C. en fin, se hará lo que se pueda.

Nota que tu carta está fechada en Vascosia cuando yo te creía en Barcelona con el Comité Nacional, así es que no se a donde dirigirte ésta, pero tampoco indicas las señas del Consejo General de la S.I.A. Para más seguridad, se la mandaré a Rosa y que él te la envíe por la vía más rápida; pero cuando me contestes has el favor de darme a conocer tus señas. Envíale esta carta a Vazquez, aunque yo le mandaré una copia.

Si posible, escribeme en francés. Nuestro camarada español aquí, que me ha estado haciendo todas las traducciones últimamente, está ya demasiado recargado de trabajo y quisiera aborrazarle en parte su labor. Desde luego, si no te es factible escribir en francés, puedes seguir haciéndolo en español.

Ya te comunicare las señas de la nueva oficina. Mientras tanto, sigue escribiendo a los que encabezan la presente.

¡Internamente,

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870929077

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 6, Westmount [Canada to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Marjorie Goldstein. — 2 p. ; 10 x 25 cm.

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4. mutual friend, Mr. Whitehead, is still struggling along with undiminished spirit, though I fancy that things are none too easy. That is a mere superficial view, however; he says so little but his health is still in a very precarious state, I believe. He speaks of you with the phone almost every time he calls up to give me some work (translations for his travel copy). I know he would want his good wishes added to this note, if he knew I were writing. He seems to have a deep affection and unbounded admiration for you. No man yours is the finest mentality he has ever had the good fortune to meet. Best of good wishes for the "lino. nuevo" and kindly thoughts always from Marjorie (Goldstein).



17651 Rosemount Ave., Apt. 23
Westmount, Dec. 6th 1937.

Dear "E.G.":

It is not the "season", which means nothing to either of us, that is causing me to write to you. Nor is it merely that I am thinking of you. In fact, had I the opportunity to write whenever I thought or spoke of you, you would hear from me several times a month — if only I had the time to write, or something to say!

I wrote you when you went to Spain for the first time; I wrote again later via London (the address I am now using, as I have no other), and I wrote once also, sending the letter to Toronto to Melba. Whether any of them ever reached you, whether:

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3) a definite feeling of accomplishment. It must be heart-breaking there, just the same. Mrs. Estall was in the city this summer for a short while. She certainly is a versatile person. She is interested in radio-work and in the theatre (actively) — has started to paint again — is working on a book — has a thousand and one ideas and plans! For her own sake, I hope she will get somewhere with it all. She has such boundless enthusiasm. She is thinner than she was, but looks very smart. I believe the "foxy" is very "thin" from what she says. However she is still a keen follower of the "Bahai" movement, and that seems to bring her comfort. Over

17652

(2)

you ever sent any "round-robin" letters in which I was — or was not — included, I do not know. But after all, it does no harm to let those we admire and to whom we wish well merely hope or guess that such is the case. Hence this note with all the best for 1938 and always.

I heard indirectly that you had gone back to Spain; I do not know if that is the case or not. Your life there in the past must have been a full and active one and have given you that measure of fulfillment that can only come to an active, constructive person like yourself when there is

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 7 [London to W. S.] Van [Valkenburgh, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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7th December 1937.

Dear W.S.,

I am very glad indeed to get your letter of November 21th. It arrived yesterday. I had promised myself to write you a long letter to-day; but you have no luck old man this time. A telegram from comrade Masquez from Paris asking me to come there at once to attend the conference of the International Anti-Fascist Solidarity. I have to drop everything and go, though I am it that I am not very cheerful about it. I hate all conferences where a lot of soiled family linen is to be washed. Some of our comrades do not realize that they are facing one of two things, either the triumph or the defeat of Fascism in the world. Perhaps that is the reason why I was called to be present at the conference. I wish I could live up to the faith the Spanish comrades seem to have in me. I mean I wish I could feel that my presence would be sufficient influence to eliminate all personal squabbles. Heaven knows it was never more urgent than now, when Spain is in the throes of a new birth. When our comrades are surrounded by howling dogs from all sides but I have no such exaggerated idea of my influence or my power. The one who would have great moral weight is Rudolf Rocker; but he is too far away. However I must comply with the call of Masquez. I know it must be important or he would not be so insistent. I shall therefore have to leave the only thing you raise in your interesting letter until I come back.

I have no idea whether my letter to you in the "Spanish Revolution". I certainly did not see it that issue if it did. I saw it in "Ladunat". I suppose it was reprinted from "Ladunat" or, or perhaps it was a translation from "Spain & the World".

To-day I am sending you a copy of the article on "Political Persecutions in Republican Spain" which I have written for "Spain & the World". I know you will think that I have not sent you something original especially for the "Spanish Revolution". It is simply that I cannot tear myself in so many directions. Aside of the amount of work I come back to do, which includes the establishment of an English section of the International Anti-Fascist Solidarity Group, there is

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much to do for the London Bureau of the C.I.T.-P.A.I. It requires enlargement to what I said in my second visit to Spain. I should say we. When I say "we" I mean only Ralph Barr. The others, few and far between as they are, are not worth their salt, when it comes to any kind of organizational work. I tell you this in the ribbing to find after years and years of work on the part of our biggest people, no trace in London or the provinces of any movement. It will be different if I had a real group to help. It would leave me more time to do something for America; but in the present situation I really cannot help you as much as I would like. However I hope to begin a long letter report on my visit to Spain. I hope to do it next week and it will be especially for the "Spanish Revolution" with copies for the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" and "Vanguard". It will be rather a lengthy affair as I mean to discuss everything I have seen and observed, so you will be able to bring it out in installments. It is all I can promise you now.

In addition to the copy about political persecutions I am sending you collection of letters written to the London Daily Express to the New York and other daily papers. Of course the Daily Express did not print the letters. I have my doubts whether the others will; but I must keep trying.

You are giving me addition to our own, correspondence and articles. Also to answer the terrible lies that appear in the capitalist press in the United States in time. That is some job.

You are right I do need a competent secretary. I have one now, comrade Ralph Barr. He does a lot of other things to do, but he can only scratch in some of the dictation I give him. He is a dear but not very fast. When it is for a thing he is concerned, he would recant it terribly if I were to think him not fast in love, if, etc. (I am known nothing about my love affairs, RB). Actually he is taking this letter now and a hundred of things to do before tonight when I leave for Paris.

About the fund for my trip to America. I am sorry I have not made myself clear. Here it is. I have to have about 300 dollars for my passage. I wish I would have to go so and also because I am not likely to be bothered so much at the Canadian border. I have travelled tourist or third class. I need ~~300~~ three hundred dollars to show on arrival. In previous times that amount of money was not taken from you. I mean I was not able to deposit it with the immigration authorities. If the same thing will hold good on my next arrival then the 300 dollars can be immediately returned to the person who will advance that amount as a loan. In addition to the actual expenses of the affair I need about a few hundred dollars for living expenses in Canada until meetings will be arranged. Also I am determined to cover more ground in Canada than the last few times, possibly as far as Vancouver. I figure on 300 dollars. In other words 200 dollars for the trip and 100 dollars towards the Canadian tour and living expenses until lectures have been arranged. As to the money for the American trip I will need that only if my Canadian tour proves a failure. But that can be left to when the urgency arises.

I am very glad that you are so in campaign to get the view will be raised by the comrades outside of my Canadian tour. I am more than hoping to learn that Morris is interested in it.

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 7 [London to W. S.] Van [Valkenburgh, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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helping with the campaign in Washington. I have not heard from Roger for months, nor have I written him. There was nothing to write about as I knew that I would have to remain in England until next spring, but perhaps Fresco and Ernst could approach Roger.

When I write again I will make some suggestions who is to be approached in the matter of sponsors. Believe me my dear, I would rather be in America than here; but I have put myself, my time and whatever I can still give intellectually at the disposal of the comrades of the C.N.T.-I.T. I must serve them first. It has become the most dominant issue in my life. Actually I am not interested in any other work, except in so far as it has bearing on our ideas outside of Spain. I feel that the height and depth of our movement now depends to a very large extent on the triumph of our comrades in Spain. For this reason I am dedicated to serve that purpose. But it's all right dear Van, I will go to Canada in the spring. It will give me many summer months to help you and the others with the proposed campaign to bring me back to America.

Forgive me if I cannot go on. I must stop now; but you will hear from me again in the near future.

I received two copies of the new edition of "The Communist Manifesto". I was made sick over the mistakes in my preface. My heavens, is there no one in the Freie Arbeiter Stimme who can read proofs. It is disgraceful to have an English edition with a dozen mistakes in a few pages. Poor Kasha would turn in his grave. He who was so painstaking and thorough. It really makes one sick at heart.

With love to Grace and yourself.

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 7 [London to] The New York Times, New York / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Dr. Editor,
THE NEW YORK DAILY TIMES,
New York City. U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

In the main years of my dealings with American newspapers I have had some scores many misrepresentations of Anarchists, but never did I find such a number of errors as in your issue of Monday, November 8th, under the heading of "Topics of the Week". You will agree, I hope, that readers of so important a paper as the NEW YORK TIMES have a right to expect more accuracy. I am sure that the author of the article in question would not wish you therefore be good enough to grant me the hospitality of your columns so as to enable me to correct some of the errors.

The writer, among other things, tells us that "from the beginning of the Civil War the Anarchists have been a threat to the side of the Loyalists because the chief tenet of Anarchist ideology is the rejection of all discipline, law and all government".

It is true that the Anarchist ideology rejects law and all government; but the National Confederation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia have demonstrated the superior value of inner discipline to anything imposed by law and government. Their magnificent struggle at the various fronts and their constructive work in the face of often insurmountable difficulties prove what such inner discipline can do.

If the Anarchists entered the Ministry in the Catalano Government it was by no means because they had changed their attitude towards Government; they did so to avoid a graver evil, namely Dictatorship. They knew that Governments come and go but that principles can easily be left behind. Not so the Anarchism of the day which, once it has got a foothold, will crush all other values and values in its course. This alone and not the belief that anything can be done in Government positions, prevented the Anarchists from participating in the Catalano Government. It is not possible to say that "the Catalano Government was a failure". Not one of the principles of Anarchism was sacrificed in the Catalano Government.

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Emma Goldman

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TRADUCCION.

7 de Diciembre de 1937.

Redacción,
THE NEW YORK DAILY TIMES,
NUEVA YORK, E.U.

Muy señor mío:

Durante mis muchos años de trato con los periodicos de los E.U. he observado en muchisimas ocasiones como eran publicadas interpretaciones completamente erróneas sobre el Anarquismo y sus adherientes, pero nunca habia tropezado con una serie tan grande de contradicciones como las contenidas en su número correspondiente al 8 de Noviembre, bajo el epigrafe "Topics of the Times" (Tópicos de Actualidad). Confio que el deseo de Vd. sea que los lectores de su diario reciban informaciones que reflejen la verdad de los hechos, por lo que le ruego me permita un poco de espacio a fin rectificar algunas de las absurdas declaraciones hechas por el mencionado colaborador.

El articulista, entre otras cosas dice que desde el comienzo de la Guerra Civil los anarquistas han sido una espina atravesada en la garganta de los leales porque el principal dogma de los anarquistas es el repudio de toda disciplina, ley y gobierno.

Es verdad que la ideología anarquista rechaza la ley y todo tipo de gobierno; pero la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo y la Federación Anarquista Ibérica han demostrado la superioridad de la auto disciplina sobre todo lo impuesto por la ley y gobiernos. Su magnifico comportamiento en los diferentes frentes y su trabajo constructivo contra obstáculos que en muchas ocasiones parecien infranqueables son ~~una~~ prueba palpable de lo que tal disciplina puede alcanzar.

Si los anarquistas formaron parte en el gobierno de Largo Caballero, no fué porque hubian cambiado su actitud; lo hicieron para evitar un gran mal, es decir, la Dictadura. Ellos sabian que gobiernos se quitan y se ponen. No así la avalancha de la Dictadura, que una vez establecida, destruye toda idea libertaria y valores a su paso. Únicamente esto y no el convencimiento de que se pueda hacer algo práctico desde los puestos de gobierno decidió a los anarquistas a tomar parte en el gobierno de Largo Caballero. Es, además, completamente falso, asegurar que la C.N.T.-F.A.I. eran consideradas como contra revolucionarias. Ninguno de los partidos políticos que constituyen el frente antifascista, que no sean los comunistas, se atreverán a decir tal cosa.

Puede que el autor tenga razón al decir que "el gobierno hasta ahora se ha guardado de tomar acción contra los anarquistas porque existen unos cientos de miles entre la población obrera". La verdad es que la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo cuenta con 1.500.000 afiliados, existiendo mas a menos igual mi-

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mero en la Federación Anarquista Iberica y Juventudes Libertarias. Su influencia moral sobre las masas haría que cualquier gobierno lo pensase bien antes de atentar la eliminación de fuerza tan formidable.

Las alusiones hechas por el autor del referido artículo acerca de García Oliver y Federica Montseny son completamente gratuitas. Por ejemplo el cargo que hace contra Federica Montseny de que es opuesta al uso de enfermeras especializadas para cuidar a los heridos, puesto que ella cree que la "individualidad" de las enfermeras tendría mayor expresión que si fuesen especializadas. Lo cierto es que Federica Montseny es una mujer de alta educación y cultura, eficiente en sobremanera y una gran amante de todo trabajo bien organizado. Sus primeros pasos al ser nombrada Ministro de Sanidad fueron hacia la modernización de las escuelas para enfermeras y la necesidad imperativa de elevar el nivel educativo y social de la mujer española en general, pues nadie sabía tan bien como ella el abandono en que el régimen antiguo tenía a la educación del pueblo.

Cualquiera que sea la actitud de Vd. hacia el Anarquismo como filosofía social en general y a los anarquistas españoles en particular, me permito sugerirle que como editor de un periódico tan importante como THE NEW YORK TIMES, debería insistir que sus colaboradores sepan lo que escriben. Cosa que desde luego ignora el autor de "Topics of the Times". Confío que la presente le sirva para ponerlo al corriente sobre el tema que ha querido tratar.

Su atenta,

(Firmado) Emma Goldman.

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*Engländer
an Kunst und dieser fügen Sie
wird man die Zeit fast. An Nazque
schicke ich nächste Woche eine spanische
Karte*

December 7th. 1937.

The Editor,
THE NEW YORK SUNDAY TIMES,
New York City. U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

Very few of the newspaper correspondents in anti-Fascist Spain have been as fair to the part played by the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.) as your Correspondent, Mr. Herbert I. Matthews.

I was therefore not a little surprised to find, in your issue of September 26th a report from the pen of Mr. Matthews which showed a complete change of front in regard to those two tremendous organizations he had formerly so justly appraised. I should hate to assume that the ascendancy to power of the Spanish Communists may have likewise affected your Correspondent. Whatever the cause, the fact is that the report is biased and lacking in accuracy. It may be too late to ask you to publish a correction of the many misstatements I should like to make. Unfortunately, I have only just returned from my second visit to Spain, and I could not have written from there, as my letter may never have reached its destination.

Your Correspondent asserts that the front of Teruel "was held by the old-fashioned type of Anarchist militiamen who did at Teruel what their P.O.U.M. (the anti-Stalinist United Marxist Workers' Party) associates did at the front of Huesca - they just stopped and enjoyed themselves". And further on he says:

"At some points men's kitchens were beyond the first lines. Rebels and Loyalists played football games together. Militiamen in large batches went to Valencia for week-ends".

I do not know where Mr. Matthews obtained this information, but it certainly does not bear out the actual facts of the situation, besides being a gross misrepresentation of the Anarchist forces so valiantly fighting on the anti-Fascist front.

I too have visited a number of fronts, have seen the personnel and the morale of the Anarchist militiamen as well as of the P.O.U.M., and I can testify that these men are so wholeheartedly devoted to the task before them, that of crushing Fascism that they could hardly have time to spare for indulging in amusements with Franco's hordes whom they hate with an implacable hatred. Nor is it possible that these men who have held every front for months with well-nigh bare hands would suddenly take themselves off to Valencia for "week-ends"!

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Letter to Editor of The N.Y. SUNDAY TIMES--(contd.)

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Mr. Matthews goes on to relate that "in July occurred what all military observers on this side regarded as absolutely inexcusable defeat when the Rebels using a small force, broke through at Albarracin and started gathering in a large area. It was mountainous territory, where a handful of determined men could hold up a brigade. Yet the Anarchists gave it up without a struggle and it was not until the wrathful general staff in Valencia sent up some real troops that the Insurgents were easily and thoroughly stopped".

The outrageous implication of cowardice on the part of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. military forces had been made before. But I never expected Mr. Matthews to be so blinded by party prejudice as to repeat that libel.

Neither are Mr. Matthews's observations on the taking of Belchite more accurate. This is how Mr. Matthews reports it:-

"On August 24th, the same day the Loyalists moved north from Híjar to take Quinto and Belchite, a division of troops swept forward all along the line to a range of hills about ten miles west - incidentally this operation was effected from beginning to end by Spanish soldiers and officers, no internationals taking part.

"The first day's objective was taken without difficulty, as there were only a few Rebel positions there. On the second day another successful push was made without trouble up and over the Sierra Palomera, which is, for the most part, 5,000 feet high".

There is one significant fact missing in his picture, namely that the division of the C.N.T. men was just the one that helped to take Belchite.

I met, on the eve of my departure from Barcelona, Commander Vivanco, a member of the C.N.T. of long standing, a simple working man before Fascism infested Spain. Not only did he give me a long and authentic report of the move from Híjar to Quinto and Belchite, but he also drew for me a plan, showing the heroic sweep forward of the troops under his command. He told me of having high praise given him by General Pozas, who hitherto had not been over-generous towards the Anarchists. Commander Vivanco was proud of the recognition not so much for his own sake as for the sake of his brave and gallant men.

I do not mean to imply that Mr. Herbert I. Matthews together with Mr. Ernest Hemingway deliberately perverted the facts; but I do state most emphatically that your Correspondent evidently took no trouble to verify the statements he makes about the Anarchists.

I hope you will not consider my letter out of date, and trust that in justice to the heroic part played by the Spanish Anarchists in the Anti-Fascist struggle you will publish this letter.

Yours faithfully,

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TRADUCCION.

7 de Diciembre de 1937.

Redacción,
THE NEW YORK SUNDAY TIMES,
Nueva York, E.U.

Muy señor mío:

Muy pocos de los periodistas extranjeros en la España antifascista han sido tan justos sobre la parte jugada por la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo y la Federación Anarquista Ibérica como su corresponsal, el Sr. Herbert I. Matthews.

Por tanto, no dejó de causarme gran sorpresa encontrar en su número correspondiente al día 26 de Septiembre un artículo de la pluma de dicho Sr., en el que demostraba haber cambiado de actitud con respecto a estas dos grandes organizaciones, que él antes tan justamente había alabado. No quisiera pensar que la ascendencia de los comunistas en el Gobierno de España haya afectado la opinión de su corresponsal. Cualquiera que sea el motivo, sus declaraciones son tendenciosas y faltas de exactitud. Puede que sea demasiado tarde para pedir a Vd. que publique la corrección de muchas de dichas declaraciones; pero he estado ausente en España y sólo hace unos días que regresé.

Dice su mencionado corresponsal que el frente de Teruel estaba guardado por el antiguo tipo de miliciano anarquista, quienes hacían allí lo mismo que sus asociados del P.O.U.M. en el frente de Huesca - "Quedarse parados y divertirse". Mas adelante cuenta que "las cocinas estaban en frente de las líneas y que los rebeldes y leales jugaban partidos de foot-ball; y que los milicianos se desplazaban a Valencia en grandes núcleos todos los domingos.

No sé de qué fuente recogió el Sr. Matthews esta información; pero nada más distante de la verdad; además de constituir una relación falsa de las fuerzas anarquistas que tan valientemente luchan en los frentes antifascistas.

Yo también he visitado varios frentes, he visto el personal y moral de los milicianos anarquistas, lo mismo que los del P.O.U.M., y puedo atestiguar que estos hombres están dedicados con tal devoción a la empresa delante de ellos; el aplastamiento del Fascismo, que es ridículo suponer fuesen a perder el tiempo practicando el deporte con las hordas de Franco. No siendo tampoco posible que estos hombres, que han sostenido los frentes por meses enteros casi desprovistos de armas, se marchasen los domingos de jira a Valencia.

El Sr. Matthews continua su relato diciendo que en "Julio ocurrió algo que todos los expertos militares consideraron como una derrota inexcusable cuando los rebeldes, usando una pequeña fuerza, rompieron la línea en Albarracín y se apoderaron a una extensión de terreno bastante considerable. Que se trataba de

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donde terreno montañoso/~~ocupa~~ unos cuantos hombres decididos podían contener una división. Sin embargo, que los anarquistas abandonaron sus puestos sin oponer resistencia y que hasta que el l'ando en Valencia mandó tropas de verdad no fueron contenidos los insurrectos".

Esta intolerable insinuación de cobardía de parte de las fuerzas militares anarquistas ha sido ya hecha antes; pero nunca me imaginé que el Sr. Matthews fuese cegado de tal manera por el sectarismo partidista. Tampoco resultan exactas las observaciones del indicado Sr. relacionadas con la toma de Belchite, que él describe así:-

"El 24 de Agosto los leales se movieron hacia el norte desde Híjar con objeto de tomar Quinto y Belchite, y una división avanzó por toda la línea hasta una cadena de montañas cerca de diez millas al oeste. Los objetivos del primer día fueron ocupados sin grandes dificultades, pues sólo habían pocos puestos rebeldes. El segundo día se realizó otro avance hasta rebasar Sierra Palomera, que en su mayor parte es de unos 5.000 pies de altura".

Hay un hecho significativo que falta en dicha narrativa, y es que la división de la C.N.T. contribuyó con gran eficacia a la toma de Belchite. A mi salida de Barcelona me encontré con el comandante García Vivanco, un miembro de la C.N.T. de mucho tiempo, un simple trabajador antes que el Fascismo infestase España. No sólo me hizo un largo y fehaciente relato del movimiento de Híjar hasta Quinto y Belchite, sino que también me trazó un plano de forma que yo me diese cuenta del heroico avance realizado por las tropas bajo su mando, las cuales fueron calurosamente felicitadas por el General Pozas, quien hasta entonces no había demostrado gran predilección por los anarquistas.

Confío que en honor a la verdad y en justicia al heroico comportamiento de las fuerzas anarquistas en la lucha contra el Fascismo en España, de Vd. publicidad a estas líneas.

Atentamente,

(Firmado) Emma Goldman.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W.14

London 7th December 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear Samuel, *Freedman, New York.*

I wrote you last week saying that I had received comrade Rocker's pamphlet "The Tragedy of Spain". I did not know at the time that the bundles also included the new edition of "Communist Anarchism". This I only discovered the day before yesterday. You was very lucky my dear that you were not near enough to me so that I could turn you about by the other bit. I must say I consider it soandalous for Anarchists living in the United States a life time should not be able to read a short proof without leaving a dozen mistakes in it.

That actually is what happened to my *proofs* preface. I do not believe that you or anyone else read the proofs or they would have seen that I spoke of "this little book", thinking of course it would appear in the same format. Much to my horror and disdain a large book which makes the reference to a "small edition" simply illudicrous. That unfortunately is not all. There are many other most glaring mistakes, among them the way the printer disfigures the term "Parliamentarism". Look it up and you will see. Besides there are many others. Comrade Berkman was so painstaking and so set on having right terms. He would turn in his grave if he could see the numerous mistakes in my preface.

I am afraid that I will never be able to sell it at a dollar in England. You simply do not know how poverty stricken the English masses are. I don't know what we are going to do about it. I am trying to induce the publisher who is getting out Rudolf's "Anarcho Syndicalism" to get out a fresh edition of Sasha's work. I suggested that I would see to it, that he gets the loan of the plates or perhaps he will import sheets. One thing is certain, we cannot dispose of the book for 4/-. Let me know what you can do about a considerable reduction.

I have to rush off to Paris. I had a urgent wire from Vasquez insisting that I must come to the conference of the International Workingmens Association. I am not very keen on going, as I had hardly begun organising our work here. Now I have to drop

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I meant to write to you to ask you if Maria Anselmi
is still coming. She has been coming a month. She is again
in the hospital and cannot get out or able to find it.
It is for her health's sake that she should be helped.

I enclose a copy of my article on political persecution
in Spain.

Fraternal greetings to all the comrades and yourself..

Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 7, London [to] Modest [Stein, New York] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 16 x 13 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London Dec. 7th 37

Telephone: POLARIS 6429

My dear Modest.

Your letter of the 20th of Nov crossed mine of last week. It contained a copy of the statement in re the amount left for the sale of our places after all the many odds and ends piled on by French bureaucracy. Also I asked you to please let me know how much you want me to give Emmy out of your part. As you did not say in yours of the 20th of Nov how much you wanted me to advance for E. I sent her five hundred francs to day for you, and five hundred her monthly allowance from me of the amount I have set aside for her. I think it is a mistake to send E. large sums at once. She has absolutely no sense of value. She spends it on trifles and then is dead broke. If you want me to hold back from the amount I have to send you any part I will give E. every month in small sums for you. So please let me know.

My dear, you must have forgotten my telling and writing you that Bon Esprit cost well on the hundred thousand francs. It was eighty thousand for the purchase, 12,500 taxes to the State even before I could take possession of Bon Esprit. I ~~just~~ paid six thousand in 8/00 interest on the yearly payments to clear fifty thousand, Massier having received thirty thousand from hand to hand. Then there were a lot of extras to the Lawyer. In other words the actual purchase price of Bon Esprit came easily to hundred thousand francs. You understand my dear that does not include the amount of improvements we made which of course has nothing to do with the pure amount the place cost.

Early this spring in answer to my letter asking you to figure out your share you gave 12,500 francs as the amount. I did not know you had figured on eighty thousand. So I gave this sum as your share to the notaire. But now that you have also figured out the indifference ~~amounting~~ from hundred thousand I will deduct the commission for the agent from the 11,863. According to my ~~often~~ figuring Pelet gets 594 francs from your part which leaves your amount 11,269. Just as soon as I hear from you in reply to my last week's letter in regard to Emmy I will send you a check in francs. I have no dollar account any more and as I have the francs deposited in the Seligman bank it will be no use my changing pound into dollars. Besides I have only few pounds. I hope this is satisfactory.

Thank you for asking about me. I am well except

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Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

for my beastly annual cough which is not helped by the dreadful London weather. But I am so completely absorbed in the work for Spain I have not time to think about you. You have no idea what it means to raise anybody in England for Spain, especially for the CNT-FAI. The misrepresentation in the Communist press is so poisonous it is well-nigh impossible to get a word in anywhere. The enclosed letter to the editor of the London Express will give you an idea. Of course it was not published. To day I have written to the Sunday and Daily Times to correct the bloody lies of their correspondent and contributors. I enclose copies. Will you please keep track of the Daily Express. Stella sends me the Sunday. And if my letter appears please send me the clipping. Get a dozen clippings then because I have to send them to the comrades in Spain. You see my dear, a lot of my time is taken up in following up the English American papers and mail down the truly damnable attacks on the CNT-FAI, people who are among the most heroic in the world, and completely dedicated to the struggle to crush Fascism. That explains the many compromises they have made and are making. They live for nothing else but the supreme task to triumph over Franco and his hordes.

Dearest Modest, I had fully intended to write you all about my plans in re Canada and America. But a wire this morning from Paris asking that I come there at once to the Conference of the International Workers Order, makes it impossible to write more. I still have an awful lot to do before I leave to night. But I will write again and tell you all about it.

I am so relieved to know that your racial condition is improving. May it keep up.

With my old affection.

I am taking your letter along to Senia Flechine and will ask him to make you the photos you want.

Yours truly,

EMMA GOLDMAN

TOZDOW #14

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OF THE FBI
DECEMBER 12 1937

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 7, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein. —
4 p. ; 25 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Modest Stein
at West Ninth Street
New York

Dec 7-1937

Dear Emma

I have received your letter dated London Dec. 27.
Like your previous letter ^{it} bears not your
address. Neither is it written on any
official stationery. ^{The envelope} ^{for you and me}
The copy of Bernard's account is addressed
to you in Co. Fleehine 23 rue des Valenciennes,
Paris (15-e). I have mailed you some
letters from time to time to that same
address in case of Mollie Alperine.

However, I am just guessing at your
whereabouts. The fact that you
I never had any definite knowledge
or where you are or going to be is.
A certain time had something to do with
delay of that document reaching you
outside of the fact that most of that time
during the last year of or so I was
laid up at some hospital with
some sort of an ailment. However, to
come back at me at this time with
and put pointing out the enormous losses
you have sustained due

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 7, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein. — 4 p.; 25 × 17 cm.

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2) to my resignation (which I dispute) — is not showing very good sportsmanship. The fact that the franc came down in value during the delay is of course unfortunate, and the delay has not caused the dropping of the franc. The franc could have just as well have gone up during the intervening period, and you and I would have been that much to the good. —
However, here are the facts: —

Just a year ago and for months before that the franc was worth 4.66 cents. At this moment it is worth 3.40 cents a difference of 1.26 cents. After all deductions you have received for your 58,000 francs. Your loss ~~due to the~~ is 58,000 times 1.26 cents which is exactly \$730.80. (Seven hundred and thirty dollars and 80 cents). On the other hand had you received the money a year ago, you probably would have gotten rid of most of it by this time, and I would have done likewise myself. When it comes to money both you and I part company with it easily — So the whole question

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3)

17870

Modest Stein
61 West Ninth Street
New York

becomes purely academic, and
in a way it is just as well.
At least ~~now~~ you are having 58,000.
Had you received the money one year
ago most of it would have gone by now
for a good cause, no doubt, but some not
the same. — I see that Bernard has
figured all proportionate shares on the
basis of your getting five seats and
my share at one sixth, which would
mean that you paid for your share
five times as much as I did — In other
words to you paid for Bon Espirit 100,000
francs. — It is too bad that there
are all sorts of deductions against you
Haven't they ^{seemingly} been impossible to escape
I had to pay over 400,000 francs for
getting the official and A.K. for the power of
attorney. Be that as it may. Bon Espirit
is only a memory now. I am sure that
as things are now, you are better without
it. There are many more activities you

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4) can ^{take} ~~and~~ no talking part in, and / ~~hindrance~~
 But I expect would only be a ~~hindrance~~ to you
 I am looking forward to you coming
 to Canada - Too bad you had to postpone
 the trip. I am improving gradually
 The right side of my face is still paralyzed
 The eye staring wide open. In order to
 prevent the eye from being infected it has
 to be thickly covered with salve completely
 obviating the vision. It happens to be my
 "good" eye - the one most important in my
 work. In my anxiety to turn some work out
 I neglected pretty enough grease in the eye
 with the result that it became badly
 infected (erosion of the cornea). It was very
 painful. Have been running to the doctor every
 day for over three weeks sometimes as often
 as two and three times daily. Of course
 I was full of dope - But am much
 better now. - the eye is healing up - but
 the rest of my face is about the same
 though the M.D. claims improvement. Well it is a long
 drawn out affair and may take months.
 I am sending some money to my wife in
 the next few days. If you have advance
 her any on my account please deduct it
 and whatever balance is left is sent to her
 very welcome - Have not seen any money that
 I could call my own for quite some time.
 As soon as I am back on my feet again I shall
 make some arrangements to send my wife some money
 regularly - I am not by any means downhearted
 in spite of the fact that my face looks like a fried egg.
 I am back to work and full of plans for the future.
 Hope you get good and tight in New Year's eve. I am 50's

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 7, Hy[è]res, France [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 6 p. ; 10 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Hotel St. Paul, Hyeres, Var. France. Tues. Dec. 7th 1937

17236

Dearest Emma,

Your letter dated Dec. 3rd is to hand only today. I am replying to it at length because I have now finished my book (bar revision and some retyping - another week's work I estimate) & tho' I can say a good deal on a postcard (more than anybody I know!) I cannot say what I want to to you on postcards! I don't like typing long letters on small bits of paper like this, but my typewriter ribbon is almost finished & I am still waiting for a new one, & the pale type shows up better on this glazed paper than on the ordinary thin stuff. I can only hope the red type doesn't tire your eyes, my dear, but the black would be even worse I am afraid! I am annoyed because though I ordered a new ribbon last week it still hasn't arrived, and I can't get on in this one-eyed little town.

You will laugh when I tell you, my Emma, that we find that this hotel is the centre of Royalist activities! They had a meeting here the other night & they leave the most fantastically insane royalist pamphlets about! I think I told you its a very bourgeois hotel (horribly art-and-crafty) and is run by a come-down-in-the-world elderly brother and sister - they are always telling everyone how they have seen better days and how their father was mayor of Toulon ... as though it mattered! We hate the place, but we have no choice; its warm and comfortable and this dull little town gives us the drs and chemists we need without going further afield.

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 7, Hy[è]res, France [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 6 p. ; 10 x 16 cm.

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17237

heg was at the hrs again y/day. His blood pressure is still up. He is talking of asking parts to operate on him when he goes on our return. There is an operation they spoke of, but they wanted not to do it unless it was found necessary - if he couldn't get well with diet and rest and medicine. But he is so sick of being a semi-invalid, and feels it terribly that he must be out of 'the fight' - he wants to be on public platforms again playing an active part in the struggle. He feels useless lying about with no energy and out of things. I hate the thought of his going into hospital again, but as he himself says he can't drag on indefinitely like this. After years of excessive energy and activity he feels it more than perhaps he otherwise could.

We return on the 15th, dear Emma. We leave here on the 13th and will travel by 3rd class sleepers from London to Paris on the night of the 13th & leave Paris on the night of the 14th by ferry-train. It's an expensive way of doing things, but the only way if heg is not to be thrown back as he was by the travelling out here. I will telephone you on the 15th. Could we not have a quiet dinner together, you and I Emma, you as my guest? It would make a little break for you, and I would like to do it. I couldn't do it the night of the 14th we get back, of course, or the next day, as that is my day for Jean, but we could discuss a mutually agreeable time when I ring you, couldn't we? if there is any play you would like to see I would gladly take you. I think you should have a little break occasionally, Emma, and you don't have anything like enough relaxation. You have stupendous energy but you aren't a machine - no, Emma, not even inexhaustible you!

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 7, Hy[è]res, France [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 6 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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17238

I will gladly give you my support on the platform at the Conway Hall on the 14th, dear, but before you list me you had better get Carr or Barbara to ring McMillin at the ILP office and ask what is the date of the Hastings meeting to which they are dragging me. I can only hope they've not fixed that for the 14th.

Yes, I know Miles Allison. You won't have any difficulty in getting people to give their names to an anti-fascist organisation- they will flock to it, because the working class movement behind this particular one won't occur to them - I mean they'll ignore that aspect of it, concentrating on the anti-fascist angle. The Popular front idea is an anti-fascist group on a large scale, and that's what frightens me about the SIA idea - that you'll get all the wrong people flocking to it for all the wrong reasons; people who don't give a damn for the revolution in Spain or the international working-class movement and struggle, but who are nevertheless opposed to Fascism. There is even a menace of anti-Fascism - the menace of the Popular Front that seeks to rope in everyone so long as they are anti-Fascist. How are you going to make it clear that the SIA is something quite unrelated to that Popular front conception of anti-Fascism? That is what is troubling me. I dread all manner of reactionaries allying themselves with it - the very people who would support a Popular front Gov. But perhaps you will say that it doesn't matter for this present purpose of helping the Spanish comrades and refugees? No: it would have a certain poetic justice if all sorts of people found themselves linked up with the anarchists as a result of their anti-fascist fervour. Only are such people any good even for this present purpose? I've such a hatred of them though.

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 7, Hy[è]res, France [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 6 p. ; 10 x 16 cm.

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My position really is that I will whole-heartedly support any anti-fascist organisation which is a working-class movement organisation and openly and unmistakably so, but I hate those mixed bags of people whose real place is in a Popular front. There are various anti-fascist organisations I've been asked to support, but I don't because they're basically reactionary (Communist and Labour Party) even though they are anti-Fascist. I think you need to tell me more about the SIA, but don't bother to write it all, my dear; tell me when we meet. Its enough know for you to know that I am whole-heartedly with any organisation that aims at helping the revolution in Spain, the refugees, the political prisoners, those still struggling for the Rev. and that aims at serving the international revolutionary struggle.

Its grievous that Paul Robeson should have been led into the Communist fold. One understands how it is - his colour, and Russia the only country where his child can be educated without feeling the colour bar. That plus his complete political ignorance and naivete.

What a frightful party you went to. You mention two 'ladies' who make me feel 'gocey' all over; women I can hardly be civil to, so hostile in all my blood and bones so I feel to them.

I don't believe the News C would take an article on political persecution in republ. Spain from me or anyone else. The only people who'd touch it would be the pro-Franco papers. You know how it is.

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 7, Hy[è]res, France [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 6 p. ; 10 x 16 cm.

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17220

Dearest Emma, what terrible, heart-breaking reading that stuff you send me about Lunin and the other prisoners was. I could hardly bear to go on with reading it, and I purposely didn't let Peg see it, as these things upset him more than ever now that he can't take an active part in the struggle. How frightful it is that only in the few revolutionary papers is it possible to get hearing - that even the so-called radical papers will do nothing, and only the reactionary papers like the *E-mail* would ventilate these cases - to use as fascist propaganda! It makes one sick to one's stomach - what can one say or do? One can only try to get the hearing of the working-class movement and try to smash through their apathy and arouse some sense of solidarity... and I despair, and meanwhile these gallant men and women lie in jail, are beaten up, and face death. As you say, to attack Republican Spain is to be labelled Fascist, immediately, just as to attack Soviet Russia is to be labelled Fascist and counter-revolutionary. Oh this endless tragic repetition of history! What is there to do but to go on trying to arouse public feeling, to go on making a voice heard... We want ten thousand I was going up and down the country, not one lonely fighter, which is how I sometimes - often - think of you, Emma. There are a few of us who are passionately with you, but how few, and then you get people like me who haven't the gift of public speaking and who can help you so tragically little in your fight! And people like Peg who have the gift - but are killed by life itself. But in France, I tell myself, there are fighters, perhaps, and in America, and one doesn't have to judge by aesthetic ingenuity.

Dearest Emma, not because the anarchist movement frightens people away &

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 7, Hy[è]res, France [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Manning]. — 6 p. ; 10 x 16 cm.

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W. B. return that material to you. As to the letter, (2)

is small does it seem better to me to fight the rev. fight through the wobbly old ILP, but because it seems so desperately important to get a hearing and I despair of getting it through the A. movement. I suppose I stay in the ILP for the same reason: that some people stay in the Lab. Party even whilst they despise it, because they feel they can work more effectively there, because they feel that out of it they'd not get the hearing they can get there. Its an argument I can respect. Its hard enough god knows to get a hearing on the rev. cause through a respectable political party like the ILP, but the moment you mention the anarchist movement people seem to shutter right out of ear-shot as it were. I expect 'til come over to you in the end, but I know you'd only have me come as a result of mental evolution. Spiritually I am with you already, but for practical purposes I still remain unconvinced that best service can be done with the A. movement. There's more to it than this too but he's has now come home wants me to go with him to the post and already this letter is over-long.

Yes, B. so very often doesn't have proper meals - how the devil girls live alone in London on 35/- a week beats me. I help her out a bit financially and have just given her £1 to help her furnish an unfurnished room she's trying to fix up, having moved from her furnished basement. I expect someone gave her that red dress; whenever she's taking things; no false pride about the kid and her's of common sense.

I must end, dear, hurriedly, abruptly. This comes with my fear, love & personal and political devotion. Write when you can and so let's have an

evening out together & talk. (M)

17221

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 7, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fredric J. Warburg. — 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

A. J. WARBURG
BOOK REVIEWER

17889
TELEGRAMS: 1937-8
TELEGRAMS: 1937-8
TELEGRAMS: 1937-8

MARTIN SECKER AND WARBURG LTD
22 Essex Street, London, W.C.2
Publishers

December 7, 1937.

Miss Emma Goldman,
18 Castletown Road,
West Kensington
W. 14.

Dear Emma Goldman,

I return you herewith Berkman's NOW AND AFTER, The B.B.C. of Communist Anarchism. The book is an excellent one but having been published in 1929 is too out of date to make publication possible. It also deals too exclusively with American conditions whereas for our market we should require emphasis on English conditions.

With reference to Cervantes' APUNTES HISTORICOS DE "SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA", this is a book which we should very much like to undertake if suitable terms can be arranged. From the point of view of English publication it would be a good thing if the book could be cut by about 25%. This, our reader tells us could be done without any great loss. In view of the heavy costs of translation it would not be possible to make a very satisfactory offer for the English rights. It may be, however, that the Anarcho-Syndicalists have some young writer who could do a rough translation into English of the text which could then be polished up here by someone who is a good writer and who knows Spain. We have someone here who could do this. If we would not have to pay much for the translation we could offer a reasonable advance, say, £50. on account of royalties. I should be glad therefore if you would let me know what the position is and perhaps get in touch with Barcelona to put our suggestions before them.

I should like you to have dinner with us one day next week and suggest Wednesday or Thursday, December, 15 or 16. Will you let me know if either of these days suit you as there is somebody I particularly want you to meet when you come.

Yours sincerely,

Fredric J. Warburg

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 8, Barcelona [to] E[m]ma [Goldman, London] / Martin Gudell. — 2 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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19326

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84
TELÉFONO 14781 - 41

TELÉFONOS:

CENTRALITA 14781

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Barcelona 8 de Diciembre 1937

Apreciada companera Emma:

He recibido su carta del día 29 de noviembre. También ha venido Frank, y me ha dejado leer su carta. Otro día *Sady* me ha hablado los asuntos que le ha escrito. Hoy voy a contestar a todo lo que se refiere en

las mismas.

1ª.-Con la presente carta le envío la copia de aquél informe que ha hecho *Sady*. Es la visita que habeis hecho a Castellón de la Palma, Tarra-gona, Hospitalet y otros puntos. De momento solamente he encontrado esta copia. De la última carta veo que ya ha recibido la mayoría del material que ha dejado y que seguramente le faltará este material que le envío.

2ª.-Lo que se refiere al caso F. todavía no puedo decirle nada. No me acuerdo del material que me, dice, ha entregado. Por lo demás, ~~que~~ me ha prometido comunicar F.; tan pronto lo tenga en mi poder, le enviaré una copia.

3ª.-Estos días hemos tenido mucho trabajo, pues hemos hecho el traslado de nuestro despacho. Ya no estamos mas en aquél pieo. Estamos en la casa de al lado, donde estaban los Comités de la F. A. I.. Ahora mi dirección es: Via Durruti, N.º-30, 4ª. Secretariado de Propaganda.

4ª.-También he de comunicarle una mala noticia y es que aquella buena Secretaria que he tenido se ha roto el brazo, bajando la escalera resbaló y se ha hecho daño. Por eso la escribo esta carta en español y no en francés, pero creo que con la ayuda del ~~traductor~~ que tiene ya la entenderá.

5ª.-Le enviamos una colección de fotografías sobre el entierro del conocido astrónomo Comae Solax. El pertenecía al Sindicato de la C. N. T. y durante el tiempo de la reacción permitía reunirse a las Juventudes en las salas de su observatorio, donde les daba conferencias sobre la ciencia que le interesaba tanto.

Al mismo tiempo le añado algunos extractos de la prensa que se ha publicado sobre él.

6ª.-Hoy mismo escribo a "Fragus Social" explicando el caso y pidiendo a que le envíen éste periódico gratis.

Por lo demás aquí la vida sigue igual. Muchos creen que la lucha que llevamos depende mas del extranjero que de España misma. Y estan equivocados, la palabra definitiva tendra que decir el pueblo español.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 8, Barcelona [to] E[m]ma [Goldman, London] / Martin Gudell. — 2 p. ; 22 × 18 cm.

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Ultimamente los comunistas estan bucoando demasiado a la C.N.T. Le alaban en su prensa y editan pasquines dedicados especialmente para declarar de que quieren colaborar con nosotros. Como todo el mundo sabe de que son jesuitas del siglo veinte, nadie les hace caso. Sus ganas de colaborar con la C.N.T., vienen porque a ellos mismos les quieren echar del Ministerio. Han cometido demasiados crímenes con el pueblo español y es comprensible de que no les soporten más.
Sin mas por ahora, reciba saludos muy afectuosos

RECIBO DE LA
C. N. T. - E. A. I.
D. A. 1937, 10, 31
D. A. 1937, 10, 31

Martin Gudell

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Dec. 8, Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin Gudell. — 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TRANSLATION:

19328

Dear comrade Emma:

I have received your letter dated 29th November and I have also seen the one you wrote to Frank, while Souchy has spoken to me about the different matters regarding which you have written to him. I am now going to reply at length to everything.

I am enclosing herewith copy of the report made out by Souchy after the visit of you both to Castellon de la Plana, Tarragona, Hospitalet and other places. At the moment I have only found this copy, but from your last letter I see that you have received all the other material and I hope that what I am now sending will complete everything.

As regards F's case I cannot tell you anything yet. He has promised to let us have a report and I will send you a copy as soon as it comes to hand. You refer to some material already out but I do not remember it.

We have been very busy lately moving our Office to new quarters. We have left the old place and have gone to the house next door where the F.A.I.'s Committees were installed. My address now is: Via Durruti, N^o 30, 4^o, Secretariado de Propaganda.

I have to communicate to you some bad news about my good Secretary. She had the misfortune of falling down stairs and breaking her arm. This is the reason why I am writing to you in Spanish instead of French.

We are sending you a collection of photographs of the funeral of the well known astronomer Comas Sola. He belonged to the C.N.T. Syndicate, and during the reaction he allowed the

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Dec. 8, Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin Gudell. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19329

members of the Libertarian Youth to congregate at his Observatory, where he lectured them on the scientific subject to which he had dedicated a long life interest. At the same time we are attaching some Press reports about him.

Under this same date I am writing to "Fragua Social" explaining the position and asking them to let you have the paper free of charge.

The situation here remains very much the same. There are many who think that our struggle now is more dependent on developments abroad than in Spain itself, but I think they are mistaken and that the last word rests with the Spanish people.

Of late the Communists have been making many overtures to the C.N.T. They chant their praises in their Press and publish articles specially dedicated to declare their wish to collaborate with us, but as everybody knows them for jesuits of the 20th century, no one takes any notice. Their wish now to collaborate with the C.N.T. is prompted by the fact that there is a movement afoot to have them thrown from the Government. That this has come about and they want to get rid of them in the Government is understandable seeing the many crimes which they have committed against the Spanish people.

Cordial greetings from

(signed) Martin Gudell.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 8, Toronto [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Joe [Desser?]-
2 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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19009

CANADIAN SECTION

International Antifascist Aid

(SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL ANTIFASCISTA VALENCIA)

Dorothy Rogers, Secretary
750 Bathurst Street
TORONTO
Ontario



December 8, 1937.

My dear Emma:

The last letter I wrote you was addressed to your place in France. After I received your post card informing me that you were going to Spain, I understood that the letter could not have reached you before your departure. I hope that you have the letter by now. During your stay in Spain I was kept well informed of your activities there through the letters which you asked Stella to forward on to me.

I just received a copy of your letter to Freedman this morning. I am very thankful to you for the wealth of information I derived from this letter about the wonderful work that our comrades are doing in Spain. I agree one hundred per cent, with what you say about the action of our Spanish comrades. To prove that you are right about the Spanish comrades I was at a lecture last Friday evening delivered by a young Marxist who was in Spain for one year. One by the name of Bill Krehm, a Toronto boy. He was imprisoned and tortured by the Cheka for eleven weeks. In the course of his talk he openly praised the great work done by the members of the C.N.T. and P.A.I. He also admits that they are the only revolutionary working-class organization pushing forward the social revolution in Spain. At the same time he criticized the leadership of the organization which is in accordance with our theory, namely, that too much power should not be given into the hands of leaders and especially not to give them a chance for a soft seat in the government.

You have, no doubt, received Alexander Berkman's "ABC" by now. It is a very nice edition. Your preface gives the reader an insight into the reasons which prompted Berkman to write such a simple and explicit treatise on Anarchism. The only drawback is that we cannot circulate it as widely as we would like because we haven't enough public meetings. I consider this the best method of disposing of this type of literature. But we are doing our utmost.

We had a nicely attended meeting at the Labour Temple on the 14th of November to commemorate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the death of the Chicago Martyrs. The speakers and the chairman were from our own little group. Which proves that your efforts in organizing our group were not in vain. Dorothy was in the chair. Arthur and Thornberg were the speakers. Thornberg has developed surprisingly in the art of public speaking. Though we are small in number, we are straining every effort to spread our propaganda in Toronto by taking advantage of every opportunity open to us. Most of the credit has to be given to Dorothy, who hasn't missed one meeting of the group since its origin. No matter, rain or shine, she is always on the job doing her share.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 8, Toronto [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Joe [Desser?]-
2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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- 2 -

19010

I have read part of Rudolf Hucker's book "Nationalism and Culture". It is truly a work of art and an important contribution to social philosophy. His pamphlet "The Tragedy of Spain" is very valuable in bringing to the attention of the people the happenings in Spain and is an enlightenment on the betrayal of the Bolsheviks against the revolution in Spain.

By the letterhead you will see that we have organized a committee to aid the International Antifascists on the request of Paris. We will inform you of the results.

I forgot to mention that at the Chicago Martyr Memorial meeting we collected \$15.25 for the Spanish orphans.

Hoping you are well, I remain yours with best love,

Joe

Best regards from Sophie, Millie and Becky and the comrades of the Libertarian Group.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 8, Garden City, N.Y. [to] Emma Goldman, London / Garden City Publishing Company. — 1 p. ; 17 x 12 cm.

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18262

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December 8, 1937.

Mrs. Emma Goldman
X Mr. R. Barr
108 Cunningham Road
London W 12, England.

Dear Mrs. Goldman:

Attached hereto you will find statement showing a balance of \$41.32 due us on your account.

Assuming that this is correct we would greatly appreciate the receipt of your remittance by return post.

Very truly yours,
GARDEN CITY PUBLISHING CO. INC.

J. Nichols
Credit Manager.

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KINDLY REFER TO CREDIT DEPARTMENT'S
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Dec. 11, Paris [to] Ethel [Mannin, Hyères, France] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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Paris Dec 11/37
 my own Ethel. you will be surprised to get
 the letter from here. I am my
 self surprised to be here. I
 was called to Paris in order
 to the Congress of the International
 Workingmen's Association
 and the C.N.T. I had to, you
 may say, Canada. When it
 had just began to get things
 organized, it was, I think, the
 delightful thing that had been
 at the Congress, the left and
 revolutionary movements in
 various countries, Spanish
 anarchists, comrades who were
 now, or under and the danger
 the C.N.T. and the C.R.,
 and the concessionary party
 forced a party. But I had
 to leave the call from
 being a member of the C.N.T.
 at the time. I knew I would

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 11, Paris [to] Ethel [Mannin, Hyères, France] / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p.; 27 x 22 cm.

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have no say as to a date; I
 arrived Wed. and I am all broken
 up from what I have already
 listened to. I shall probably not
 remain until the end. It is only
 that my Spanish comrades
 practically can not be
 again as man necessarily as the
 doctor. At my daughter's
 the Spanish Revolution, happened
 I kept up the war as my
 sister. He heard that he
 gained his strength, success
 the inspiring crowd. I am
 happy he is gone. I am
 I am not in the least
 worried about my body.
 I can, however, still
 this be 14th of March, I
 to meet you in the night
 with me in the morning, at the
 Hotel you will be going to
 I will be so happy to see you
 and say. Please send me word
 dearest. If the cause I will

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 11, Paris [to] Ethel [Mannin, Hyères, France] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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be happy to spend an evening
with you in London. We will
talk about everything. Then
I will tell you about the
last I want to tell
to see you here when you
pass through. Be sure
to write me.

With many love and
kindness from your
Emma
P.S. greetings to
"Reg!"

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001021

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 11, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Martin Gudell. — 1 p.; 22 x 17 cm.
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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C.N.T. - F.A.I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

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TELÉFONOS:

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Barcelona 11 de Diciembre 1937

Compañera Emma Goldman:

Con la presente te remitimos un manifiesto formado por los anarquistas argentinos, que toman parte en la lucha contra el fascismo en España.

Como hay muchos anarquistas que estan dos o tres semanas en España y al salir de la misma empiezan a criticar la actitud de los anarquistas españoles, los compañeros argentinos, han decidido dar a la publicidad estas líneas. Si creéis conveniente podeis publicar entero, o si no, los párrafos que creáis conveniente.

Saludos fraternales

POR EL SECRETARIADO

Martin Gudell

Martin Gudell

*Ich hoffe Sie werden schon
alle Briefe bekommen haben?
In kurzem werden Sie mehr Mate-
rial bekommen?*

Mart

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 11, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin [Gudell].—
1 p.; 11 × 18 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

19335

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 30, 4º BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84
TELÉFONO 14731 - 41

Barcelona, 11 de Diciembre 1937

A la compañera Emma Goldman.

Londres.

Apreciada compañera:

Con la presente le remitimos un folleto titulado "Retaguardia y Frente", el cual puede aprovechar para la información.

Sin otro particular, le saluda fraternalmente

Martin
Haben Sie schon die Briefe bekommen.
Ich habe die Interview in Spain and the World
gelesen. Jetzt übersetze ich es und es wird gedruckt.
Herzliche Grüße M.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 12, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein. —
2 p. ; 24 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17866

Modest Stein
61 West Ninth Street
New York

Dec 12 1937

Dear Emma.

I just received your letter dated Dec 9-11. This by the way is the first letter that I have received from you for a long time that actually has your address on it. - What really counts in figuring out the cost of the place is the purchase price. Whatever expenses were incidental to purchase a possession of Bon Espirit should not figure, for the reason that while you spent a great deal of money in connection with Bon Espirit you actually lived there and enjoyed the place. and while you lived there you were not paying rent elsewhere - that's why, I think you, should not consider any additional expense that you might have had as increasing the purchase price of Bon Espirit. However that is neither here nor there. I am perfectly willing

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 12, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein. — 2 p.; 24 x 17 cm.

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to accept your statement ~~immediately~~ ^{W 867}
I have her before me Mr Bernard
statement he seems to have figured
on you having paid 100.000 francs and
my me paying 20.000 -- for he as
figured your share as 62.500 francs
and mine as 12.500 francs -- ~~for~~ this goes
you five times as much as it does me
which is correct on the basis of the above
purchase price. After deducting your share
of the commission and other legal expenses
you get 58.000 francs (according to Bernard)
My share of the commission is 625 francs
when this amount is deducted from
12.500 it leaves 11.875 francs --
This is the amount due me less 500 francs
that you owe to Emory -- which leaves
11.375 francs. Please ~~do not~~ hold
any of it back for Emory's account.
I need this money very badly as I
am flat broke and head of over
heels in debt. I expect my
situation to improve however
before long as I have started to work
again -- There is a slight improvement
in my face but it is my face
several months longer
a man Madid

this
is
Bernard

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930352

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 13, London [to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, [Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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COMITE NATIONAL

13
London Dec. 13¹³ 37.

19164

Dear comrade Vazquez

I inclose copy of my letter to comrade Herrera in answer to his of Oct 27th. It will explain to you why I have not written him before and about our new quaters for our work here. You will also see that in responce to the information comrade Herrera sent me that you had consented to using part of the sum the Comite National allotted for ~~auxx~~ the work of the CNT Bureau, and my reply to him on this matter. If you remember I stated that to increase our propaganda activities for the CNT-FAI in England we would need from hundred fifty to hundred sixty pounds a month. You assigned 100,000 francs which I now received ~~xxxxxx~~ in pounds, six hundred and 80 pounds. This would hardly cover the expences of five months and would not leave enough to include the extra expences for the propaganda of the SIA. But it is alright for the present because I still have some money left from the original fund for the children I had raised before. ~~xxxxxx~~ Actually, I had 254 pounds when I saw you in Valencia. In my absence from England the Bureau continued its work in London. That and my expences involved in my stay in Paris on the way ~~xxxxxx~~ to Spain and return ~~xxxx~~ has consumed quite a lot of money from the £254. But as I said, I still have a sum on hand to cover the initial expences of launching the SIA. I am only writing you this that you should know how matters stand here.

Under separte cover I am sending you recent copies of the Labor Press Service. You will see that the British Labor Party has at last awakened to the crime of NON-INTERVEMPTION which it has supported from the very beginning and since. ~~xxxxxx~~ We will reprint it in Spain and the World with my Comment. We will send you the issue of our paper just as soon as it comes off the press. If you are now stationed in Barcelona it will not be difficult to get someone to help you with English. First there is the young comrade who is acting as Souchys secretary, she knows both Spanish and English. Then there is Martin Gudell who can translate into Spanish, and finally there is still comrade Abe Bluestein. I do want to send you all material in the papers here or issued by the Labor Press Service but it will have to be in the original as it is impossible to translate it. I am getting considerable help of a most devoted Spanish comrade. But he works hard in the day time for his living, and he also has other important Spanish work to do. I cannot therefore burden him with more than is absolutely necessary. You said you could write me in French. That would be of some help and would save time. Please do it when you write me. Of course if you do not have the sect. who could take French letters go right on in Spanish.

You remember the structure of the CNT you wrote for use here. It has been translated and revised to suite the temper of the British workers. I am having it printed and will send it out to the trade union branches. They are the only hope of reaching

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[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 13, London [to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, [Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

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the organized workers over the heads of their central authorities. And of course the leaflet will be given out at all public meetings.

You will probably also remember that I spoke of a ~~Room~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ to attract people to our center and to interest them in the Spanish struggle. I have asked comrades in every city I have visited while in Spain to send me their publications regularly. They did for several weeks but now the Madrid CNT and Castile Libre have stopped, so has Fragua Social. The latter wrote me to subscribe for the paper. I am quite willing to do so for our ~~Archive~~ and ~~Reading Room~~. But I have no idea how to go about it. Could you not subscribe to all the publications of the CNT-FAI to be sent regularly to us. It is for the urgent need to make known to Spanish readers in London your great work and wonderful struggle. In fact I should want everything the CNT, or FAI are publishing for our Reading Room and Archives. You can charge the expence up to the London Bureau, if you will. Please attend to the matter right away.

We are planning a large meeting early the New Year when I will speak on THE BETRAYAL OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE AND REVOLUTION. Also I will go on tour through the Provinces and take our Film FURIE OVER SPAIN with me. Perhaps I can rouse interest and raise funds for your struggle. As we have no Anarchist movement whatsoever in this country, and only very few individual comrades to help our ~~task~~ here is infinitely more difficult than that of the comrades in France or the U.S.A. But ~~xxxxxx~~ you may rest assure that we will do our very best, always subject however to our knowledge and understanding of the psychology of the British worker and not as mere puppets, ~~on the orders of the Comité National~~. Were we to ~~follow~~ merely follow direction ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~the same disastrous consequences would follow as Stalins' party line~~. I am quite certain neither the National Comité nor you want us to do that. On the other hand, you need have no fear that we will do anything injurious to the grand work of our comrades of the CNT-FAI.

The Spanish reader of Mesrrs Allan and Unwin is now reading PROCEIO HISTORICO DE LA REVOLUTION ~~ESPANOLA~~ ESPANOLA. They will write me to see them when they have the report from him about the value of the work for England. Should this ~~film~~ decline to publish it I have others in view.

Fraternally.

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503

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 13, London [to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, [Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London, 13 de Diciembre de 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

querido camarada Vazquez: Salud:

Te incluyo copia de mi carta para el compañero Herrera, en contestación a la de él del 27 de Octubre ppdo. Por ella verás las causas por las cuales no la había contestado antes. También te enterarás de las diligencias que llevamos realizadas a fin de conseguir un local adecuado para nuestras Oficinas. Igualmente verás mi contestación al camarada Herrera sobre lo que me dice acerca de tu autorización para que yo utilizase el dinero que se precisara, de los fondos que me fueron asignados por la Organización para mi trabajo aquí. Si recuerdas, durante mi estancia ahí, os manifesté que a fin de poder dar mayor impetu a la propaganda de la CNT-FAI en Inglaterra, necesitaríamos de 150 a 160 libras esterlinas mensualmente. La suma asignada por ti fué de 100.000 francos, cuya equivalencia, o sean £680.--, he recibido ya. Esta suma apenas si cubrirá los gastos de 5 meses, y desde luego no permitirá sean incluidos los gastos de propaganda de la SIA. Pero creo me las podré manejar por de pronto, siendo así que todavía tengo parte de los fondos recaudados durante mi campaña anterior. Cuando te vi en Valencia me quedaba de este dinero £254.--. Durante mi ausencia, la Oficina continuó funcionando y añadido a esto los gastos de mi viaje a España y mi estancia en París durante la ida y la vuelta, dicha suma ha quedado bastante mermada; pero para cubrir los primeros gastos de la SIA me parece que habrá bastante. Te informo de todo esto para que estés en antecedentes de la situación.

Por separado te envío varias copias del servicio de prensa del Partido Laborista. Verás como por último el Partido Laborista inglés parece que despierta a la realidad del crimen de la NO INTERVENCION, la cual ha apoyado desde su invención. Vamos a reproducirlo en SPAIN AND THE WORLD, con un comentario mío sobre el particular. Te enviaré un ejemplar de nuestro periodico tan pronto como se publique. Ahora que estás en Barcelona no te será difícil encontrar quien te traduzca del inglés. Primero tienes a la joven camarada secretaria del Souchy. Conoce bien el castellano y el inglés. Luego tienes a Martin Gudell, quien puede traducir al español y por último al camarada Bluestein. Tengo empeño en que recibas todo el material que aquí publican los periódicos y el servicio de prensa del Partido Laborista; pero tendrá que ser en inglés, pues es imposible traducirlo aquí. Cuento con la cooperación de un camarada español que me ayuda considerablemente con el trabajo en castellano; pero tiene que

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- 0 -

19159

ganarse la vida durante el día, además de otra labor de importancia que realiza en pro de la Causa, así es que no puedo cargarle más trabajo que el que ya tiene. Si puedes hacerlo, escíbeme en francés. Ello ya ayudaría en algo. De no serlo posible, sigue escribiendo en español.

El informe que hace tiempo nos mandaste de la estructuración de la CNT ha sido traducido al inglés y en forma de folleto será repartido entre los Sindicatos obreros. Es la única manera de poder llegar hasta las masas de obreros organizados sin la intervención de sus dirigentes. Dicho folleto será también repartido en cuantos actos públicos sea posible.

Recordarás asimismo que te hablé de un Salón de Lectura que sirviese para atraer gente a nuestro Centro y hacerles despertar interés por la lucha en España. A todos los camaradas que vi en los sitios que visité en España les pedí que me enviaran regularmente sus publicaciones, lo cual hicieron por unas cuantas semanas, pero la CNT, de Madrid, Castilla Libre y Fragua Social, han dejado de llegar. De Fragua Social he recibido hace poco una carta, solicitando me suscribiera dicho periódico. No tendría inconveniente en hacerlo, a fin de añadirlo a nuestro Salón de Lectura; pero no indican el importe de la suscripción ni cómo he de enviarlo, por lo que te ruego me digas si tu podrías suscribirme a todas las publicaciones de nuestra Organización, de forma que nos sean enviadas con toda regularidad y así dar a conocer en Londres a los que acuden a nuestro Centro el trabajo y los sacrificios realizados por la CNT-FAI en la lucha contra el fascismo. Dime si puedes atender a esto sin pérdida de tiempo. Los gastos consiguientes los podrías cargar a la Oficina de Londres.

Para principios de año tenemos planeado un gran mitin en el que hablaré de la manera en que ha sido tracionada la revolución del pueblo español. También haré un recorrido por Provincias para proyectar nuestra película FURY OVER SPAIN. Tal vez pueda conseguir donativos que vengán a engrosar el fondo dedicado a nuestra lucha. Como no existe movimiento anarquista alguno en Inglaterra sino sólo unos cuantos compañeros que individualmente prestan la ayuda que pueden, nuestro trabajo aquí se hace mucha mas difícil que en Francia o en los Estados Unidos. No obstante, puedes estar seguro que de nuestra parte pondremos todo el empeño necesario, siempre en relación con nuestro conocimiento y comprensión de la psicología del trabajador inglés, y no como meros autómatas. Si fuéramos a seguir rígidamente las indicaciones de la CNT, sin atemperarlas a las condiciones y peculiares circunstancias de cada lugar, caeríamos en los mismos errores y consecuencias desastrosas que los partidarios de Stalin han obtenido al querer imponerse en los demás países. Estoy segura que ni tu ni el Comité Nacional desean tal cosa. Por otra parte, vuelvo a asegurarte que de nuestra parte no se hará nada que pueda implicar el menor daño a nuestros camaradas de la CNT-FAI.

El traductor de los editores Allan & Unwin está actualmente leyendo la obra PROCESO HISTORICO DE LA REVOLUCION ESPANOLA y han quedado en escribirme tan pronto reciban su informe acerca de si la obra tendrá aceptación en Inglaterra. Caso de que estos edito-

res resuelvan no publicarla, conozco a otros a quienes ofrecerla.

Fraternalmente,

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505

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 13, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rocker].— 2 p.; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18477

Crompond, N.Y. December 13th 37.

Diebeste Emma:

Das war eine Freude, als dein Brief von London hier eintraf. Wir hatten keine ruhige Stunde, solange du in Spanien warst. Vor allem ich, dass die spanischen Kämpfer den dir jeden Schutz geben würden, soweit sie dazu in-stande waren, aber wir wussten auch, wie schwer es ist, gegen die Anschläge Moskows anzukämpfen, und wir haben uns keinen Ruhe.

Ich kann mir vorstellen, dass du dich in Paris verloren fühltest, in dieser verrückten Atmosphäre, die jeder Vorkämpfer noch kameradschaftliches Entgegenkommen kennt. Ich zweifle ebenso wenig wie du, dass Sonja und die anderen Gründe haben, mit der Politik der U.S. nicht einverstanden zu sein. Es gibt Dinge, die man von außen vielleicht besser beurteilen kann als von innen, aber es gibt auch Situationen, die nur von innen heraus und unter dem Einfluss der unmittelbaren Vorfälle zu erklären sind. Dass Fehler gemacht werden sind, bestreitet keiner, aber wie und ob diese Fehler hätten vermieden werden können, das ist eine ganz andere Frage. Vor allem aber kann mir niemand einreden, dass diese Fehler einen direkten Verrat enthalten sind. Unsere Leute in Spanien stehen einer Welt von Feinden gegenüber, und jeder Mensch mit gesundem Verstand muss wissen, was sie erwartet, wenn sie das Spiel verlieren. Die Folgen wären ganz unüberschaubar. Jeder muss das wissen, und nur blinder Fanatismus, der zu jedem klaren Urteil unfähig ist, kann das verkennen. In Spanien entscheidet sich heute das Schicksal Europas, vielleicht der Welt. Die Umrtriebe der Faschisten in Südamerika und hier in den U.S. beweisen das. Ich kann von der kleinen Mollie nicht erwarten, dass sie diese Dinge klar übersieht, aber Sonja hat Grütze genug im Kopf, um das zu sehen. Wie man unter solchen Umständen, den heroischen Spaniern in den Rücken fallen kann, ist mir unbegreiflich. Ich zweifle keinen Augenblick an Sonjas Aufrichtigkeit, denn ich kenne ihn zu gut, um ihn, wenn auch nur unbetusst, schlechte Motive zu unterstellen. Aber er hat sich so verrennt, dass er nicht mehr zurück kann, denn er ist nicht der Mann, der einen begangenen Fehler einsieht. Die Antwort der anderen machte ihn nur noch bitterer; so kam es, dass er überall nur schlechtes sah, um den Spaniern etwas zu Leuge zu flicken. Sein Artikel, in dem er diese des Nationalismus beschuldigte und sie gewissermaßen mit Hitler auf eine Stufe stellte, ist der beste Beweis dafür. Sonja sieht nur Fakten, aber er besitzt nicht die Gabe, diese psychologisch zu erklären. Es gibt Dinge, die man fühlen muss, um sie zu verstehen, aber die wenigsten sind dazu in-stande; Sonja weiss nicht und die kleine Mollie erst recht nicht. Das ist kein Vorwurf, denn es gibt Eigenschaften, die einem die Natur selber mit in die Wiege legt. Entweder man hat sie, oder man hat sie nicht. Besitzt man sie nicht, so wird das Gesichtsfeld eingeengt und der tiefere Einblick in die Dinge erschwert, wenn nicht in ganzen unmöglich gemacht. Menschen werden bitter, und wo die Bitternis einsetzt, dort geht das richtige Verständnis zum Teufel.

Was mich am meisten bedrückt, ist der Umstand, dass so viele unter uns, die jahrelang den Bolschewismus alle möglichen Tugeständnisse machten mit der törichten Hoffnung, dass sich vielleicht doch noch alles zum Guten wenden würde, heute rücksichtslos über die Spanier den Stab brechen, in einer Zeit, wenn diese auf Leben und Tod um ihre Existenz kämpfen müssen. Das ist bitter.

Vor einigen Tagen kam Corbó hier an. Er bleibt nur einige Tage und fährt nach Mexico. Wir werden morgen eine kleine Versammlung mit ihm haben bei mir zu Hause. Er sieht sehr schlecht aus, ist aber sonst, wie alle Spanier, voller Hoffnung für die Zukunft. Ich wünsche bloss, dass ich die Dinge ebenso hoffnungsvoll betrachten könnte.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 13, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rocker].— 2 p.; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Es freut mich, dass dir meine Broschüre gut gefallen hat. Ich sprach mit Freedman von der PAB und er sagte mir, dass man auch die Broschüren zu einem billigeren Preise senden würde. Vielleicht würde es sich lohnen, dieselben in England zu drucken.

Von Harburn habe ich einen Brief erhalten, aber kein Geld. Da ich nicht Zeit genug hatte, das Buch selber in Englisch zu schreiben, so liess ich es übersetzen von Chase. Nun ist meine Lage so, dass ich dieses die Übersetzung fast bezahlt habe (ich schickte ihm bereits 75 Dollar aus meiner eigenen Tasche) selber aber noch keinen Cent erhalten habe. Hätte ich mehr Zeit gehabt, so hätte ich die Sache selbst in Englisch geschrieben, aber da ich das bis November zu liefern hatte, so konnte ich keine Minute verlieren. Wäre mir nicht die Broschüre über Spanien dazwischen gekommen, so hätte ich Zeit genug gehabt, aber so war es unmöglich.

Ich befinde mich jetzt in einer ganz elenden Lage. Seit letzten April habe ich gearbeitet wie ein Pferd und nicht einen roten Heller eingenommen. Mein Buch über Nationalismus brachte mir bisher nicht einen Cent und es ist fraglich, ob es mir überhaupt etwas einbringen wird. Es war ein grosser Fehler, dass wir das Buch Covici überliessen. Du hattest dich seiner Zeit gewarnt, aber Goldman und Jeanne und Jay Levey, die mit Covici befreundet sind, waren der Ueberzeugung, dass er ein massender Verkäufer ist. Das heisst Jeanne war etwas in Zweifel, aber die anderen glaubten, dass alles gut sein würde. Ohne Zweifel meinten sie es redlich und sind jetzt selber enttäuscht, denn Covici tut für das Buch absolut nichts. Es scheint dass ein stiller Boykott gegen das Werk in Gange ist. Die Koszower haben hier überall ihre Hand im Spiele. Sie sind fast in allen arabischen Blättern vertreten, und das ist natürlich nicht günstig für uns.

Das Unglück ist, dass ich so wie bisher nicht länger existieren kann. Ich gerate immer mehr ins Winterreifen und bin schon seit den letzten zwei Jahren nicht mehr instande, notwendige Bücher zu kaufen, um auf den Laufenden zu bleiben. Bücher sind hier sehr teuer, so dass ich sie nicht erschwingen kann. So wird mir auch und nach mein wichtigstes Lebenselement geraubt. Aber was kann man da tun. Zum Glück haben wir die Herausgeber meines Buches in Spanien 5000 Frank geschickt, was allerdings nicht mehr wie 150 Dollar ausmachte. Innerhin half es etwas. Wir wohnen jetzt auch den Winter über auf dem Lande, weil es billiger ist, aber wenn das so weiter geht, so werden wir auch das nicht länger aushalten können. Ich möchte am liebsten nach Europa zurückfahren, wenn ich nur die Möglichkeit dazu hätte. Aber ohne Papiere ist auch daran nicht zu denken. Ich hätte noch so manches zu tun, aber ich glaube, dass ich mir auch dieses aus der Tasche schlagen muss.

Den Kontrakt mit Harburn sah ich Miriam zu lesen. Dass er nun nun für das Übersetzungsrecht einen so hohen Preis fordern könnte, kam mir natürlich nie in den Sinn. Es ist ein Unglück. Da sitzt man un erbeitet, hat nichts davon und zu guter Letzt wird einem noch die Publikation versperrt. Wenn man heute nicht etwas vom Geschäftsmann in sich hat, ist man verraten und verkauft.

Ich fahre heute Mittag zur Stadt und werde dann sehen, dass dir sofort ein Exemplar meines Buches über Nationalismus zugesandt wird. Ich dachte, dass du schon längst ein Buch erhalten hättest, denn ich gab den Leuten in der PAB brieflich den Auftrag dazu. Nachdem dein Brief hier eintraf, der mir bestätigte, dass du kein Buch erhalten hast, fragte ich an und erfuhr zu meinem grossen Aerger, dass die Sache verbunzelt wurde. Man muss hier alles selber tun, wenn nicht, ist man geliefert.

Jetzt kommt Besuch. In meinen nächsten Briefe mehr. Mir unarmen dich alle drei von ganzen Herzen und wünschen dir guten Erfolg in deiner Arbeit

Rudolf

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880726250

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 13, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Samuel Freedman. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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Since 1899

Telephone CHelsea 2-9867

Freie Arbeiter Stimme

JEWISH WEEKLY

45 WEST 17th STREET

NEW YORK CITY

December 13, 1937

Dear Emma:

I received your first letter of Nov. 18th. I must say that I agree with you that I would not win the Nobel Prize for my prompt reply to you. At that time I was tremendously busy day and night with the largest annual affair for the FREIE ARBEITER STIMME.

I managed to send you Rocker's pamphlet and Berkman's book. As far as the pamphlet is concerned, I agree with your price you mentioned in your post card. To let you have them at fivepence each, and you to sell it for sixpence, so that you may spread and be able to sell many pamphlets. You must bear in mind that we must spend more than 2¢ per pamphlet to ship them to England. We could let you have Berkman's book for 75¢. Each book costs us about 18¢ to send to you, which leaves us 57¢, nearly the cost of the book.

With your leaving for Spain, the work of the Committee to raise the fund for you stopped. Up to date we have succeeded in raising \$150.00. As you probably know, comrade Starrett became ill and was laid up in the hospital for several weeks. As soon as he is well, we will call a meeting in order to see what can be done to complete the job.

The proofs of your preface was read and corrected by one of our younger comrades, who is a college graduate and is incidentally the editor of the "Vanguard", the English Anarchist publication. If there are any errors, it is not my fault, as I left it entirely in his hands, confident that he knows the English language more thoroughly than I do, or any of the foreign comrades connected with our movement. The expression "this little book", were your own words in the preface and he did not wish to change the style of your wording. After all, it is almost the same size..the same amount of pages..same plates. The entire book is about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch larger. That does not make much of a difference. As to the word "Parliamentarism", I believe you are right, but such mistakes you will always find in the most expensive editions, and you should be accustomed to this. I don't know why you are so upset about it.

In several letters you mention that the FREIE ARBEITER STIMME is arriving in St. Tropez. We just looked over our mailing list and find that it was stopped long ago. We are now sending The F.A.S. to your London address.

We are sending Emmy \$10.00 monthly. We missed 2 times because

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 13, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Samuel Freedman. — 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

~~we~~ we were short in funds. We are doing the very best we can under the circumstances, as she is not the only one in need of our aid. There are many others here in the U.S. and Europe who we must help.

On November 29th, we sent Emmy \$10.00 on the address of the American Express Co. As soon as I receive an answer that she received it, I will send her another \$10.00.

Fraternal greetings from myself and all the comrades.

Comradely yours,

Samuel Freedman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 14, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 2 p.; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Vence
14/12/37

Dearest Emma,

I got your letter and cheque from Paris, for which many thanks. I had already written to the agent about the lavatory and do hope he has had it seen to. It was a disgraceful job done by the builder and were it not for all the trouble I feel I ought to have some redress.. I trust your trip to Paris ~~had~~ not tired you out. These cold miserable days are not ideal for such a long journeys. Are you doing your usual winter lectures at the different provincial towns? They were pretty tiring. The general state of things in the world is not very cheering - not China - those fascists seem to be doing just as they like and no one to stop them. One cannot help comparing the fight Spain has made against that put up by China!! Here it is dull and very cold, last night snow fell all around and the hills are white. I am keeping indoors because I still have neuritis in my legs. It seems the shock I got from the fall accounts for the really awful, pains I get in both legs which makes it impossible for me to walk any distance. Unless something happens soon I will have to see a special doctor. Every one urges me to do this but I keep putting it off - in my usual way. Nellie came up to see me last Sunday she is looking extremely well and quite fat - but that I dare not tell her. She sees a good deal of Emmy who like of old, weekly threatens operations then changes her mind.

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zxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx come to
xxx time for all good men to come to
t

Gentile.

Nothing has come from the telephone people - As I can wait the change made in the name of Cotton as Stephens.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 14, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / P[edro] Herrera. —
1 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19000

FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBERICA

COMITÉ PENINSULAR

Secretaría
(SECRETARÍA)

Via Duro, 30, 6.º, Superficie
Teléfono 4111

Barcelona, 14 de December de 1937

Emma Goldman, Delegada del Comité Peninsular de la F.A.I.
18 Castletown Road
LONDON W.14

Dear comrade:

after your return from your stay in Spain, where you had an opportunity to inform yourself on the present situation in this country, we would now be very grateful if you could give us some information on the situation in England and the possibilities of propaganda our movement has over there.

Considering the importance of British politics for Spain and the relations recently established between our Government and the Labour Party on account of the visit of Major Attlee and his companions, we are very interested to know what our possibilities for relations and propaganda are inside the Labour Party or Labour Party Opposition and the Trade Unions.

Hoping for a quick reply we are

Yours fraternally

[Signature]
COMITÉ PENINSULAR
SECRETARÍA

We enclose copy of a statement, published by the FAI and concerning the crisis of the U.G.T.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

881010224

[Letter, 1937?] Dec. 16 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Norah Meade Corcoran. — 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25192

56 Redcliffe Gardens,
Earls Court.
December 16

Dear Miss Goldman:

For quite a number of years I have been anxious to meet you, and Mr. Makeef, hearing me say so, sent me the enclosed before he left for America.

I should be very glad indeed, if you could let me have a chat with you sometime - not with any ulterior motive, though I am a journalist, unless you wish it, or rather are willing. The "World" used to be my paper. I am temporarily free-lancing in London, but keeping a connection with the U.S.A.

With the exception of tomorrow and Sunday afternoon, I am quite free to suit my time to yours.

Sincerely yours,

Norah Meade Corcoran

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 17, N[ew] Y[ork to Emma Goldman, London] / Harry Rosenberg. — 3 p. ; 21 × 21 cm.

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Bringing
Christmas Wishes

W
B
W

1796



★
May you have a
Merry Christmas
followed by a
jolly, glad New Year
★
SEE BACK.
Harry Rosenberg
812 Riverside Drive
N.Y.C. U.S.A.

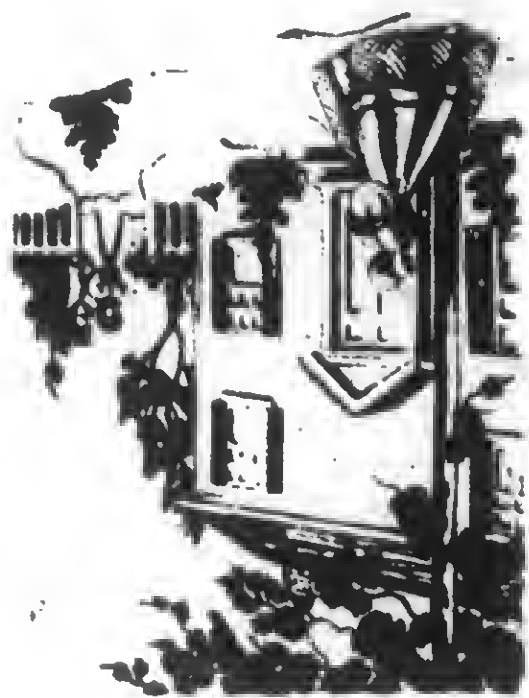
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 17, N[ew] Y[ork] to Emma Goldman, London] / Harry Rosenberg. — 3 p. ; 21 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Chapman

17649



Dear Mrs Bolton ^{NY 12/17/37}
A few weeks
ago I sent you a letter
& card, but I'm not
positive whether I had
complete address. It
was in acknowledgement
of your generous letter
(reply to my promise of Tom
'Living my life' -
I'll be brief -
I showed you letter
to Sonia, whom Alexander
over

Wishing you
good health
good friends
and good cheer
at all times
Christmastime

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 17, N[ew] Y[ork] to Emma Goldman, London] / Harry Rosenberg. — 3 p. ; 21 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Berkman called Black Diamond and whom he wished
to train as a speaker (so she claims) well she wept
for mere joy just to see your signature again
wished you all the joy & luck, and said she
would send you a check for the Besque
Children, and a nice letter — I feel she will

She is married to a ¹⁷⁶⁰⁰ your unknown admirer & friend
French man (Court Interpreter) Harry Rosenberg
has 2 sons.

You may recall her

812 Riverside Drive
City

Single poor accomplished
should have been pensioned
or chloroformed at Birth
all Idealists should in
this miserable society.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 18, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. — 1 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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19321

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84
TELÉFONO 14781 - 41

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Barcelona 18 Décembre 1937

Comarade **EMMA GOLDMAN**
Londres

Chère Comarade,

La porteuse de cette lettre est la camarade Ruth Prothero qui a été 17 mois en Espagne et presque toujours au front d'Aragon, dans l'une de nos colonnes, celle de Francisco Ascaso. Elle est docteur en médecine et a été toujours en contact avec nos compagnons. Ces derniers l'apprécient beaucoup. Comme elle est obligé de se déplacer à Londres, nous vous le recommandons. Vous pourrez profiter de sa collaboration pour la propagande, car elle peut fournir de précieux témoignages sur nombreux événements d'Espagne.

Elle connaît très bien l'ambiance espagnole et la langue et pourra vous aider dans les traductions, ainsi que pour la propagande orale.

Recevez, chère Comarade, mes salutations fraternelles

INFORMACION EXTERIOR
C. N. T. - F. A. I.
32, Via Layetana, 34
BARCELONA (España)

Martin Gudell

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871001171

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 18, New Milford, Conn. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stewart [Kerr]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19787

R.F.D.#3, New Milford, Conn.

Dec. 18, 1937

My Dear Emma:

Toward the end of September, I received a letter from Minna with the good news that you may be coming back to this side of the Atlantic before long.

Since then I have not heard from her, and I am wondering whether you really will return to Canada, which you can enter, and where you would be at least a little nearer to those who would like to meet you again.

I hope you will not think I have forgotten my one time landlady. You are often in my mind, in spite of being much distracted with the effort to bring this old farm house back to living condition (and a disposition to put off correspondence till "tomorrow.") I hope you will believe this, though I admit you have reason to think otherwise.

This is only an apology for a letter, but the truth is that the news from the outside world is so depressing that I cannot write more. The only ray of hope I can see is that there seems to be a gradual realization by the people of what war really is. That is all to the good, but that it will prevent what seems to be approaching is another matter.

Enclosed is a photograph made by Harry Weinberger on a recent visit. He took a number of exposures, but all except this one were so solemn and woebegone that I was glad to get one in a happier mood.

I should be glad to hear from you again, and I hope you will write soon. My next letter, which I promise will be written, will be longer.

Affectionately,



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 20, London [to] Spanish Revolution, New York / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 24 x 18 cm.

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DEBEN TERMINARSE LAS PERSECUCIONES POLITICAS EN ESPAÑA:

EMMA GOLDMAN SE DIRIGE A LA CONCIENCIA MUNDIAL.

1936 - 1937. No se ha hecho aún ninguna reforma humanitaria en Prisiones. Las Bastillas Españolas desempeñan otra vez sus horribles funciones. Las persecuciones políticas están en su apogeo bajo el régimen stalinista-Prieto.

En mi primera visita a España en septiembre del 36, nada me sorprendió tanto como la libertad política que encontré por donde quiera que fui. Verdaderamente, esa libertad no era extensiva a los fascistas; pero aparte de esos contumaces enemigos de la Revolución y de la emancipación de los trabajadores españoles, todos los componentes del frente antifascista disfrutaban de una libertad política como nunca ha existido en ninguna de las llamadas democracias europeas. El partido que más se aprovechó de la situación fué el P.S.U.C., el partido stalinista en la España revolucionaria. Su emisora de Radio y sus "speakers" llenaban los aires. Sus marchas diarias en formación militar y con sus banderas a todo viento, absorbían el ambiente. Parecía que se celebraban en marcha en forma provocativa frente a la casa del Comité Regional, como si quisieran augurar a dicho Comité y a la C.N.T. - F.A.I. su decisión de pegar duro y fuerte el día que obtuviesen el poder completo.

Todo esto resultaba obvio a cualquiera de los camaradas y delegados extranjeros que habíamos venido a España para ayudar en la lucha contra el fascismo. No ocurría así con nuestros camaradas españoles. Ellos no hicieron caso de las "bravatas comunistas". Ellos insistían en que toda aquella algazara de aplausos, estilo circo, no decidiría la lucha revolucionaria y que ellos tenían cosas más importantes que hacer y que no podían perder el tiempo en exhibiciones inútiles.

Durante mi estancia de tres meses visité muchas fábricas, propiedades, hospitales y maternidades colectivizadas en Barcelona y, por último, la cárcel Modelo. Esta es la prisión que ha albergado a los más distinguidos revolucionarios y anarquistas de Cataluña. Nuestros distinguidos camaradas Durruti, Ascaso, García Oliver y tantos otros, han habitado celdas contiguas a la que habitó Companys, el actual presidente de la Generalidad.

Yo visité esa institución en compañía de un camarada médico que ha hecho un estudio especial sobre psicología criminal. El director me dió libre acceso a todas las dependencias de la prisión y permiso para hablar con cualquiera de los fascistas detenidos, sin la presencia de guardias. Entre unos cuantos admiradores de Franco que se hallaban presos, había algunos sacerdotes y varios militares. Ellos me aseguraron unánimemente que eran tratados con indulgencia y no tenían queja alguna de los directores de la institución, en su mayoría hombres de la C.N.T. - F.A.I.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 20, London [to] Spanish Revolution, New York / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 24 x 18 cm.

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- 2 -

Hacia la antigua situación.

El 16 de septiembre de este año volví a visitar España. Fui directamente a Valencia y allí descubrí que 1.500 miembros de la C.N.T., camaradas de la F.A.I., de las Juventudes Libertarias, del P.O.U.M. y hasta de las Brigadas Internacionales, llenaban las cárceles valencianas. Durante mi corta estancia no desaproveché oportunidad para obtener permiso para visitar a nuestros camaradas, entre ellos a Gustaf Dorster, a quien conocí en Alemania por sus grandes actividades en el movimiento anarco-sindicalista, antes de que Hitler ascendiese al poder.

Se me aseguró que se me daría permiso para visitarlos a todos; pero a última hora, poco antes de regresar a Barcelona, se me dijo que los extranjeros no podíamos visitar a los prisioneros. Pronto descubrí que aquella situación existía en cada pueblo y villa que visité. Millares de camaradas y otros revolucionarios genuinos llenaban las prisiones del régimen stalinista de Negrín.

Cuando regresé a Barcelona a principios de Octubre, procuré inmediatamente visitar a nuestros camaradas detenidos en la cárcel Modelo. Después de vencer muchas dificultades, el camarada Agustín Souchy logró obtener permiso para que pudiera entrevistarme con algunos camaradas alemanes.

Me sorprendió grandemente encontrarme con el mismo Director que tenía la institución en mi visita del año anterior. El me reconoció y me dio de nuevo amplia libertad para entrar en la prisión. No me fue necesario hablar a los camaradas a través de las odiosas barras de las celdas. En el patio donde fueron reunidos de antemano, me vi rodeada de camaradas alemanes, italianos, búlgaros, rusos y españoles. Todos querían hablarme a la vez, para manifestarme las condiciones en que se hallaban. Y descubrí que se hallaban detenidos sin que hubiese contra ellos causa alguna que pudiese ser mantenida ante una sala judicial capitalista, excepto el cargo idiota que se les hacía de ser "trotskistas".

El celo revolucionario "premiado"

Estos hombres de todas las partes del mundo que volaron hacia España, frecuentemente mendigando para llegar allí, a fin de ayudar a la revolución española uniéndose a las filas antifascistas ofreciendo sus vidas en la lucha contra Franco, estaban cautivos.

Otros habían sido detenidos en plena calle y habían desaparecido sin que se pudiese hallar indicio de ellos. Entre esos muchos se hallaba Rein, hijo del menchevique ruso internacionalmente conocido, Abramovitch. La víctima más reciente es Kurt Landau, antiguo miembro del Comité Ejecutivo del Partido Comunista Austriaco, que pertenecía, a raíz de ser detenido, al Comité Ejecutivo del P.O.U.M. Todo esfuerzo hecho para saber su paradero ha sido inútil. En vista de la desaparición de Andrés Nin, del P.O.U.M., es lógico creer que Kurt Landau ha corrido la misma mala suerte.

Renace la Inquisición.

Unos días antes de mi salida de España fui informada de buena fuente de que la antigua odiosa bastilla de Montjuich se utilizaba otra vez para albergar prisioneros políticos.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 20, London [to] Spanish Revolution, New York / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 24 x 18 cm.

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- 3 -

El infame castillo de Montjuich tiene una historia negra, macabra. Sus piedras son testigos mudos de la crueldad del hombre para con el hombre, de millares de asesinatos cometidos con los métodos más salvajes de tortura, de hombres empujados a la locura y al suicidio. Montjuich, donde en 1897 fue revivida la Inquisición española por Cánovas del Castillo, entonces primer ministro de España. Fue durante su gobierno que 300 trabajadores, entre ellos distinguidos anarquistas españoles, fueron tenidos durante meses en celdas subterráneas húmedas, repetidamente torturados y privados de la defensa legal. Fue allí, en Montjuich, donde fue asesinado Francisco Ferrer, por el Gobierno en contubernio con la Iglesia Católica.

El año pasado visité esa atemoradora fortaleza. Entonces no había allí prisioneros. Las celdas estaban vacías. Descendí a oscuras profundidades, precedida de antorchas que iluminaban el camino. Creí oír los gritos agonizantes de las víctimas que habían expirado en aquellos horribles agujeros. Sentí gran alivio al ver de nuevo la luz del día.

La historia se repite así misma, después de todo. Montjuich desempeña otra vez su misión horrible. Se halla el Castillo otra vez lleno de ardientes revolucionarios que se encontraron entre los primeros en los varios frentes de batalla. Milicianos de la Columna Durruti, que libremente dieron su vigor y juventud para librarse del autoritarismo militar; miembros de la Brigada Internacional que fueron a España de todas las partes del mundo para luchar contra el fascismo, todos ellos han descubierto la crasa indiferencia para con ellos por parte de los oficiales y comiandantes políticos y que se han perdido criminalmente vidas humanas debido a la ignorancia militar y el propósito partidista de adjudicarse la gloria. Todos esos y más se hallan en el fuerte de Montjuich.

Los intelectuales honrados deben hablar.

Desde que terminó la carnicería mundial y empezaron los horrores de las dictaduras rojas y negras, se han atrofiado las sensibilidades humanas, pero todavía quedan algunas personas que tienen el sentido de la justicia. Verdaderamente, Anatole France, George Bernard Shaw y otras muchas almas cuyas protestas salvaron 22 víctimas del Estado soviético, ya no se encuentran entre nosotros. Sin embargo, todavía viven los Gide, los Silones, Aldous Huxley, Havelock Ellis, John Cowper Powis, Rebecca West y otros muchos que seguramente protestarán, tan pronto como se den cuenta, de las infames persecuciones políticas bajo el régimen comunista de Negrín y Prieto.

Como quiera que sea, yo no puedo permanecer callada frente a tan bárbaras persecuciones políticas. En justicia para con los millares de camaradas que he dejado en las prisiones españolas debo hablar y hablaré.

Diciembre, 1937.

(De "Spanish Revolution" de "New York, 20.12.37)

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 21, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W.14

London 21st December 1937.

TELEPHONE : FULHAM 6829

Dearest Rudolf,

It is with a heavy heart that I am writing you this time. In the long years I have spent in our movement I have attended many conferences; but I cannot recollect one so surcharged with antagonism and bitterness as the congress of the I.A.A. in Paris last week. I had no intention of attending it, for I foresaw how the forces would clash; but I was called to Paris by a wire signed by Vaquas, so I went. I cannot tell you what exorciating pain it was to sit through sessions without the right to take part in the proceedings. True, an exception was made in my case owing to the requests of the Spanish and Swedish comrades that I should be given the right to speak. The French delegation was opposed to it. They said it was not "regular" but they were voted down and so I spoke, although I knew that what I had to say would fall on deaf ears.

The gulf between the Spanish comrades and the countries outside of Spain seem too deep. The former are in a burning house with flames shooting up from every part of it, coming nearer and nearer to them, to burn them alive. It is therefore natural that they should want to plunge—make the plunge though it may also end in death. The comrades of other countries are still in comparative safety. They can still reason about the methods taken by our people in the burning houses. I tried hard to explain all this. I am enclosing a copy of my notes, so you will see what I tried to do. Naturally the Spanish comrades were pleased with my attempt to reconcile what seemed to be the irreconcilable; but the comrades, especially Sania and his followers are more than ever convinced that I am going back on everything that I had ever stood for. That is not the thing that hurts most. There is something more profound which has left me torn in every nerve and every thought. Among other propositions the Spanish comrades made, was that the I.A.A. should call on the 2nd and 3rd Internationals for a common stand and action against world fascism. Naturally all the other delegates were opposed to it, and although I did not remain until the close

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of the conference I am certain that the proposition was voted down by everyone present except the Spanish. To me it was a thunderclap, from a clear sky for I never expected the C.N.T. would ever suggest such a preposterous idea. Just think of it, the 3rd International, which in point of fact is no longer in existence and which Stalin *even* has ~~been~~ put on the dung heap, is now to be approached by the C.N.T. As to the 2nd International, you know as well as I, what a treacherous institution it has been since the world war and how it would again betray the workers if need be. Granted that the comrades are forced to take the plunge to escape the consuming flames I cannot see what they can gain by affiliation with such decadent bodies. Can you? I have tried my damndest to make it clear to the Spanish comrades that they would not save their lives for the Revolution by such alignments. On the contrary they would be swallowed up by the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, and unless our people come to their senses or, as is more likely, the 3rd and 2nd Internationals will refuse their appeal, I will not be able to continue to work for the struggle in Spain. I have certainly done my utmost to help our comrades. I want nothing better than to stand by them to the very end. But I will have to stop if they succeed in getting in with that rotten criminal gang in the 2nd and 3rd Internationals.

I have suggested to the Spanish comrades another way, also by no means consistent; but still not quite such a denial of fundamental principles as their resolution about the block with the sinister organisations. I suggested that the C.N.T. should address itself to the workers direct through the trade unions, even if they have to do so through the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. or the Trade Unions of England. After all these organisations represent the workers even if the leaders are as corrupt as the politicians. I was sustained in this proposition by our comrade Rose Peseto, who had arrived in Paris on the same day as I, and who had attended the Sessions. Coming fresh from the States and as an Official of the L.G.W.U. her opposition to the alignment with the 2nd and 3rd Internationals may have a *much* stronger influence on the Spanish comrades than what I said. We also advised that the Syndicates of the C.N.T. should write to their respective brother unions in the different countries, such as the Spanish transport workers to the transport workers of America and England. The metal workers to the metal workers. The textile workers to the textile workers, and so on. I feel certain that the result would be more important and certainly of greater moral force than any *affiliation* alignment with the Internationals. I am hoping our comrades will reconsider the suicidal proposition and proceed on the above suggested lines..

If only you had been at the conference you might have had a solitary influence on our Spanish comrades and also on all the other sections. It is a thousand pities that you were so far away.

Since the C.N.T. entered the Government and began their eulogies of Stalin and his regime I have been in a turmoil and conflict, though I continued the work for our people. I was willing to explain and excuse those compromises which resulted in exactly what I foresaw. The communists in power have done their deadly work. They have killed our comrades by the scores. They have filled the prisons with members of the C.N.T., F.A.I., our Youth and members of 4

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3.

 Roc

the P.O.U.M. They have attempted to destroy some of the collectives. If they did not entirely succeed it is due to the fact that the communists have no root in the Spanish people, and that the ideas and ideals of ~~Romantic~~ ~~Libertarian~~ are deeply ingrained in the workers and peasants. The communists have and are carrying on an insidious campaign in and out of Spain against our people. The lies sent out all over Europe are shrieking to the heavens. How on earth our Spanish comrades can expect us, who are working for them outside of Spain, to have any dealings with this Jesuitical treacherous and criminal Stalin gang I cannot understand. Yet it is precisely this which the CNT will want, should their foolish proposition in re the 3rd International come to pass. As for myself, I will not be able to accept such a decision, nor I feel sure will the comrades in England working with me, or the comrades in any other country. Naturally I will not work against the C.N.T.-F.A.I.. I will have to bury myself somewhere and keep silent until the dreadful struggle in Spain ends one way or the other.

Just at present I am in a terrible state of confusion. I have come back from Spain to enlarge our activities in England, to establish a centre where people could come who are interested to know something about our ideas and about the C.N.T. It is a long time since such an anarchist center in London existed and if ever we are to develop a movement such a place is imperative. In addition we have in mind a reading room of our international press. We plan all sorts of efforts for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. as well as for the extension of the Anarcho Syndicalist Union which we organised this spring. It is so far an insignificant affair with no more than a dozen members but there are possibilities and the comrades in Spain wanted it to be enlarged and developed. We are binding ourselves with a years lease for our offices and reading room, all this at a time when I have not the remotest idea what will happen next. I mean should the C.N.T. really commit the new blunder, then I simply could not go on. It would be more than I could stand or tolerate.

I would give anything my dear Rudolf if I could have a talk with you. I have never known you to be sectarian or limited in your understanding and in your outlook. It would help me tremendously to decide my own course if I could have you near to talk over matters. But since this is impossible I implore you to drop whatever work you have on hand and write me at once what you think of the notion of the C.N.T. to appeal to the organisations already mentioned. Perhaps that will clarify my own position. Just now I am frightfully in the dark, and in agony of spirit.

This is certainly not a cheerful letter, as a Xmas or New Year greeting; but I really feel desperate. I have no one since Sasha has gone whose judgment I value as I do yours. So you must forgive me for such a gloomy letter. Dear Rudolf, do not let me depress you too much. Have a good drink on New Year's day and think of me a little. I promise you to do the same, except I will think of you a lot and hope that the New Year may show us the way of how to help our comrades and to help them to more constructive and consistent methods of conquering their foes who are not only the Fascists but also the vicious

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 Roc

and dangerous communists.

Belmont promised to write you and also to send you the minutes of the Congress. I had hoped that he would also send you all the reports. I shall probably write him tomorrow to find out if he has extra copies. If not I will lend you mine.

I may say here that the opposition of the C.N.T. to Beznard was justified. The much disputed circular No. 13 he sent out to the sections of the I.A.A. but not the C.N.T. was anything but comradely. especially the part referring to the opposition in the C.N.T.-F.A.I. - I mean Beznard's call on the various sections for some stand and action to help this opposition. That seemed to me a breach of faith with the C.N.T. which is after all the largest and most important section of the I.A.A. On the other hand I was sick to death with the resolution of the C.N.T. insisting that Beznard should be indefinitely removed from the Secretariat. While I was never very much carried away with Beznard, I really felt faint to hear his defence. It seemed to me the man will collapse under the terrific strain and bitterness. Anyway the Congress showed once more that a feud between members of the same family is more relentless and cruel than a feud between outsiders.

My dear, my dear, will it ever be different in our ranks, and if not, what hope is there for us and our ideas ever to be realized if our own ranks are so torn - lacking understanding and tolerance. I am really beginning to doubt that Anarchism is any more capable of leading the masses out of their rut and helping them to see clearly and feel deeply the need of a larger horizon.

Let me hear from you soon please.

Love to you and Millie and with my heart felt wishes that the New Year may bring you some luck and cheer.

Love to Fermin.

Affectionately,

Emma

I decided not to elaborate my notes into an article. I could not have it appear in our publications as that would mean to suppress the skeleton in our own closet. It was abrupt for the Congress, but not for publication.

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 21, London [to Ethel Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. —
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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London Dec. 21st 37

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

My Dearest.

I spent a ghastly night last night. I fell asleep at six this morning and when Regie phoned I was so dazed I hardly understood what he said except that you have a bad throat. I hope it is not serious and that you will soon feel your sweet self again. Much as I had looked forward to having an evening with you I am relieved it did not have to be this evening. I am all in from last night ~~for~~ and from the inner conflict since I returned from the Congress.

Dearest, I don't know whether Regie is at your cottage or in town. Will you therefore tell him for me that while I am fully in agreement with his suggestion of a committee in defense of the Spanish Revolution I do not think Anti-Fascism should be left out from any appeal. ~~True~~ True, Anti-Fascism covers many sins and its adherents are the very people who dread Revolution more than they dread Franco. Yet the fact remains that unless Franco is conquered not only the Revolution but all advanced thought will be crushed for many years to come. I do not believe I need to tell Regie or you that I am not deceived by the bombastic claims of democracy. I exposed it as a delusion and a snare in my Magazine MOTHER EARTH many years ago. But I have come to see that much in social affairs have relative values or harm. There is a vast difference between Fascism and Democracy. The one stifles everything, tortures and kills, under the other one can still breathe, speak out and use one's pen. No doubt Regie will say that British so called democracy is only for domestic use. In the Colonies it is as Fascist as Hitler, Mussolini or Stalin. I will grant him that. Still there is some elbow space here, in France, in the Scandinavian countries and in the U.S. If only in a palliative way. I can therefore understand my comrades in Spain when they say "we must crush Franco first but also we must work for the Revolution". In other words whatever misconceptions the average anti Fascist entertains we know that the CNT-FAI and possibly also the POUM feel the menace of Fascism above everything else. Hence it is but right that we should approach people in the name of Anti-Fascism. We may say INTERNATIONAL ANTI-FASCIST SOLIDARITY FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION. But we cannot discard the term Anti-Fascism. At least I cannot.

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Regie may say, "alright but what positive suggestions can such a committee make. Well, the boycott, ~~strikes~~ sympathetic strikes, direct action of every form, material help. All such measures were done for the Russian Revolution in its early stages. Why can it not be done for Spain? I want you and Regie to consider the angle I am suggesting and let me know whom you think one might approach to form the necessary and effective committee. I do not want to rush you or Regie especially as he must rest a good deal. But I must prepare all material, Manifesto etc that ~~she~~ ought to go out shortly after New Years. So do talk it over with Regie and write me.

I will be most happy to be with you again when you are free and your throat is normal again.

With love

Emma

Best greetings to Regie.

I have just received news that Katia Landau who had been released from the prison hospital after her two hunger strikes has again been arrested. I called up Fenner to let him know and I have sent a notice to SPAIN AND THE WORLD about this new savagery. It seems the damned ~~gang~~ Communist gang want to slow murder Mrs Landau. Could you not write a letter about her case to the NEW STATESMAN or the NEWS CHRONICLE. You have all the data in last issue SPAIN AND THE WORLD, in my article about the political persecution in Spain.

*I just called up the captain
Candam. Spanish Bay is still
running. I have written Gaudin
just now to have me for noon
and can go with me tomorrow
evening. If not Thursday
I would so love to take your
daughter. And I suppose it is
impossible for her to go evenings and
I can not go in the afternoon.*

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 21, London [to Charles Henry] Mitchell, [Oak Park, Ill.] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W.14

London 21st December 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear Mr Mitchell,

I am sorry to have delayed answering your letter of November 12th. My correspondence grows and so do my efforts on behalf of Revolutionary Spain. I don't seem to find time for half the work before me. I am delighted to know that my letter helped you with your book on Leon Czolgosz.

In regard to your evident doubt about the third-degree applied to Czolgosz. The very fact that he was not brought into Court until two months after his act and that when he was finally taken in his head and face were bandaged, seems to me proof enough that the third degree was used on him previously. I happened to know from my own experience that the third degree is prevalent in every Police Station in the United States. It is being applied to the most innocent cases once in the hands of the police. It is therefore reasonably certain that it was applied to Leon Czolgosz. That may not be enough evidence to be recognised in Court; but his battered condition was obvious enough to the spectators and especially the women who attended the trial and gave me a minute account of how Czolgosz looked.

You say that "Czolgosz was undoubtedly legally insane". I was surprised to read this statement from you. Naturally from the point of view of the law ~~given~~ anyone who takes the law into his own hands must need be insane; but for modern people who know the complex conditioning of human actions this ~~superficial~~ ^{misinterpretation} of an act cannot possibly be accepted. I have known quite a number of men who have committed a political act ^(Attentat) and I can assure you that I never met saner people. A case in point is Alexander Berkman, who was not only eminently sane but clear thinking and logical. I therefore insist that the insanity is all on the part of the law because it measures everything with its own limited yardstick.

I readily understand how difficult it must be for you "to see the world through of 1901 through Czolgosz eyes". To do that you would have to make a study of the political and economic events that followed the Spanish American war, for it was that which marked the beginning of American imperialism by means of the annexation of

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the Phillipines, and McKinley as President of the United Staes was the foster father of that sinister beginning. The annexionists parents were Mark Hanna, J. Gould and the banking interests. All this happened in the most impressionable years of Czolgosz life. The American born child of Polish parents, brought up in an American school on the legend of American liberty and opportunity, only to find when he ^{began} ~~became~~ to think what a delusion and a snare that legend was. Nor must one forget the economic ^{crisis} ~~began~~ in 1887, continued prior to the Spanish American war, and increased as an aftermath. It was McKinley as the President of the United States who overstepped his State rights when he sent troops to different strike regions. In other words, the world before 1901 was precisely the kind of world to stir the spirit of a man so sensitive as Leon Czolgosz to human misery and injustice. Perhaps Leon Czolgosz was naif to think that his act would awaken the American people. He kept repeating over and over again "I did it for the people". But then, all martyrs must needs be naif or they would not so easily give up their lives to undo some wrong.

I am looking forward to reading your work. I feel sure that you will do justice to your subject and that is enough for me.
With best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Emma Goldman

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21st December 1937.

Dear Mr Dahlberg,

Thank you very much for your letter of November 18th. It is most kind of you to ask me to write something of the history of American anarchism. I wish I had the time to do it; but I am so engaged in the work for my Spanish comrades and their hard struggle that I have no time to undertake so great a job you would like me to do. There is another reason that disqualifies me to do anything worth while about the idealism of the great American anarchists after having been robbed by the Federal authorities of my library and large collection of material, as well as correspondence with most leading anarchists of my time, I managed to gather a small archive. That is now picked away in 18 boxes with friends in the South of France. I could not possibly have access to them now. In other words, even if I had the time, I do not have the necessary material for an essay or a number of articles on a theme so important as the one you suggest.

I should think that Hippolyte Havel would be just the man for you. He knew us all. He knows the American anarchist background, and he has the necessary ability to write something suitable for your *QUARTERLY*. I suggest you get in touch with him.

There is a splendid monograph about my old pal Alex Berkman by Henry Weinberg and my essay on Voltairine De Cleyre and quite a number of others might be helpful to Havel. I am sure he could get this in New York. In *Living My Life* I have also written about several other remarkable American women anarchists which might be used. In any event Havel will not find it difficult to write what you want.

Later I might be able to contribute something to your publication. Just now it is quite impossible. I hope you will let me see the *American Quarterly*. I am delighted to know that you are publishing such a magazine; but I fear the world is too steeped in hatred and cringing cowardice, or perhaps it is that libertarian ideas have lost all meaning for most people that they would fight for any form of enslavement rather than stake their miserable lives

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1966gA

for the rescue of freedom and all the beautiful things that your
magazine proposes to discuss.

Thank you again for asking me to contribute.

May the New Year bring you great success in your
undertaking and any vital events.

Sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 21, London [to] Garden City Publishing Company, Garden City, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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18261

London Dec. 21st 37.

Garden City Publishing Co.
Garden City, New York.
U.S.A.

Gentlemen.

Owing to my return to Spain I have delayed sending you a check for \$13.55, according to your statement of August 3rd. This together with 12 copies of *Living My Life* were sent by you to my representative Mr. Ralph Barr.

A week ago I received another statement from you for \$14.32 which by the way appears in your letter as \$41.32. As we have sent no other order for *Living My Life* since the one you had shipped there seems to be an error in your new statement. I therefore return the one you sent me in August. You will be able to verify that it was \$13.32 and not \$14.32. Please find inclosed my check for \$13.32 to cover my indebtedness for the 12 copies of *Living My Life*.

With the seasons greetings.

Sincerely,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 21 [London to] Alfred A. Knopf, New York / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 20 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18146

Dec. 21st 37

Mr Alfred A. Knopf
Publisher
501 Madison Avenue
New York City
U.S.A.

Dear Mr Knopf.

Thanks for your kind note of Oct 5th. As you see I am safely out of Spain back in dreary and complacent England. Safely, but with my thoughts left behind in tragic Spain whose people have been so damnably betrayed by all the forces of Europe and the U.S. I wanted very much to share the lot of my comrades. But they insisted on my return to this country. They are like babes in the woods about the possibilities of rousing the Britishers in their behalf. I know better. Nevertheless I had to come back here to try once more to awaken the sensibilities of those who can still feel to the tragedy of Spain.

Thank you for sending a copy of LIVING MY LIFE to my representative in London as per my request. I inclose my check for it as per the statement sent me from your House.

With all good wishes to you and Mrs Knopf for an interesting and vital New Year.

Sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Dec. 21, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].—
2 p. ; 10 x 16 cm.

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Tuesday

17231

Dearest Emma,

Am typing this sitting up in bed - its very uncomfortable so I'll make it as short as possible. I didn't telephone you myself this morning as my throat is absolutely raw and I had Reg do all my domestic telephoning as well. I simply must get this cold under by Thursday, as I can't let Neill down - apart from the fact that he is one of my dearest friends he couldn't get another chairman at the last minute, and I've been 'announced'. I hate staying in bed at best of times and just now I have so very much on hand, but I ache all over and have the shivers and my head aches like hell so I wouldn't do much good if I got up, and I feel I may get the cold under if I give in to it today. I only hope you don't think I'm being cowardly and that I haven't messed you up by cancelling this evening. I'm so worried in case my voice disappears altogether - I am subject to that when I get these awful flu-colds, but I suppose its no use worrying.

Barbara here last night (for the branch meeting) was telling me about the Lab. Party Albert Hall do. My God no wonder you were depressed ! And how they rake in the shekels with their democracy talk ! I wish you could persuade Paul Robeson to read Andre Gide's little books on Russia. I can't bear to think of a good man like that being fooled by the Communists.

I will get that proposed ^{one-pager letter} letter from Reg tonight and hope to go over it with him and get it into the post. With any luck I'll be feeling better

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Dec. 21, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. —
2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17232

and brighter by tonight.

I hope we shall have our evening out this week, Emma. I will ring you tomorrow if my throat is better, as it surely must be.

I wonder if you are loathing Xmas as much as I am. I do so hate all this organised giving, and artificial 'festivity' - and the dead grey days of the English winter. They seem to weigh down on the spirit.

I shall spend Xmas doing the proofs and index of my revolution book.

This letter seems to have taken best part of the morning to type - I keep resting in between. A dull letter, but it comes with my love, dearest Emma. I liked the little tea party on Sat. and thank you for it.

Can't write any more now. Will hope to ring tomorrow.

Devotelly always

ETH

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 21, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] P[edro] Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

Nº 955. 1917.

BARCELONA, 21 de diciembre de 1.937.

A la Oficina C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
L o n d r e s.

Estimados camaradas:

Os adjuntamos copia de una reseña del acto de clausura del cursillo de preparación para Secretarios Administrativos de Colectividades de la Regional de Levante.

Interesa que, ó bien la reproducción completa, ó parte de él, se haga en la prensa afín nuestra. Es una demostración práctica, de cómo la C.N.T. se preocupa de lograr la superación de los trabajadores y al efecto organiza cursillo para que de él salgan los campesinos en condiciones y con aptitud de poder llevar la administración de las Colectividades y de la economía agraria.

Confiando que os atenderéis a las indicaciones hechas y sacareis rendimiento de lo indicado, os saluda fraternalmente,

Por el Comité Peninsular F.A.I.

POR EL COMITE NACIONAL.

M. Vázquez
Mariano R. Vázquez.

Secretario.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 21, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and Pedro Herrera]. — 1 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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POR EL COMITE NACIONAL.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

Secretario.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 22, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman]. —
2 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London Dec. 22nd 37

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Bestie
Lieber Helmut. Ich hatte mich dirreⁿct orfeigen^u können dass ich vom Kongress wegraste nur um hier die Zusammenkunft der Genossen beizuⁿehmen. Es war zum heulen hier, nur ein Backeⁿ dutzend ~~ka~~ waren zugegen und die waren lebende Leichen. Ich hätte gerade so gut bis zu Ende des Kongresses in Paris bleiben können. Ich habe von keinem Menschen auch nur ein Wort bekommen was das Ende des traurigen Liedes war. Was ist aus der Resolution der CNT im bezug auf den Aufruf an die II, und III. Internationale geworden. Ich bitte Dich schreibe mir eine Zeile und teil^e mir mit was nach meiner Abreise geschehen ist. Ich bin fürchtbar unruhig und dirreⁿct verzweifelt. Noch nie in meinem Leben war ich so unsicher und in einem solchen zwispal wie jezt. Ich lege Dir hiermit eine Kopie meines Briefes an Rudolf bei. Du wirst sehen wie verzweifelt ich bin und wie ratlos. Heute bekam ich noch ein Schreiben von Rudolf worin er darauf besteht man musste den Spanischen Kamaraden bis in ausserste helfen. Ich bin begreif^uig was er sagen wird wenn er erfährt die CNT will sogar mit der II. und III. Internationale zusammen arbeiten. Ich kann es kaum glauben Rudolf wird damit einverstanden sein. Ich kann einfach nicht begreifen wie die CNT auf einen deartigen wahnsinnigen Gedanke kommen konnte. Es waere nicht nur ein Verrat an allem was wir unser ganzes Leben vertreten haben, es waere auch selbstmord für die CNT. Sie wurde von der Beⁿarte Russlands zerfäⁿtscht werden.. Wi^e können die Genossen nur so blind sein.

Ich lege auch eine Kopie meines Briefes an Herrera bei. Unsre Spanische Genossen sind direkt verbrecherisch naïv wenn Herrera fragt ob man nicht jezt in den Reihen der Labor Party wirken könnte. Es ist so als wolte er wissen ob man in den Reihen der Conservativen Partei oder der Katholischer Kirche für die CNT und Fai wirken könnte. Ich bin verzweifelt weil ich immer mehr Hoffnung vwrlie^re den Leuten in Spanine begreif^ulich zu machen wie schwer es ist in England irgend etwas für unsere Sache in Spanien zu erreichen.

gescheh
Bitte, bitte lieber Helmut schreibe mir sofort was das E Ende des Kongresses war, was geschaⁿ im ~~xxxxx~~ Bezug auf die Resolutiⁿ für die Gefangene in Spanien, und andere Lander, Russland u. so w. Die Spanier können doch unmöglich dagegen gewesen sein. Gestern bekam ich Nachricht das Frau Landau wieder verhaftet wurde. Es wird immer schlimmer als besser und unsere Leute schweigen einfach.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 22, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman]. —
2 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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Ich hoffe Dein Weihnachten wird etwas frohlicher und angenehmer sein wie der meinige. Ich fühle mich hier so abgeschnitten, so furchtbar allein und hilflos wie noch in alle die Jahre meiner Tätigkeit in Amerika. Es war schon immer so, ist aber dieses Jahr schlimmer geworden weil ich nicht mehr mit demselben Enthusiasmus und Begeisterung für unsere Spanische Kameraden arbeiten kann. Emma

Ich wünsche Dir und Deiner Gefährtin etwas Freude zu Weihnachten und Sylvester. Möge das Neue Jahr den Triumph über den Fascismus bringen und unsern Genossen die alte revolutionäre Einsicht und Tatkraft

Herzliche Grüsse.

Emma

Gott finde es unmöglich einen Bericht über den Kongress zu schicken. Daß Du es fertig bringst schicke mir eine Kopie.
Bitte sage Salvo, Rock oder Mascaret, sie sollen mir mehr von der englischen Übersetzung der Spanischen Revolution senden. Ich meine das Werk Cervantes. Der Herausgeber wird kaum den Wert des Buches heute noch an dem einzigen Teil den ich mitbekommen habe. Mir wurde auch eine Geographische Karte Spaniens beigegeben mit spezieller Anzeichnung der Teile die uns gehören. Erwinnest Du auch Mascaret dazu.
Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 22 [London to] P[edro] Herrera, Barcelona / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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not for public release

22nd December 1937.

P. Herrera,
Federation Anarquista Iberica,
Via Durruti 30, 8.
BARCELONA.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of the 15th instant reached me yesterday. It was certainly a pleasant surprise to receive a letter written in English from you. I am delighted to know that you have a secretary who knows the English language. It will save me a lot of time and bother. Our Spanish comrade in London is most willing to help with translations but he works very hard during the day for his living, and it is difficult for him to devote much time to my Spanish correspondence. It is stupid of me of course that I have not yet acquired Spanish sufficiently not to have your letters translated into English for me and my letters to you translated into Spanish. If then you can continue to write me in English it will be a very great help. If not write me in French.

I am sorry to say dear comrade that we have not yet begun our actual work for you or the C.I.T. It has taken us all this time to find suitable quarters for our bureau and for the other work we are planning. We have a place at last; but we will have to not be able to move into it until after the New Year. The place is in a very deplorable condition and we have to have it renovated, painted, and papered. Owing to the holidays (I don't know what the British workers are holidaying about) we are delayed; but I rather think we will be able to open up our quarters shortly after the New Year. Meanwhile we are preparing our printing, most important of it, the structure of the C.I.T. given me by Comrade Vasquez when I was in Valencia and which we are having printed in folder form. This with a letter we will send out to all the delegates who attended the Trades Union Congress held on the 6th September last. It is the only way to reach the workers direct. We are also hoping to get hold of a publication containing the addresses of all the branches. It is very difficult to obtain as it cannot be bought but can only be got

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 22 [London to] P[edro] Herrera, Barcelona / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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in a round about way. In addition to this we are organising a Reading Room of our Spanish "press and papers" in all languages. We are also organising a small exhibition of the work of children I brought back with me, photographs of the new cell-stives I visited and various things of the Majeros Libres.

About our possibilities "for relations and propaganda in-side the Labour Party or Labour Party opposition and the Trade Unions". My dear comrade, I am very sorry to tell you that you and the other anarchist comrades are very naive indeed if you can imagine for a moment that the Labour Party or the Labour Party opposition, and the Trade Unions in this Country can be penetrated. Perhaps if we had a movement in England, or many anarchists in Labour and Trade Union ranks, that might be possible although even that is not probable. I cannot impress upon your mind too strongly and on the minds of the comrades of the C.A.T.-P.A.I. that there is no anarchist activity in England. There are no anarchists individual or organised. To be sure there are a few old comrades whose conception of anarchist activity has never gone farther than small discussion groups. Not for years have they done anything that would have made their existence known. These very comrades have done nothing to help along the the difficult efforts a few of us made in behalf of the C.A.T.-P.A.I. It may not be lack of will on their part, rather it is a lack of ability. The same situation prevails all through England. We have a group in Plymouth. We have a few good comrades in Bristol and a working group in Glasgow. The latter might do much more than it does if it were not interfered with by other groups calling themselves anarchistic. I am sorry to have to give you such a gloomy picture of anarchist activity in this country; but it is the only way to tell you and the other comrades should face it.

On the other hand are the Labour and Trade Union parties. They represent a huge machine that has paralysed the efforts of the workers. There is no initiative within that framework. The leaders rule supreme. I can only tell you what happened to the bus strike last summer. After having come out on strike during the promotion the busmen were severely censured by their own organisation, actually a bit by their leaders and those who promoted and led the strike were subsequently after an enquiry suspended from holding office for a number of years. This strike was organised by the local official committee of the section of bus workers of the Transport Workers Union. So you can see for yourself that a reactionary political machine the Labour and Trade Union parties are. One of that is the extensive opposition to our ideas for years and since the Spanish Revolution we find the C.A.T.-P.A.I., the Labour Party and Trade Unions would consent to the most reactionary government for Spain rather than help the C.A.T.-P.A.I. to realize their revolutionary hopes. After all it was the Labour Party that supported the scandalous non-intervention decision. True the Labour Party is now reconsidering its mistake. I hope you do not think it is doing so because it has suddenly changed its front. It is because of the impending General Election which the Labour Party hopes will lead it to power. However I am glad the Labour Party is becoming active in raising funds for milk for the Spanish children. I attended a large meeting last Sunday in the Albert Hall where Major Allen and the other tourists to Spain spoke. Not one word was said about the C.A.T.-P.A.I. or the U.S.T. For all the audience learned about the part in the anti-fascist struggle of our organisations or the U.S.T., there gentlemen and ladies would have come best to stayed at home.

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 22 [London to] P[edro] Herrera, Barcelona / Emma Goldman. — 4 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

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... after ... support from the ... we can have ...

This brings me to the I.I.A. Since my return from Spain I have come to the conclusion that there is little hope for response to our appeal to cooperate with the I.I.A. from people we can approach. The communists have captured the anti-fascist field in this country as they have everywhere outside of Spain, and they have ploughed it severely. They have raised thousands of pounds for anti-fascism, though there is no saying how much went for that and how much for their own party propaganda, not the least for their insidious activities against the C.B.F. - P.A.I. Now that the Labour Party has become active in raising funds for anti-fascism there is hardly anybody left whom one can hope to move with an appeal for "International Anti-Fascist Solidarity". However there is plenty of discontent and opposition in the various parties, communists included. We want to reach these people; but it will have to be with a more striking appeal - a slogan more striking than "International Anti-Fascist Solidarity", and that is "THE DEFENCE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION". Yes dear comrade there are people who are still intensely and keenly interested in the Spanish Revolution. They are not interested in the least in the Spanish Government or in so called democracy. I am convinced that we can reach these elements by an energetic appeal for the defence of the Spanish Revolution.

We can have a slogan as follows:-

INTERNATIONAL ANTI-FASCIST SOLIDARITY IN DEFENCE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION.

I have not yet proceeded with the printing of this heading because I naturally want to know whether you agree to this. I must therefore ask you to write me by return mail. Not only must we lose no time in getting the latter heading done; but I also have a lot of manifestos in mind which we plan to send out to Labour and Trade Union branches, as well as to many individuals who helped us this spring with a concert we arranged for the homeless Spanish women and children.

Believe me dear comrade it will be the only way of reaching at least the minority of the organised people in England for the I.I.A.

You may say that our comrades in France seem to have raised interest in the I.I.A. I grant you that. But France is not England. France has a revolutionary spirit. France has quite a substantial number of anarchists, anarcho-syndicalist and anarchist groups. England has not got anything, least of all a revolutionary spirit. Therefore the methods in this country must be necessarily different.

As to the success of the I.I.A. in the United States I have no doubt that the foreign side in that country will respond; but

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I have been thinking a great deal of late of the native Americans and their language. I have worked in the U.S.A. for 25 years. I know that the various foreign languages never have been able to reach the American masses. The only way to do this is in the language of the country and by people known in the States. People who have access to the American press, and the various channels of literary and cultural activities.

Please dear comrades do not take this as in any way derogative of the work achieved by comrade Salvo. I am sure he has done much that will bear fruit ; but it is necessary for you and the other Spanish comrades to know the real situation.

If I take the liberty of placing this and the other matters before you it is only because I want to spare you bitter disappointment. Believe me I want intensely and passionately to work for the S.I.A.; but to do so I must choose the best methods available in England. I have already explained what they are.

There is very much more I would like to write but I will have to leave it for next time.

Fraternal greetings to all the comrades

SALUD.

Emma Goldman

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 22 [London to] P[edro] Herrera, Barcelona / [Emma Goldman].—

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19280

22nd December 1937.

P Herrera,
Federation Anarquista Iberica,
Vía Euzkadi 39,6.
BARCELONA.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of the 15th instant reached me yesterday. It was certainly a pleasant surprise to receive a letter written in English from you. I am delighted to know that you have a secretary who knows the English language. It will save me a lot of time and bother. Our Spanish comrade in London is most willing to help with translations but he works very hard during the day for his living, and it is difficult for him to devote much time to my Spanish correspondence. It is stupid of me of course that I have not yet acquired Spanish sufficiently not to have your letters translated into English for me and my letters to you translated into Spanish. If then you can continue to write me in English it will be a very great help, if not write me in French.

I am sorry to my dear comrade that we have not yet been able to do much work for you or the C.R.T. It has taken us all this time to find suitable quarters for our bureau and for the other work we are planning. We have a place at last; but we will have to not be able to move into it until after the New Year. The place is in a very deplorable condition and we have to have it renovated, painted and papered. Owing to the holidays (I don't know what the British workers are holidaying about) we are delayed; but I rather think we will be able to open up our quarters shortly after the New Year. Meanwhile we are preparing our printing, most important of it, the structure of the C.R.T. given me by Comrade Vazquez when I was in Valencia and which we are having printed in folder form. This with a letter we will send out to all the delegates who attended the Trades Union Congress held on the 5th September last. It is the only way to reach the workers direct. We are also hoping to get hold of a publication containing the addresses of all the branches. It is very difficult to obtain as it cannot be bought but can only be got

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2

19281

in a round about way. In addition to this we are organising a Reading Room of our Spanish press and papers in all languages. We are also organising a small exhibition of the work of children I brought back with me, photographs of the new collectives I visited and various things of the Mujeres Libres.

About our possibilities "for relations and propaganda in-side the Labour Party or Labour Party opposition and the Trade Unions". My dear comrade, I am very sorry to tell you that you and the other Spanish comrades are very naive indeed if you can imagine for a moment that the Labour Party or the Labour Party opposition, and the Trade Unions in this Country can be penetrated. Perhaps if we had a movement in England, or many anarchists in labour and trade union ranks, that might be possible although even that is not probable. I cannot impress upon your mind too strongly and on the minds of the comrades of the C.B.T. that there is no anarchist activity in England. There are no anarchists individual or organised. To be sure there are a few old comrades whose conception of anarchist activity has never gone further than small discussion groups. Not for years have they done anything that would have made their existence known. These very comrades have done nothing to help along the the difficult efforts a few of us made in behalf of the C.B.T.-F.A.I. It may not be lack of will on their part, rather it is a lack of ability. The same situation prevails all through England. We have a group in Plymouth. We have a few good comrades in Bristol and a working group in Glasgow. The latter might do much more than it has if it were not interfered with by other groups calling themselves anarchistic. I am sorry to have to give you such a gloomy picture of anarchist activities in this country; but it is just as well that you and the other comrades should face it.

On the other hand are the Labour and Trade Union parties. They represent a huge machine that has paralysed the efforts of the workers. There is no initiative within that framework. The leaders rule supreme. As an example I wish to tell you what happened to the bus strike last summer. After having come out on strike during the Coronation the busmen were severely censured by their own organisation, actually a bit go by their leaders and those who promoted and lead the strike were subsequently after an enquiry suspended from holding office for a number of years. This strike was organised by the local of local committees of the section of bus workers of the Transport Workers Union. So you can see for yourself what a reactionary political machine the Trade Union and Labour parties are. This is of that in the extensive opposition to our ideas for years and since the Spanish Revolution as that the C.B.T.-F.A.I. The Labour Party and Trade Unions would consent to the most reactionary government for Spain rather than help the C.B.T.-F.A.I. to realise their revolutionary hopes. After all it was the Labour Party that supported the scandalous non-intervention decision. True the Labour Party is now reconsidering its mistake. I hope you do not think it is doing so because it has suddenly changed its front. It is because of the impending General Election which the Labour Party hopes will lead it to power. However I am glad the Labour Party is becoming active in raising funds for milk for the Spanish children. I attended a large meeting last Sunday in the Albert Hall where Major Allen and the other tourists to Spain spoke. Not one word was said about the C.B.T. or the U.C.T. For all the audience learned about the part in the anti-fascist struggle of our organisations or the U.C.T., these gentlemen and ladies would have done best to stayed at home.

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No dear comrade there is not the least chance of getting any support from the official Trade Union or the Labour Party. None whatever. All we can hope is to reach the workers over the heads of their leaders and we will leave nothing undone to achieve that. It will be uphill work, often discouraging and heartbreaking; but we are absolutely determined to get ahead.

This brings me to the S.I.A. Since my return from Spain I have come to the conclusion that there is little hope for response to our appeal to cooperate with the S.I.A. from people we can approach. The communists have captured the anti-fascist field in this country as they have everywhere outside of Spain, and they have ploughed it severely. They have raised thousands of pounds for anti-fascism, though there is no saying how much went for that and how much for their own party propaganda, not to mention their insidious activities against the C.I.T.-P.A.I. Now that the Labour Party has become active in raising funds for anti-fascism there is hardly anybody left whom one can hope to move with an appeal for "International Anti-Fascist Solidarity". However there is plenty of discontent and opposition in the various parties, communists included. We want to reach these people; but it will have to be with a more striking appeal - a slogan more striking than "International Anti-Fascist Solidarity", and that is "THE DEFENCE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION". Yes dear comrade there are people who are still intensely and keenly interested in the Spanish Revolution. They are not interested in the least in the Spanish Government or in so called democracy. I am convinced that we can reach these elements by an energetic appeal for the defence of the Spanish Revolution.

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IN DEFENCE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION.

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Believe me dear comrade it will be the only way of reaching at least the minority of the organised people in England for the S.I.A.

You may say that our comrades in France seem to have raised interest in the S.I.A. I grant you that. But France is not England. France has a revolutionary spirit. France has quite a substantial number of anarchists, Anarcho-Syndicalist and anarchist groups. England has not got anything. least of all a revolutionary spirit. Therefore the methods in this country must be necessarily different.

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19283

without any disparagement of the work of comrade Galve in America. I wish to say that he reached no one of the native Americans except except our own comrades. I have worked in the U.S.A. for 35 years. I know the country and its people. I know that the various foreign language groups never have and cannot reach the American masses. It has got to be done in the language of the country and by people known in the States. People who have access to the American press, and the various channels of literary and cultural activities.

Please dear comrade do not take this as in any way derogative of the work achieved by comrade Galve. I am sure he has done much that will bear fruit ; but it is necessary for you and the other Spanish comrades to know the real situation.

If I take the liberty of placing this and the other matters before you it is only because I want to spare you bitter disappointment. Believe me I want intensely and passionately to work for the S.I.A.; but to do so I must choose the best methods available in England. I have already explained what they are.

There is very much more I would like to write but I will have to leave it for next time.

Fraternal greetings to all the comrades

SALUD.

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 22 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 20 x 17 cm.

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19330

22nd December 1937.

My dear Martin,

I received your letter of the 8th December written in Spanish. The delay in answering it is due to two things. My return to Paris as per request of comrade Vasquez, which did not bring me back till the 17th, when I found your letter, and the need to have it translated into English.

I have also received printed matter you sent me with your note of the 11th of this month.

I am sorry to hear that your very competent secretary has broken her arm. It is just my rotten luck. I hope that she will recover soon, though I suppose it will take a long time before she will be able to use her arm again.

However I see that Herrera has an English secretary. It was certainly a pleasant surprise to get an English letter from him. I hope he will keep on writing in his secretary's English. It will be a great help to me. The Spanish comrade who so generously helped me all this year works very hard and I would like to relieve him if possible of having to do so many translations. As it is he is doing a lot at nights, the only time he has at his disposal.

First about the missing notes on my visits to the collectives with Souhy. I saw him at the Congress of the A.I.F. and I called his attention to the notes which for some reason I did not receive. They are for the dates of 17th to 20th September and from the 25th to 28th September. These are very important notes for my articles on collectivisation which I must absolutely have. I am afraid that Souhy will have forgotten my request because of the confusion at the Congress, so please see him and send me the copy. All the other notes I have received.

The material about the death of Comrade Solá has already gone to "Spain & the World".

I have just written a long letter to Herrera. Ask him to let you read it. It will save my time in having to repeat the whole story, and I do want you to know the almost insurmountable difficulties facing our work here. When I say "our work" I mean just

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19331

a few comrades such as comrade Barr and three or four others. Outside of them there is neither a move ent or willing and competent people, although they call themselves anarchists.

My letter to Herrera will also give you an idea of the ineidnone work ag inot an nd the C.N.T.-P...I. on the part of our "friends" the Communist Party.

Believe me my dear it is anything but joy to have to carry stones up a high mountain. Dont think that I am not going to continue, unless the C.N.T. intenas going on begging at the doors of Internationalis that will only undermine and discredit our comrades. As you will probably have heard the report of the Spanish delegation to the conference of the A.I.T. you will know what I am referring to. I do not have to tell you that there are few things I could refuse to do to help the heroic struggle of the Spanish comrades. If I thought my life would help to bring the Anti-Fascist struggle to a success and to continue the revolution I would give it gladly; but there are certain things one cannot do no matter how deep ones devotion and ones anxious desire to be of help.

I flatter myself that I understand the motives of our Spanish comrades which prompted many of their actions, although I did not agree with the latter. I have tried so hard to bring my understanding to the comrades outside of Spain whose critical attitude I deplore. I have unfortunately not succeeded. On the contrary in the eyes of some of my best friends in our movement I have gone back on my past position. So it is not as if I had ceased to feel deeply with the struggle of the comrades in Spain when I say that even I could not reconcile myself to the latest step the C.N.T. proposed to take.

No doubt you will know what I am referring to when you will have heard the report of the Congress. The Spanish delegation have no doubt given it.

I am hoping ferently fervently that they will reconsider their resolution and they will proceed along the lines suggested by a comrade from America who is affiliated with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and who is therefore in a position to know how disastrous for the future of the C.N.T. it would be if such lines were followed. It is a thousand times more preferable to approach the workers in various labour organizations in the States and in England. I would even go as far as to say the American Federation of Labour. That is certainly is preferable to any of the political parties suggested.

Until I know actually what the Spanish comrades intend to do I shall have no peace of mind.

I sent you yesterday copies of the Labour Areas Bulletin as well as a publication giving the names and addresses of all the delegates who attended the Trade Union Congress in September last.

I hope the latter reaches you. These are very valuable addresses for the C.N.T. to have if it decides to to approach the Trade Unions direct when Souhy was here this summer he was given a much larger publication giving the names and addresses of the secretaries of all the local Trade Union branches in this country. When I spoke to him about it in serie he said he did not know what had become of it. That is too bad because it is extremely difficult to get such a thing again. Please let me know wh ther the one we sent you yesterday reaches you safely.

549

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 22 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 20 × 17 cm.

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3.

19332

I know that the communists have been making all kinds of overtures to our comrades. I only hope that the latter will not be deceived by this sudden discovery of love on the part of the Communist Party for the C.M.T. It is a love that would kill more than hate and I hope the C.M.T. will steer clear from it.

There is much more I would like to write you, still better talk to you about; but I can do neither, so I suggest again you should see Herrera and ask him to let you read my letter.

You say nothing about the parcel which I sent from Paris five weeks ago. All sorts of provisions. I take it it has not been received. That would be too bad, not only because of the loss of 145 francs; but even more so because it would deprive you and the others of the most necessary foodstuffs I wanted you to have.

When you write again tell me about Mercedes. We have just received a new edition of Mujeres Libres. Does that mean that she is better, or has the magazine been got out without her. I feel very deeply about her and very anxious, so tell me when you write again.

Give my best wishes to you Secretary for a speedy recovery.

With all kind wishes for you and the comrades in Spain for the New Year.

SALUD.

550

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Dec. 22, London to Leon Malmé, Albany, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 9 × 21 cm.

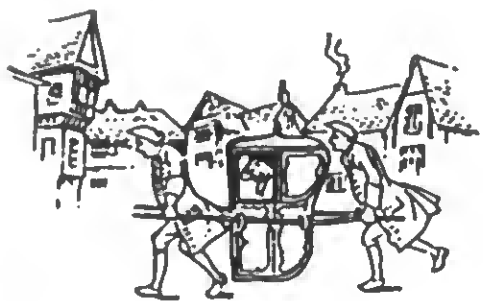
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2 p. ; 9 × 21 cm.

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In ye Olden Days

From

Emma

Every Good Wish for Christmas.
and New Year

Now Yuletide's here, may all good cheer

Be yours in a generous share

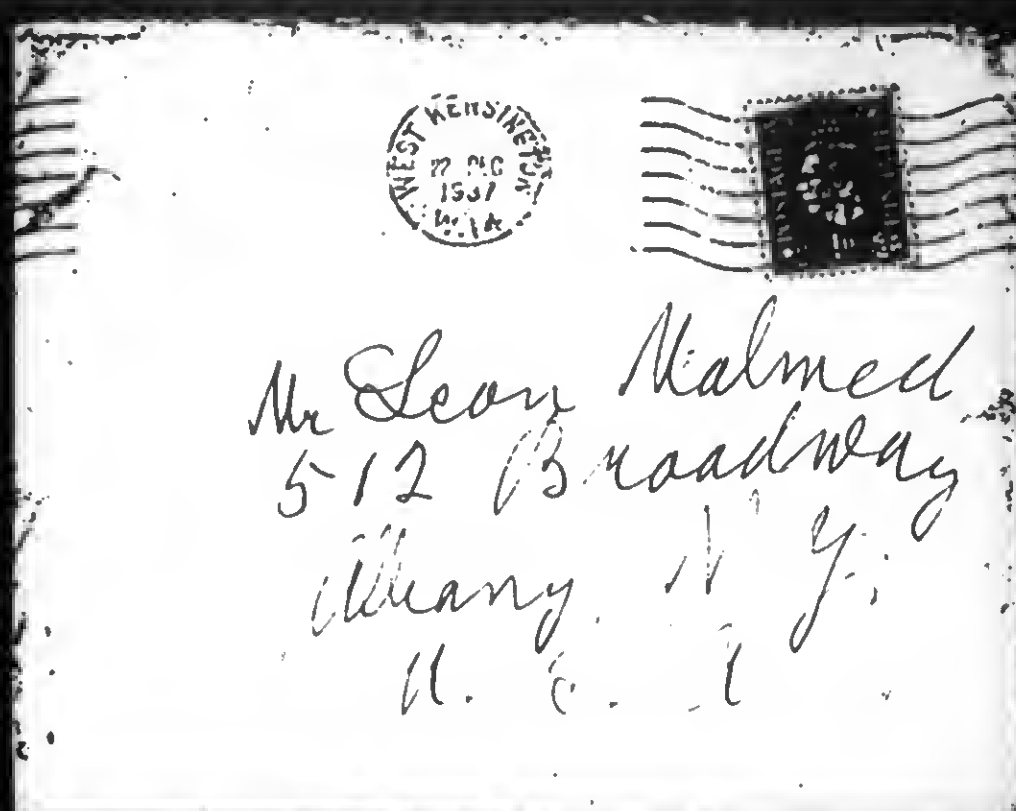
And the best of things the Season brings

Surround you everywhere.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1937 Dec. 22, London [to] Leon Malmed, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 9 × 11 cm.

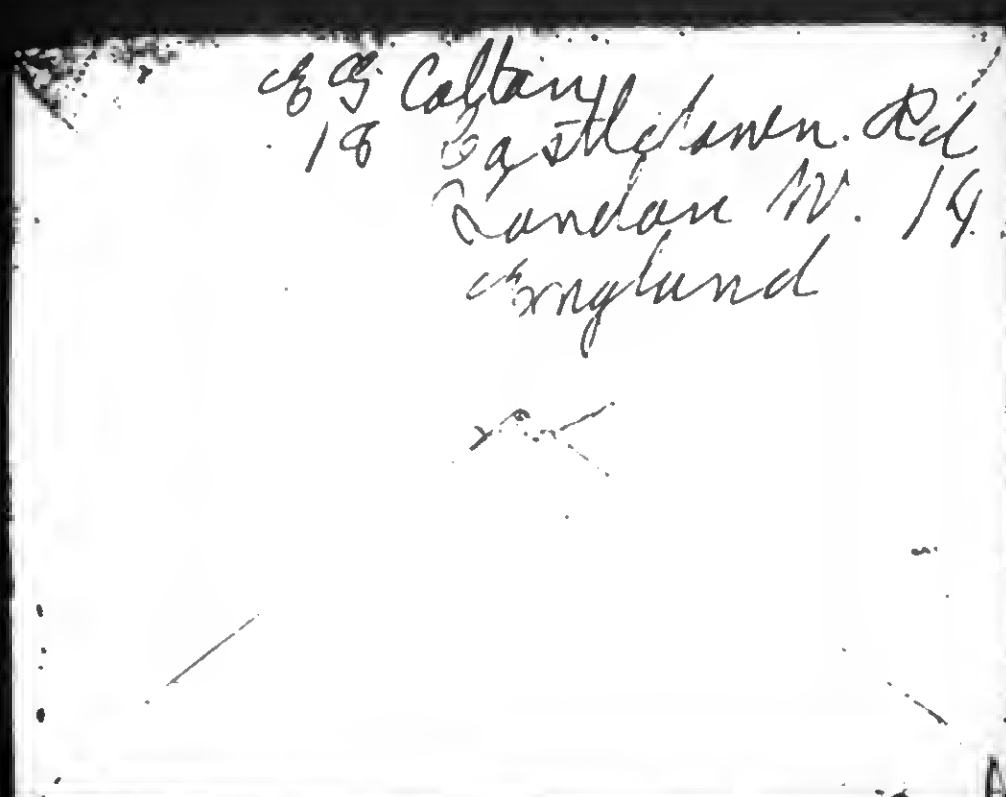
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**553**

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1937 Dec. 22, London [to] Leon Malmé, Albany, N.Y. / E[mma]
G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 9 × 11 cm.

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from Ethel Mannin

Dec. 22nd 1937

17226

Dearest Emma,

You got my letter of yesterday ?

I had hoped to ring you this morning, but my throat today is if anything rather worse, terribly raw, and my voice a croak, and I am gargling and sucking lozengers like mad in an effort to get it at least workable by tomorrow. I am very worried about it, and still feel pretty ill, but with so much to do have gone back to my desk.

Herewith I send you the draft-letter Reg and I have written together. We think it indicates the line that should be taken to appeal equally to the workers and ~~the organizations~~ the intellectuals (and middle-class anti-fascist people) to whom it will be sent. It indicates as far as possible the practical purpose of the Committee - we both feel strongly that its not enough to appeal for sympathetic support, that we must suggest what can be done. You'll alter, delete, or add to it, of course, as you think fit.

The enclosed from the ILP will interest you ! Please return. I have replied 'Please see John 19.22.' (when they look that

555

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 22 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. — 2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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17227

up the will read, 'What I have written, I have written, 'Pilate's words. If they call me up before a disciplinary board and expel me from the party - well, well and good, I've nothing to add or detract from what I wrote in AUTHORS TAKE SIDES.

Rushing to catch the post, so won't stop for more now, dear Emma.

Be sure we will meet as soon as I'm a decent human being again !

My warm love, dear Emma



556

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Dec. 22, London to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Ethel Mannin].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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20570

COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION.

suggested names: George Orwell; Dr. Conze; Frederic Warburg; A.S. Neill
George Padmore (plus E.G., E.M. and R.R.)

Draft for Initial Letter and Public Appeal for Support.

During eighteen months of continuous war against Fascism in Spain two facts have been confirmed by all objective observers. All the superiority that better arms and trained foreign troops can give is on the side of Franco. Against these advantages the people of Spain have only the courage of those who fight for their self-preservation and the defence of their liberty.

But even to maintain the struggle on this unequal level makes terrible demands upon the Spanish workers and peasants. Oppressed for centuries - by a tyrannous and rapacious Church, by Landlordism of the worst kind, by a powerful and dictatorial Army - they are not today making these super-human sacrifices in order to perpetuate the old regime under the title of democracy.

It cannot be over-emphasised, that for the workers who have left their fields, factories and workshops, to fight against Franco, this is no mere struggle for a 'constitutional' government against 'rebels' and foreign invaders; for them it is a war not merely against Fascism, but against landlordism and capitalism, against all the devices of oppression and robbery by which man enslaves his fellows.

We believe that the workers of Great Britain are unaware of the facts. We believe that the tragic apathy of British workers at this time is due to the wrong presentation of the Spanish war by those who deliberately conceal its revolutionary significance. In the false hope of gaining the support of the Capitalist governments of Britain and France, the Spanish struggle has been wilfully misrepresented as no more than a war between a 'legal' and a 'rebel' government. The time has come to declare openly that those who say this are no friends of the Spanish people. We therefore appeal to the workers of Britain, and to all thinking people, not merely to support the bourgeois government of Valencia against Fascism, but the Spanish workers who are striving to carry out the social revolution side by side with their war against Franco, Hitler, and Mussolini.

Only the realisation that this struggle is taking place behind the struggle against Fascism, can awaken the masses in our own country. The purpose of this Committee is to let the workers of this country know what has been accomplished already by their brothers in Spain to free themselves from the bondage of centuries, to let them know against what obstacles the Spanish revolutionaries still work and strive, persecuted by the Valencia Government on the one hand and betrayed, imprisoned, and murdered, by their 'comrades' of the Communist Party on the other.

It is because only the realisation of these tragic happenings in

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20571

Spain can unite the workers of the world in international solidarity against the Fascists, that this Committee has been formed.

Can we count on your support ? Will you do your part in working for this solidarity in your trade-union, co-operative, amongst your anti-Fascist friends?

A film showing the work which has been actually achieved by the workers in their struggle for liberty and a new life, has been made and will shortly be released by this Committee; All this rich achievement of collectivisation and workers' control of transport and factories, effected in the face of tremendous odds and in spite of bitter persecution, is threatened now by the forces of counter-revolution; only international solidarity on the part of the workers of the world can save it.

You, Workers, this means you ! Will you join with us and do your part ? You, anti-fascist intellectuals, you too can serve, invaluable, the cause of international solidarity for the ~~support of the~~ defence of the Spanish Revolution - will you do your part, through the written and spoken word, and in propaganda in the circles in which you move ?

You have seen how the policy of 'non-intervention' has served the Fascist ~~forces~~ international, and ~~the~~ the government of this country becoming more and more openly fascist; you have seen the apathy of the mass of people in this country... will you work with us in trying to smash that apathy and establish that solidarity which even at this eleventh hour can still save the Spanish revolution ?

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from Ethel Mannin.

Dec. 22nd 1937

#7240

Dearest Emma,

I wrote you this morning & yr letter comes this afternoon. Reg is here until after Xmas, when he goes to his home in S'fset. I will show ~~you~~ him yr letter when he comes here tonight. This morning I sent you the letter we proposed should be sent out; we compiled it jointly. Actually I think it does cover the points you make in this last letter. Perhaps it over-emphasises the Revolution and does not say enough about the menace of Fascism -but that is easily rectified. As to the people for the Cttee - I can't think of anyone except those we told you over when we were with you, and these names I typed on to the proposed letter; in addition you might ask Aldous Huxley and Havelock Ellis, their names would carry weight, but Reg insists that Huxley is a 100% pacifist, and though he approves the work of the anarchists expects it to be carried on and defended without the spilling of a drop of blood. Still, I feel we should approach him all the same - he can but refuse, and he may not realise that he is being asked to support an organisation not 100% pacifist. On the same basis we can ask Bertrand Russell, perhaps, though what goes for Huxley goes for him. I will discuss all this again with Reg tonight. And when I have finished this to you I will write to the New Statesman and the News-Chronicle, about the political persecution in Spain, and with spec. reference to Mrs. Landau, but

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- 2 -

I am quite unhopeful. Still, again, one can but try.

17241

Have you seen this week's New Leader? I don't like McGowan, and his line on Palestine is awful, but I must say his article on his visit to the prisons in Spain impresses me, and you will see that he visited Katia Landay. I am sending it in case you haven't seen a copy.

I wrote you this morning send^{ing} the letter from our London Divisional Council rebuking me for allying myself with the anarchists in the Spanish struggle. If they'd expel me it would save me resigning later, as I'm almost sure to. I'm so tired of them and their shilly-shallying, never knowing where they are; Proum works with the Anarchists, but if a member of the English equivalent of the Proum allies herself with the Anarchists in her sympathies she's called to order and told its not party policy. Its too silly.

I feel rather worse again tonight and my throat is definitely worse. I can't imagine how I will speak tomorrow. I feel queerly weak too. I think I've got a temp. tonight; I feel so hot; but I think one always feels worse at nights, don't you? If I feel not too bad tomorrow I will hope to take Jean to see the Spanish film when the Dorland Hall business and the Xmas shopping is over; but I will have to wait and see how I feel. I am so glad you are taking young Barbara. She will appreciate the film; she is really shaping beautifully politically: you can't imagine what a thin frozen shut-away little thing (constipated, non-menstruating, thin beyond belief) she was when I first took her up. I put her on to fight good (she'd no idea

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 22 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. —
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-8-

17242

what to eat - would eat lots of starchy things and no fresh fruit)

I must finish this. I keep getting so many interruptions (Jean is here)

You got the letter I wrote in bed y/day as well as this morning's I hope ?

My devoted love, dearest Emma



I enclose cuttings of Conze's
Menace of anti-Fascism articles
in Controversy.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 22, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

Nº 976.

19179

BARCELONA, 22 de diciembre de 1.937.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
Londres.

Estimados camaradas:

Interesando al Movimiento Libertario dirigirse directamente con informaciones breves de lo que por aquí ocurre, a diferentes personalidades del campo liberal é izquierdista en el mundo, necesitamos que, a la mayor brevedad, esa Oficina nos facilite una relación de personalidades izquierdistas, políticos, literatos, periodistas y artistas.

Con esta relación de personajes, en la cual se debe indicar nombres, apellidos y dirección, nosotros llevaremos un fichero y, como decimos, les remitiremos directamente, informaciones de la marcha de los acontecimientos en el interior de España, informes que responderán a la realidad y nó a los informes tendenciosos ó parciales de las Agencias y la Prensa, ya que con ello, realizaremos un excelente trabajo que, a la larga, habrá de rendir sus efectos.

Esperamos pues, que esa Oficina se apresurará a buscar los nombres de los elementos indicados entre la gente liberal y del campo proletario, destacados, y pensad, que tan pronto obren en nuestro poder, empezaremos a trabajar.

Confianto, pues, en la rapidez de la gestión, os saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI

Pedro Herrera

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL

Mariano R. Vázquez

FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA
COMITÉ PENINSULAR
SECRETARÍA



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 22, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 22 × 18 cm.

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Nº 976.

BARCELONA, 22 de diciembre de 1.937...

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
L o n d r e s.

Estimados camaradas:

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Confianto, pues, en la rapidez de la gestión, os saludan fraternamente,

POR EL CTE.PENINSULAR FAI

POR EL CTE.NACIONAL CNT.

Pedro Herrera

Mariano R. Vázquez.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 22, Bristol [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Margaret and Ernest [Taylor]. — 2 p.; 18 × 14 cm.

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10081
Campfield,
Abbots Leigh,
Nr Bristol.

Dec 22nd 1937

My dear Emma

I don't know what you must think of us both for not replying to your very welcome letter before, we have both been away and very busy with one thing and another. As a matter of fact, we each thought the other was writing, the great thing to us, was that you had returned safe and sound to carry on your good work at home. I am afraid you must be very depressed about the situation in Spain. I am coming to the conclusion that the only way to settle matters is to set up some kind of Federal State, you may not agree, but you know how difficult the Catalonia people are. Anyway, if something of the kind is not done, the people will be wiped out. As you know we have some of the Spanish Children in Bristol, and they seem to be flourishing. I am on the Committee but have not been able to put in much time, as they much at takes an awkward time

The Emma Goldman Papers

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18082

happily they appointed an R.C. as chairman
I don't however think he can do much as the
Committee is quite representative. I understand
some of the children are returning very shortly
we are giving them a special Christmas party & know
they are being well looked after. I have not
heard anything from Ethel lately, but believe
they are running much more smoothly than
at first. I hope you have quite got over
your little trouble with your toe, these kind
of things can be very painful if not taken in
good time. I wonder what you think of Spain,
it's really an awful business and our governments
seem afraid to move, I think the media have
set up back right America and ourselves could
do so much if they would only make a really
bold protest. I'm afraid the commercial
interests are at the back of all the trouble. We
should like to see you again before long and
if we get a chance will run in and see you. I
do hope you will have a happy time at Christmas
in spite of the world's trouble.
Love and all good wishes from Margaret and
Ernest.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 23 [London to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Dec. 23rd 37.

My dear Modest.

Your letter of the 12th instance reached me a day before yesterday. Yours of the 12th arrived only this morning. I wonder why it took the one of the 7th longer than the one of the 12th to reach me. I had intended writing you to day and sending you my check for the amount you specify in yours of the 12th inst. I inclose the check for ~~11~~ 11,375 francs. My dear there was no need to tell me not to ~~am~~ keep back anything for Emmy. I had no intention of doing so. I never take liberties with other people affairs or money. Besides I understood that you must be hard pressed. As to Emmy the thousand francs I sent her for you and she should last her until the 15th of next month. Then I will again send her five hundred francs. She must manage somehow as we all have to.

Dearest Modest I have written you once already that I am not blaming you for anything as regards the delay of the authorisation. I knew you must be ill or prevented by other reasons from rushing it to France. Nor did I wish to show bad sportsmanship. None considerations have never ruled my life. You must know that. In fact you say so when you tell me that had I sold Bon Esprit last year I would now be minus anything from the sale. I know that only too well. I am certain that before the new year will be over I shall be like the Chinaman, no ticky and no washy, neither a roof over my head or cash. No it is not because I cared about the loss that I mentioned it to you. It was only that letting Bon Esprit go at all was a wrong and to let it go for a bagatelle did not add to the pain of separation. But at no time did I feel resentment against you nor did I mean to make you feel at fault because of the delay. Anyhow, it's all over and settled with.

I don't understand my neglect of putting my address on the letter head or envelope. I usually do so it is strange I should have neglected it in my letters to you. I have been in very great turmoil about Spain since last May, while I was there recently and now. There is so much the Spanish comrades are doing I cannot agree with either from the point of consistency or utility that makes my efforts for them extremely difficult and grievous. I go on only because I know they are in a burning house with the flames shooting sky high from every corner coming near to burn them alive. I realize why they are forced to take the plunge. But I feel they will not save themselves by it. I am therefore between and bewixt

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Stalin regime and the international proletariat I feel I must stand by my people. On the other hand I cannot reconcile myself to the tactics which seem to me to lead them far afield of the Revolution and all the CNT-FAI had hoped from it. You see therefore I am not in an enviable position. I keep thinking what stand Sasha would have taken. Sometimes I feel sure he would have reasoned as I that our Fascism is the greatest evil and should be fought to the bitter end. At other times I think he would have been more consistent than I. He would have repudiated the compromises of the CNT-FAI. You can imagine how terribly I miss Sasha. I feel an exile in England and everywhere in Europe. I have no one outside of Rudolf Rocker whose judgment I care about. I feel completely lost and yet I am driven onward by the epic grandeur of the Spanish people and of the CNT-FAI.

I have no idea when I will sail for Canada, not before next summer though. America looks hopeless for me. And Canada is as dead as a door nail. However, I shall probably go to Canada some time next summer though as I said I have no hopes of being readmitted to the States and that is unfortunately the only country where I belong with every fiber of my being. Perhaps it is because it is closed to me all long for the unattainable.

You are a stoic my dear to go through so much illness and still keep an upper lip. I wish Emmy had a small portion of your stoicism she would get along better.

I fear there will be no chance for me to get tight on New Years Eve. I know so few people in London and their parties I have attended in the past are so deadly dull I don't care to go so any more. I shall probably be in by my lonesomes. But I will take a drink just the same and it will be to your speedy recovery.

Affectionately always.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 23, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / P[edro] Herrera. —
1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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I. 211/37

19055



Barcelona, Via Durruti 30, 62
23rd of December 1937

Solidaridad Internacional
Antifascista

Consejo General

Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Road
L O N D O N W.14

Dear Comrade Emma Goldman,

I received your letter of December 6th, for which I thank you very much. — As I informed you in my letter of October 27th, Fidel Martin has been the first comrade in England whom we entrusted with the construction of the English Section of S.I.A. After now having appointed you responsible for this Section, we already advised you several times to get in touch with Fidel Martin (address: 1 Nealt Street, London W.C.1). In the first place he has material concerning the S.I.A. in his possession and secondly it should be made possible to win such a trustworthy comrade, who is so full of good will and eager to help, for the collaboration we need. — This has absolutely nothing to do with Mañé.

I am glad you have found suitable quarters for the combined offices of the CNT-FAI Delegation and the English Section of the S.I.A. We will supply your reading room regularly with our publications. We also hope that "Spain and the World" will use all its means to propagate the work of S.I.A.

Concerning the difficulties you see—according to your letter—in the fact, that the I.L.P. has started a campaign in favour of the Spanish cause, we consider it necessary to let the I.L.P.—at least formally,—participate in S.I.A. Concerning the political attitude of said party, we repeatedly received during the past months absolutely positive manifestations, so that we see no reason whatever to keep them from participating in an organism like S.I.A. On the other hand, their collaboration—as you say yourself—will be of great practical value. We must try everything to come to an understanding with them in this respect. Even though they will use part of their funds for the relief work among their comrades in Spain, a common platform for cooperation with the S.I.A. will be found.

It would be advisable to obtain collaboration of outstanding personalities also, as Science, Literature, Art, etc. Please keep us informed about what you achieve in this respect.

The S.I.A. has established many new homes and institutions for the refugee children. They are well cared for. — Expecting soon news from you, I am yours fraternally

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19328

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84
TELÉFONO 14731 - 41

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Barcelona le 23 d'embre 1937.

Com. de Emma GOLDMAN,
Londres.

Chère Camarade,

Il y a longtemps que nous n'avons pas des nouvelles de Londres. Nous vous avons fait parvenir déjà assez matériel d'information. Ci-joint nous vous remettons la description des batailles concernant la chute de Teruel. Le plus grand héros de ces batailles a été notre camarade le commandant Garcia Vivanco. Si vous vous rappelez, c'est le même camarade que dans le Comité Régional vous a fourni les descriptions sur la chute de Belcote.

La Division commandée par Vivanco a dû supporter les plus grands coups des fascistes et malgré cela, elle a été la première qui a rentré dans Teruel. Cette Division a été félicitée par les chefs militaires.

En même temps je vous remets 5 exemplaires d'une revue dédiée à la Division 25. Dans cette revue vous trouverez des photos de Vivanco et d'autres compagnons.

Il serait intéressant que vous fassiez des déclarations concernant la chute de Teruel à la presse. Il serait aussi intéressant que vous écriviez quelque chose faisant référence à la personnalité de Vivanco en rappelant l'interview que vous avez eu avec lui.

L'autre jour je vous ai envoyé le bulletin que l'on édite pour les militants, en faisant les opportunes annotations. Je vous remets un autre exemplaire de ce bulletin qui vous servira pour être au courant des problèmes que nous devons résoudre ici.

Si vous publiez quelque chose concernant le camarade Vivanco, nous vous prions de nous faire parvenir une copie. Vous pouvez l'envoyer à l'adresse de Perpignan que vous connaissez. Recevez nos salutations bien fraternelles.

Martin Gudell

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569

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 25, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. — 2 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Paris am 25. Dezember 1937

Liebe Emma,

der beiliegende Text mit meinen Notizen zum Kongress liegt schon mehrere Tage fertig da und ging noch nicht ab, weil ich einen Begleitbrief dazu schreiben wollte, den ich nun aus Anlass Deines Briefes vom 22. in Angriff nehme.

Meine Notizen sind als fluechtige Darstellung für Rudolf gedacht, und ein Ex. habe ich auch an die Zentralstelle der DAS nach Stockholm gesandt. Vielleicht ist dieser Bericht etwas positiver ausgefallen als es meiner tatsächlichen Stimmung entspricht. Aber das liegt daran, dass ich, wenn ich ueber den Konflikt in unserer Bewegung nachdenke, immer wieder zu dem Grundgedanken zurueckkomme, dass unsere spanischen Genossen in einem grossen, historischen Geschehen stehen und viele der auslaendischen Kameraden davon keinen Hauch verspüren. So muss ich immer wieder die CNT verteidigen... Wenn ich in den ersten Tagen des Kongresses geschrieben haette, dann waere alles anders ausgefallen, denn ich war erbittert ueber die Spanier... Jetzt, wo ich das Gesamtbild vor mir habe, sehe ich die Sache doch wieder anders.

Ein grosser Ungluecksfall ist meine Wiederwahl ins Sekretariat. Ich hatte meinen Abgang als definitiv bezeichnet und vorbereitet und hatte eine Menge Phaene, ich glaubte ausserhalb eines solchen Amtes der Sache jetzt besser dienen zu koennen... Aber die Spanier schlugen Deutschland mit vor und erklaerten, dass sie Interesse an meiner Teilnahme haetten. Ich glaubte, die Sache erledige sich sofort indem ich erklaerte, dass ich in absolutem Widerspruch zu der Mehrheit der deutschen Genossen stuende und infolge dessen nicht ihr Exponent sein koenne, aber unser Lewin meldete sich zu einer Antwort und erklaerte, das sei nicht wahr, ich haette das volle Vertrauen der deutschen Genossen. Da war die Geschichte verloren...

Nun, bis August hoechstens... Ich sehe allerdings nicht besonders rosig. Wer wird ins Sekretariat kommen? Ich kenne bisher nur einen, den jungen Portugiesen, der auf dem Kongress war. Er scheint ein lieber Kerl zu sein, aber personlich wenig ausgepraegt. Aber was werden uns die Spanier schicken? Ich sprach mit Vazquez und habe ihm verschiedenes gesagt... habe ihn um neue Leute gebeten... Aber ich habe sogar schon gehoert, dass man den bisherigen spanischen Vertreter im Sekretariat, G., wieder mit aufstellen will. Es waere ein Unglueck...

Die Beschluesse des Kongresses sind hoechst unwichtig. Was jetzt gemacht werden kann, haengt ausschliesslich vom Sekretariat ab. Die Resolution, die anstelle der fatalen Resolution der Spanier angenommen wurde, kann ich Dir jetzt nicht geben, denn ich habe sie nicht. Sie war aber so, dass sie allgemein als sehr befriedigend empfunden wurde, auch von den Spaniern.

Wenn ich Dir einen Rat geben kann, Emma, dann schliesse ich mich Rudolf an. Bleib so lange wie geht bei den Spaniern...

Uebrigens sagte mir heute meine Genossin etwas zu Deinem Briefe,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 25, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. — 2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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was ich Dir auch sagen moechte. Sie sagte, man duerfe die spani-
schen Ein- und Ausfaelle auf politischem Gebiete ueberhaupt nicht
so ernst nehmen. Sie meinen es selber nicht ganz so. Sie sind im
Grunde immer die gleichen Kinder, und die gleichen Revolutionaere,
auch wenn sie mal tolle Ideen aeussern, die isoliert betrachtet
reformistisch scheinen... Sie denken ja ueberhaupt nicht in gros-
sem Zusammenhang. Sie sind "reine Empiriker", wie man einmal richtig
sagte. *haben aber bisher eine eindeutige Gefuehls-Grundlage, die gut ist.*

Genosse Galve sagt mir, dass er selbst keine Exemplare der "Apuntes"
hat und Dir in kurzer Zeit die ganze englische Uebersetzung schicken
wird, und dann auch die Landkarte. Mit dieser Auskunft wirst Du nicht
zufrieden sein, aber trotz x-maligen Fragens konnte ich keine ande-
re bekommen.

An Rudolf habe ich alles erreichbare Material des Kongresses ge-
schickt.

Aus Spanien bekamen wir gestern telefonisch eine interessante Nach-
richt. Die Einnahme von Terruel geschah durch unsere Division 25
unter Kommando des Genossen Vivanco, nachdem eine kommunistische
Division gescheitert war.

Ich fragte Dich noch garnicht danach: deinen "Bericht" erhieltst Du
doch wahrscheinlich noch vor deiner Reise nach Paris?

Fuer Deine Wuensche danke ich Dir und erwidere sie von ganzem Her-
zen.

Moegte das neue Jahr endlich etwas Erfreuliches in unserem Kampfe
bringen. Die Einnahme von Terruel war jedenfalls schon eine grosse
Sache, und ein Beweis dafuer, dass die Lage nicht ganz so ist, wie
sie in der internationalen Presse dargestellt wird. Das neue Heer
hat bewiesen, dass es etwas taugt. Wieviel bittere und schmerzliche
Erfahrungen hat es gekostet, bis es so weit kam, und wieviel Men-
schenleben. Die Kameraden in Spanien sind sehr begeistert.

Viele herzliche Gruesse

Helmut

*Die Uebigen in der alten
Kongress sind wichtig
zum gemeinsamen Nutzen.*

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 25, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

Nº 1.043.

BARCELONA, a 25 de diciembre de 1.937.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
L o n d r e s.

Estimados camaradas:

Con esta fecha os remitimos por correo regular certificado, el libro del camarada Mauro Bajatierra, "CRONICAS DEL FRENTE DE MADRID", editado últimamente por este Comité Nacional.

Interesa que procedáis lo antes posible a hacer una edición, reproducción del mismo. Tiene gran importancia, por ser una demostración de la intervención decisiva de nuestras fuerzas en la defensa del heroico Madrid.

Esperamos lo editaréis con rapidez y sacaréis el rendimiento preciso de esta importante obra.

Os saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE.PENINSULAR FAI.

POR EL CTE.NACIONAL CNT.

Pedro Herrera

Mariano R. Vázquez



COMITE PENINSULAR
SECRETARIO

572

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 25, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

Nº 1.030.

BARCELONA, 25 de diciembre de 1.937.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
L o n d r e s .

Estimados camaradas:

Os adjuntamos a la presente, un informe breve, de la intervención de nuestras fuerzas en la conquista de Teruel.

Podréis observar, que la 25 División ha tenido en la misma, una intervención decisiva.

Como sabemos que en el Exterior acostumbra a involucrarse las cosas y explicar que en la intervención de las operaciones, siempre es decisiva por parte del Partido Comunista y nunca se señala la intervención de nuestras fuerzas, os remitimos este material, para que en la prensa y en la tribuna, cuando preciso sea, podáis tener datos para demostrar que la intervención de las fuerzas libertarias es decisiva en la guerra de España.

La 25 División es una de las columnas que salieron en los primeros días del movimiento, de Barcelona hacia el frente de Aragón. Se denominó entonces, Columna Ortiz; posteriormente y al irse a la militarización, se la calificó con 25 División. Los camaradas, pues, que la integran y que han operado en la toma de Teruel, acostumbran a ser militantes del anarquismo en su gran mayoría.

Destacar estos detalles y glosar en la propaganda la intervención de los anarquistas en estas operaciones, que han sido, en realidad, un éxito indiscutible.

A partir de este momento, cuantas operaciones tengan lugar, os remitiremos material documental para que, debidamente informados, podáis realizar la propaganda.

Os saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR F.A.I.

Pedro Herrera.

COMITÉ PENINSULAR
SECRETARÍA

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL CNT.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

573

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 25, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 22 × 18 cm.

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Os saludan fraternalmente,

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POR EL CTE.NACIONAL CNT.

Pedro Herrera.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

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Nº 1.040.

BARCELONA, a 25 de diciembre de 1937.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
Londres.

Estimados camaradas:

Os adjuntamos el libro del camarada Mauro Bajatierra, titulado "CRÓNICAS DEL FRENTE DE MADRID".

Esperamos que os agrada el mismo, quedando con este motivo vuestro cordialmente,

POR EL CTE.PENINSULAR FAI.

POR EL CTE.NACIONAL CNT.

Pedro Herrera.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 25, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

Na 1.043.

BARCELONA, a 25 de diciembre de 1937.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
Londres.

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Esperamos lo editaréis con rapidez y sacaréis el rendimiento preciso de esta importante obra.

Os saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL CNT.

Pedro Herrera.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 25, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. — 1 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84
TELÉFONO 14781 - 41

19348



TELÉFONOS:
CENTRALITA 14781
SECRETARIADO 41
EDICIONES 44-45
GUERRA DE CLASE 46
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BOLETÍN FRANCÉS 47
BOLETÍN ALEMÁN 47
BOLETÍN INGLÉS 48
BOLETÍN SUÉCO 48
BOLETÍN BULGARO 48
BOLETÍN PORTUGUÉS 48

Barcelona 25 Diciembre 1937.

Comarade EMMA GOLDMAN,
London.

Chère Comarade,

Nous vous prions de bien vouloir nous envoyer une série d'adresses des gens que n'appartiennent pas à notre mouvement, mais qui sont susceptibles de venir en aide au mouvement espagnol antifasciste. Nous croyons que peut-être quelques personnalités bien connues changeraient d'opinion s'ils recevrissent des informations sur la vraie situation d'Espagne. A notre avis, il serait intéressant faire, en plus de la propagande que nous faisons actuellement, une espèce d'information dans laquelle n'aura pas question du mouvement spécifique, mais des problèmes de la vie espagnole. On les expliquera tels qu'ils sont en réalité, car il y a plusieurs informations du gouvernement et les partis gouvernementaux qui ne reflètent pas la réalité. Nous pensons qu'il serait convenable de mettre à ces gens au courant des motifs de cette fausse information.

Pour cela, nous avons besoin des adresses de quelques politiques libéraux, laboristes, écrivains, artistes et d'autres qu'à votre avis pourraient réactionner s'ils connaissent la vérité. Nous vous prions de nous donner votre avis sur cette propagande.

Dans l'attente de recevoir le plus tôt possible les adresses que nous vous demandons, veuillez agréer, chère Comarade, nos salutations bien fraternelles,

Martin Gudell

Уже 3 недели не получаю от Вас никаких сведений. М.

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577

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Dec. 26, London to Ethel Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. --
1 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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Sunday.

Darling. The fragrant lilacs you so thoughtfully sent me filled my room with the sweetness of your personality and made my exile less poignant. No one else in this vast city has ever shown me such lovely friendship. It is not only what you do but how you do it which comfort and soothes me and my tortured spirit. Thank you dearest mine.

I wonder whether your throat has improved. Were you really able to take a chair at the School Exhibition, and did your voice hold out? I wish it were possible to phone you. I think of you all the time and long so to talk to you, to know how you are. The weather is so frightful it numbs my spirit. I hope it has not made your condition worse.

Our letters crossed, you must have gotten mine yesterday when I received yours. I hope you and Regie do not think I am getting to be a regular nuisance asking you for so many things. But who else is there who feels as I do about Spain and its tragedy? I see Huxley is in America. I have not yet written him or Havelock Ellis, or anybody. I must first be sure in what form to approach these people and who the Committee will be. I dread tying myself up with parties. It binds one's freedom of action. On the other hand, I know that I am not sufficiently known to have any effect on people and I am anathema for those who think they know me. I never have it so torn, so uncertain in my movements as I have since I returned here a year ago this Christmas Eve. It seems years and I have accomplished so little for Spain.

Will it be possible for you to see me this week? Your visits ~~amx~~ help me very much as the soothing hand to a feverish head. If you are not too rushed with work please come to me soon. We need not go anywhere.

With loving greetings

Greet Regie for me.

Emma
Have received the New Leader
of Dec 10th and am not so much
impressed as Regie. I will
write to Regie in an hour when we meet.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Dec. 26, London to Ethel Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 21 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17243

Sunday.

! Darling. The fragrant lilacs you so thoughtfully sent me filled my room with the evanescence of your personality and made my exile less poignant. No one else in this vast city has ever shown me such lovely friendship. It is not only what you do but how you do it which comfort and soothes me and my tortured spirit. Thank you dearest mine.

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Greet Regie for me.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 26, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / Edgar [G.] Newman. —
1 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18047

C O P Y

December 26th 1937.

Dear Comrade,

As far as I know, you have already been informed that KATIA LANDAU and ELSA HENSCHKE have disappeared about a fortnight ago.

We now understand from the letter of a comrade which was imprisoned at the CALLE MAJOR and which has been carried on to the CARCEL DE MUJERES (McGovern will know who she is) just recently, that the two unfortunate women have "replaced her", i.e. that they are now at the Centre d'Informaciones, Calle Val Mayer."

Please pass this information to Mc. Govern and oblige.-

I thank you for your efforts to find out the address of Emy Sobolem which we could find out in the meantime.-

Yours fraternally

Edgar

Please note our new address from
January 5th

Edgar NEWMAN, 9 rue Remy du Gourmont, Paris XIXe.

Dear Comrade,

Very many thanks for the news papers which were very interesting indeed and which I showed to the other comrades interested.

Would you be kind enough to give this information also to Dr STURMTHAL, 37 Linden Gardens, Notting Hill LONDON W.2. who is also interested in the case.

Thanking you in advance

Yours fraternally

Edgar

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 27 [London to] Toronto Star, Toronto / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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most of my time taken up in making such pictures of the papers would bring it

COPIE
The Editor,
TORONTO Star,
Toronto, Ontario,
CAN D.

December 27th 1937

Sir,

The American press has rarely shown an intelligent appreciation of Anarchists and Anarchism. All the greater surprise to find an exception in the TORONTO STAR. I am referring to your Editorial entitled "Brickmaker Turns General" which appeared in your issue of December 8th.

You quote the Bulletin of the C.N.T. - A.I.T. - F.A.I. to the effect that "to provoke internal conflict at the present time, whatever their motives, actually amounts to betrayal and serves the interests of the international fascism" and then you proceed by saying that "at this distance the correctness of that statement appears to be open to question". I realise your difficulty, being so far removed from the scene of action as you are. Many correspondents, though right on the spot in Spain, likewise seem to find it difficult to appreciate the true value and force of the National Confederation of Labour (CNT) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (FAI). Maybe they are simply unable to see, for as the saying goes: "none so blind as those who will not see". Hence the many distorted reports concerning the C.N.T. - F.A.I., that are sent to the press by their representatives.

Well, I have just returned from my second visit to Spain. During a seven weeks' stay I travelled up and down the country, between Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid; I visited the trenches in that epic city, only a hundred metres away from Franco's side; I covered all the industrial collectives in the large cities, as well as the collectivised villages in Castile, the Levante, Aragon, and Catalonia, and I can assure you that the contents of the Bulletin are by no means exaggerated.

The anarchists in Spain still adhere to their firm belief that "Governments interfere too much with the lives of the people". On this score, there is no difference or disagreement whatever between the Anarchists in or outside of Spain. It is there one incorrect to say the "sincere idealists are checking those of their number who are disposed to attack the Government as bourgeois and reactionary". They know only too well that the Negrin-Prieto - Communist Government is a bourgeois and reactionary Government and that it is the "disastrous policies followed by those now in power" which has done no end of harm to the pursuance of the Anti-Fascist struggle.

In point of truth, the Communist pseudo allies of the Negrin-

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2

Franco Government have done their utmost to sabotage the victory over Franco. They have done so insidiously and openly by means of armed force, the destruction of a number of collectives, the arrest, torture and death of many true and ardent revolutionary Anti-Fascists. Indeed, their acts of provocation since May last would be enough to try the stoniest hearts. If Stalin's emissaries with the aid of his transplanted Cheka failed in Spain, it is because the C.N.T. and the P. I. refused to fall into the trap so clumsily set for them.

The C.N.T.-P. I. were the first to realise on that historic date - JULY 19th 1936 - the military and Fascists conspiracy and they were determined to be the last on the battlefield in order to deal the death blow to Fascism. To them the struggle does not mean mere scene-shifting and the change of one set of politicians for another. The motive inspiring the C.N.T. and P. I. in their heroic and desperate fight against Fascism is to safeguard the Spanish revolution and its constructive achievements. In this they are not only supported by their own large memberships, approx 3,000,000 workers, peasants and Libertarian Youths; but also by the great majority of the Spanish people as a whole. You are therefore quite right in saying that "The thing that matters most is that the masses of the Spanish people are forgetting their differences and uniting to oppose the forces that have held them in bondage for centuries".

I must add, however, that the Spanish people are well aware of the fact that their liberation will not be accomplished by the "Liberal Government" enjoying Stalin's blessing; they know their liberation will be achieved through their own efforts, through their syndicates, their collectivised and socialised institutions, Komunismo Libertario (Libertarian Communism) - that is the living force deeply ingrained in and animating the Spanish masses; it is this which is urging them on to destroy Fascism and all other enemies of the people's heritage of political, economic and social freedom and well-being.

I appreciate deeply your tribute to my comrade Cipriano Mera. He did all you say, and more. Next to Buenaventura Durruti, the people's idol, it is Mera whose Valor has caught the imagination of the Spanish masses. Another of their heroes is the anarchist Garcia Vivanco, the hero of Belchite, who freed that city from Franco's German and Italian forces. For this he was highly commended by General Llorens. The latter though known as an arch-hater of anarchism, yet felt impelled to send Vivanco a message of appreciation.

Great as that achievement was, Vivanco - as I have just heard from an authentic source - has now followed it up with one still greater: for it was GARCIA VIVANCOS who with his 26th Division, which consisted of the 116, 117 and 118 Brigades, all C.N.T.-P. I. members actually captured Teruel. Vivanco is a born leader of men, and is greatly beloved by his men.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 27 [London to] Toronto Star, Toronto / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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It is true to say that there are hundreds of such gallant men in Spain who have attained to magnificent heights by their bravery and courage in their fight against Fascism. Most of them were simple working men whose idealism and daring have proven stronger than German and Italian arms.

The greatest characteristic of the Spanish people is their selflessness. They do not want honours or medals. They find their supreme reward in the consciousness that by fighting Fascism they are not merely fighting for Spain alone but for the whole world, for the liberation of the people from that scourge.

Sincerely

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 27 [London to] Toronto Star, Toronto / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 22 x 17 cm.

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COPY.

The Editor,
Toronto Star,
Toronto, Ontario,
CANADA.

December 27th 1937.

Sir,

The American Press has rarely shown an intelligent appraisal of Anarchists and Anarchism. All the greater surprise to find an exception in the TORONTO STAR. I am referring to your Editorial entitled "Brickmaker Turns General" which appeared in your issue of December 8th.

Your quote the bulletin of the C.N.T.-A.I.T.-F.A.I. to the effect that "to provoke internal conflict at the present time, whatever their motives, actually amounts to betrayal and serves the interests of the international fascism" and then you proceed by saying "that at this distance the correctness of that statement appears to be an open question". I realize your difficulty, being so far removed from the scene of action as you are. Many correspondents, though right on the spot in Spain, likewise seem to find it difficult to appraise the true value and force of the National Confederation of Labour (CNT) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (FAI). May be they are simply unable to see, for as the saying goes: "none so blind as those who will not see". Hence the many distorted reports concerning the C.N.T.-F.A.I. that are sent to the Press by their representatives.

Well, I have just returned from my second visit to Spain. During a seven weeks stay I travelled up and down the country, between Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid; I visited the trenches in that epic city, only a hundred metres away from Franco's side; I covered all the industrial collectives in the large cities, as well as the collectivised villages in Castille, the Levante, Aragon, and Catalunya, and I can assure you that the contents of the Bulletin are by no means exaggerated.

The Anarchists in Spain still adhere to their firm belief the "Government interfere too much with the lives of the people". On this score, there is no difference or disagreement whatever between the Anarchists in or outside of Spain. It is therefore sheer incorrect to say the "sincere idealists are checking those of their number who are disposed to attack the Government as bourgeois and reactionary". They know only too well that the Legerin-Rrieto - Communist Government is a bourgeois and reactionary government and that it is the "disastrous policies followed by those now in power" which has done no end of harm to the pursuance of the Anti-Fascist struggle.

In point of truth, the Communist pseudo allies of the Legerin-

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Liberal Government have done their utmost to sabotage the victory over Franco. They have done so insidiously and openly by means of armed force, the destruction of a number of collectives, the arrest, torture and death of many true and ardent revolutionary Anti-Fascists. Indeed, their acts of provocation since May last would be enough to try the staunchest hearts. If Stalin's emissaries with the aid of the his transplanted Cheka failed in Spain, it is because the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. refused to fall into the trap so clumsily set for them.

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I must add, however, that the Spanish people are well aware of the fact that their liberation will not be accomplished by the "Liberal Government" enjoying Stalin's blessings; they know their liberation will be achieved through their own efforts, through their syndicates, their collectivised and socialised institutions, Komunismo Libertario (Libertarian Communism) - that is the living force deeply ingrained in and animating the Spanish masses; it is this which is urging them on to destroy Fascism and all other enemies of the people's heritage of political, economic and social freedom and well-being.

I appreciate deeply your tribute to my comrade Cipriano Mera. He did all you say, and more. Next to Buenaventura Durruti, the people's idol, it is Mera whose valor has caught the imagination of the Spanish masses. Another of their heroes is the Anarchist Garcia Vivancos, the hero of Belchite, who freed that city from Franco's German and Italian forces. For this he was highly commended by General Pozas. The latter though known as an arch-hater of Anarchism yet felt impelled to send Vivancos a message of appreciation.

Great as that achievement was, Vivancos - as I have just heard from an authentic source - has now followed it up with one still greater: for it was GARCIA VIVANCOS who with his 25th Division, which consisted of the 116, 117, and 118 Brigades, all C.N.T.-F.A.I. members actually captured Teruel. Vivancos is a born leader of men, and is greatly beloved by his men.

585

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3.

It is true to say that there are hundreds of such gallant men in Spain who have attained to magnificent heights by their bravery and courage in their fight against Fascism. Most of them were simple working men whose idealism and daring have proven stronger than German and Italian arms.

The greatest characteristic of the Spanish people is their selflessness. They do not want honours or medals. They find their supreme reward in the consciousness that by fighting Fascism they are not merely fighting for Spain alone but for the whole world, for the liberation of the people from that scourge.

Sincerely.

586

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TRADUCCION.

27 de Diciembre de 1937.

Redacción,
TORONTO STAR,
Toronto, Ontario,
CANADA.

Muy señor mio:

La prensa americana rara vez ha tratado inteligentemente al Anarquismo y a los anarquistas. Así, pues, me ha sorprendido encontrar una excepción en el TORONTO STAR. Me refiero a su editorial "Albafil que se vuelve General", publicado en el número del 8 de Diciembre.

Muchos periodistas y aun aquellos que se encuentran actualmente en España, parece encuentran difícil poder apreciar el verdadero valer y fuerza de la C.N.T.-F.A.I.. Tal vez sea que no pueden ver, o mas bien que no quieren ver, y de aquí la inexactitud de las muchas relaciones enviadas por sus corresponsales a la prensa extranjera referentes a la C.N.T.-F.A.I.

Acabo de regresar de mi segunda visita a España. Durante mi estancia de 7 semanas viajé extensamente entre Barcelona, Valencia y Madrid. Visité las trincheras en aquella épica ciudad, solo a unos cien metros de las líneas de Franco. Visité igualmente todas las Colectividades industriales en las poblaciones mas importantes, así como los pueblos colectivizados en Castilla, Levante, Aragón y Cataluña, y puedo asegurarle que lo publicado en el Boletín de la C.N.T.-A.I.T.-F.A.I., a que Vd. hace referencia en su editorial, no está nada exagerado.

Los anarquistas en España todavía se adhieren a su firme convicción de que "Gobiernos interfieren demasiado con la vida de los pueblos". Sobre este punto no existe divergencia alguna entre los anarquistas españoles y del extranjero. Es, por tanto, inexacto decir que "los idealistas sinceros están conteniendo a aquellos que desean atacar al Gobierno como burgués y reaccionario". Ellos saben muy bien que el gobierno Negrin-Prieto-Comunista es burgués y reaccionario y que se debe a la política desastrosa seguida por los que ahora tienen el poder el mucho daño que se ha hecho a la marcha de la lucha antifascista.

Los comunistas, aliados del gobierno Negrin-Prieto han hecho cuanto han podido para sabotear la victoria sobre Franco, tanto mediante fuerza armada, como mediante la destrucción de un número de Colectivizaciones, el arresto, tortura y muerte de muchos ardientes revolucionarios antifascistas. Si los emisarios de Stalin con la ayuda de su transplantada CHEKA ha fracasado en España, es porque la C.N.T.-F.A.I. rehusaron caer en la trampa que se les había preparado.

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- 2 -

La C.N.T. y la F.A.I. fueron las primeras en rechazar en aquella histórica fecha - 19 de Julio de 1936 - la conspiración militar-fascista, y están dispuestas a ser los últimos en el campo de batalla a fin de dar el golpe de muerte al Fascismo. El motivo que inspira a la C.N.T.-F.A.I. en su heroica y desesperada lucha contra el Fascismo es la salvación de la Revolución Española y sus conquistas sociales. En ello no sólo son apoyadas por sus propios afiliados, aproximadamente unos 3.000.000 de trabajadores, campesinos y Juventudes Libertarias, sino también por la mayoría del pueblo español.

Debo añadir, que el pueblo español sabe muy bien que su liberación no será conseguida por el Gobierno liberal, bendecido por Stalin. Ellos saben muy bien que su libertad solo será ganada por sus propios esfuerzos, a través de sus Sindicatos, Colectividades y organismos socializados. Comunismo Libertario - esta es la fuerza latente, hondamente arraigada, que anima a las masas españolas; que les impelo a la destrucción del Fascismo y demás enemigos del pueblo en su marcha hacia su libertad política, social y económica.

Sinceramente aprecio su tributo a mi camarada Cipriano Mera. Ha hecho todo lo que Vd. expone y mucho mas. Después de Buenaventura Durruti, el ídolo del pueblo, ha sido Mera con su gran valer el que ha cautivado la imaginación de las masas españolas.

Otro de sus grandes hombres es el anarquista García Vivancos, el héroe de Belchite, que liberó a esta población de las fuerzas alemanas e italianas que ayudan a Franco.

Y después de Belchite llega Teruel. Acabo de recibir noticias fehacientes indicativas de que ha sido García Vivancos, al mando de la 25 División, compuesta de las Brigadas 116, 117 y 118, todas integradas por miembros de la C.N.T.-F.A.I., quien ha sido el primero en entrar en Teruel.

Como estos hay otros muchos hombres en España, que han llegado a ocupar posiciones destacadísimas por su valer y coraje en la lucha contra el Fascismo. La mayoría de ellos habían sido simples trabajadores, cuyo idealismo y valor ha resultado superior a las armas italianas y alemanas.

La mayor característica del pueblo español es su llaneza. No buscan honores ni medallas. Encuentran suprema recompensa en el convencimiento de que al luchar contra el Fascismo no solo luchan por la libertad de España sino por la del proletariado mundial, amenazado por esta plaga inmundicia.

Atentamente,

(firmado) Emma Goldman.

588

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[Envelope, 19]37 Dec. 27, London [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
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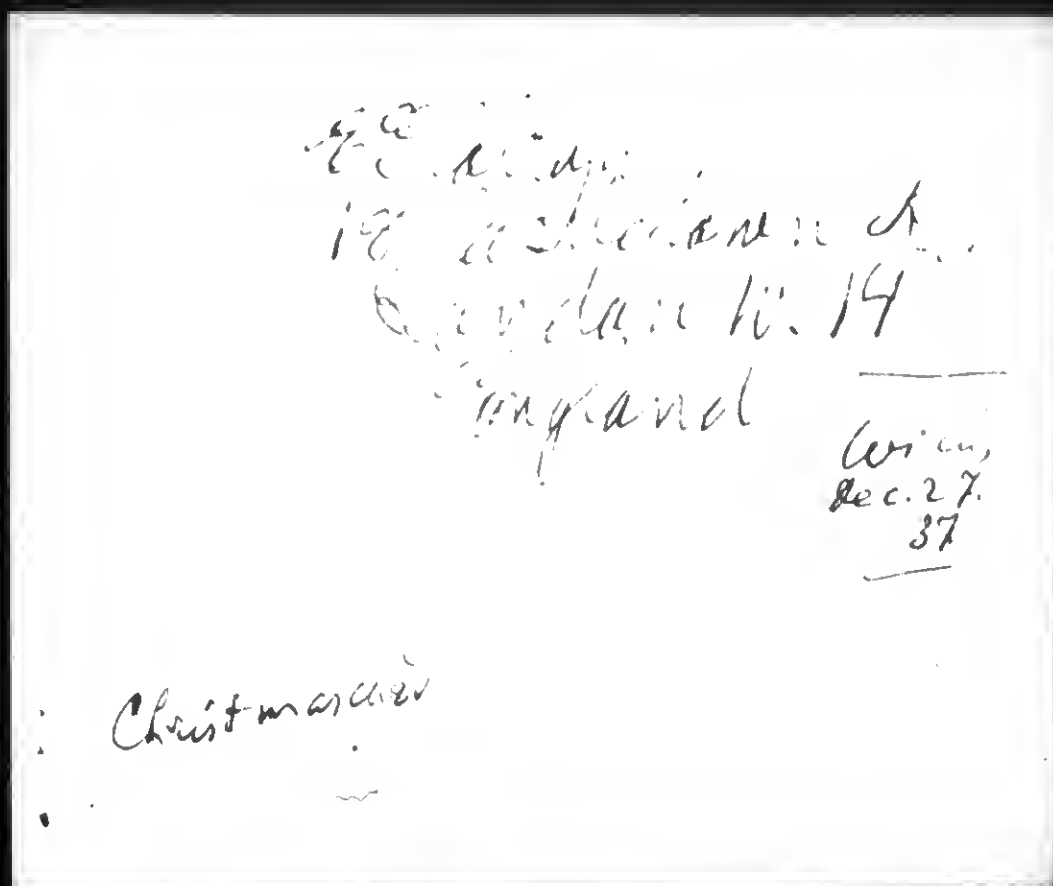
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Federación Nacional del Trabajo
y
Federación Anarquista Ibérica
Relaciones Exteriores

Nº 1.063.

BARCELONA, 27 de diciembre de 1.937.

▲ la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
L o n d r e s .

Estimados camaradas:

Adjuntamos un romance de nuestro camarada Agraz, aparecido en "C N T", de Madrid, para que procuréis su reproducción en la prensa afín.

El mismo tiene importancia, por referirse a la inhibición de Europa en la contienda española.

Os saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE.PENINSULAR FAI.

POR EL CTE.NACIONAL CNT.

Pedro Herrera.

Mariano R. Vázquez

CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL
DEL TRABAJO - ESPAÑA
COMITÉ NACIONAL
SECRETARÍA

CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL
DEL TRABAJO - ESPAÑA
COMITÉ NACIONAL
SECRETARÍA

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 27, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 22 × 18 cm.

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Mariano R. Vázquez.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 28 [London to] P[edro] Herrera, Barcelona / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19276

28th December 1937.

r Herrera.
Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista.
Via Durruti 30.3.
BARCELONA.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of the 23rd December reached me to-day. Meanwhile you must have received my letter of the 22nd December.

I am rather worried about it because I wrote you a lot of things which perhaps I should not have done, sending the letter in the ordinary way. In the future, if I have something to say that is likely to raise the curiosity of the Censor, I will send it by the agreed address Martin actually gave me. I have just written and asked him to tell you about it. This letter will be quite innocent, so it is bound to reach you.

Dear comrade, I remember very well that you wrote me about Fidel Martin; but you never gave me his address before. That's why I could not get in touch with him. I have written him tonight and have asked him to telephone me. I hope to hear from him before this letter leaves London. Indeed dear comrade we are only too glad to have efficient people willing to join us in our work for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the S.I.A. We are so few that we cannot afford to refuse anybody who is anxious and who can be of help and is sincere. As I do not know Fidel Martin, I cannot say what he can do; but if he knows English besides his Spanish he will prove of value. Indeed we have never refused to work with members of the I.L.P.; but you are mistaken if you imagine that it is the Party that is favourable or sympathetic with the C.N.T.-F.A.I.. True Fenner Brookway, the Secretary of the Party is and one or two others; but we have enough proof from some Provincial Cities, that the I.L.P. branches have no desire to co-operate with us. However I have called a small conference for next Wednesday

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2.

19279

Janu ry 5th to see what can be done about a Committee to work for the S.I.A. Among the invited people are members of the Independent Labour Party, who I know will help as individuals and not as the Party.

I wish I could make it clear to you once and for all, that the opposition in the British Labour Party, The Trade Unions, and even the I.L.P. to us is insurmountable. I see no use in even approaching them. This is not only my opinion; but the people who are very sympathetic to the Anti-Fascist struggle know this to be true. I am sure that I have no desire to dissappoint you; but I see no sense in raising false hopes.

Perhaps I am not the person to approach the British Labour Party or the Trade Unions. In that case I would be only too happy to step aside from representing the S.I.A. in England. My one desire is to help you and the other comrades in your struggle.

Believe we have tried hard, very hard and if we have not succeeded in getting the support of such ultra conservative elements as the Trade Unions and the British Labour Party it is undoubtedly not our fault. I will be able to tell you clearly what we can hope to achieve after next Wednesday's gathering, when the S.I.A. is to be launched.

Thank you for all the material you sent me. We hope to use part of it.

On the 14th January we have a big meeting here. While the subject is not the S.I.A. I will take the chance to speak about it, and to bring make an appeal. I also hope that the manifesto for the S.I.A. which will be decided upon at the gathering will be printed and given out at the meeting. Subscription "blanks" will be attached to the manifesto. Naturally we will send you a copy of everything just as soon as the matter is in working shape.

I am sorry we have lost so much time. It was due to the difficulty in getting new quarters, my having to rush off to the Congress of the A.I.T. and the Xmas holidays. The latter absorbs people for at least two weeks in advance, and they cannot be gotten for anything else.

I think tis is all for the present. Greetings to all the comrades. May the New Year bring the triumph over Fascism to our heroic comrades and the Spanish people at large and may the C.N.T.-F.A.I. dedicate themselves to the developement of the Spanish Revolution.

SALUD.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 28 [London to] Martin Gudell, Barcelona / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 20 × 17 cm.

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19310

28th December 1937.

Martin Gudell,
Oficina De Propaganda Exterior,
Casa C.N.T.-F.A.I. Via Durruti 32, Departamento 84,
BARCELONA.

Dear Martin,

To-day I received your letter of the 23rd instant - also the note which you sent through our comrade Nath Prothero. I wrote you the 12th of this month but sent it via the agreed address in Perpignan. The same day I wrote Herrera but stupidly sent it in the ordinary way. I fear it may not have reached him. I have a letter from him to-day dated 23rd December acknowledging a letter I sent him from Paris dated December 6th; but I had written him again meanwhile. I am writing him after I have dictated this letter to you.

I am very glad indeed that you sent the material about heroic conquest of our comrades of Teruel. It came just in time to put it in the next issue of "Spain & The World". I wish my dear I could put it in one of the dailies in this City or in some American daily paper. It would reach many people, and it is certainly necessary to reach larger numbers than we could do through "Spain & The World"; but as I have so often written you and other comrades, which you people do not seem to understand, namely that there is a conspiracy of the press against the C.N.T.-F.A.I. It is impossible to get any paper to take the account of the conquest of the Teruel, although all the papers have long stories that it was taken. Needless to say our men were not mentioned, no more than the C.N.T. was mentioned at the large meeting in the Albert Hall held by the Labour Party. That makes the work here so much more difficult.

I have just seen the translation in Soli of my interview in "Spain & The World". I am afraid my article in the following issue will not lend itself for our papers, yet what I could had

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 28 [London to] Martin Gudell, Barcelona / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 20 x 17 cm.

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19311

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to be said. I would have had no rest if I did not do so. I am sure you will understand. You may however be able to place a short article I wrote to the Editor of the Toronto Star in reply to his rather fair Editorial about the C.M.T.-P.M.I. and their fine tribute to our comrade Cipriano Mera. Here is the clipping. You can print the whole thing and my reply which I am also enclosing. I am sure it will appear in the Toronto Star.

I am having two letters sent to the New York Daily and Sunday Times, which I sent two weeks ago, translated into Spanish. I sent Vazquez and the other comrades to see them and perhaps they can be used in your press in Spain. Of course I am not sure that the Times will print these letters. I have asked the comrades in New York to watch the paper.

A short letter from Vazquez asks us for the extensive list of Liberal branches, and people in the literary, scientific, artistic and labour party and also a copy of a publication containing the names and addresses of all the delegates who attended the Trade Union Congress held in September last. I am afraid it was a mistake to send the letter to you in the ordinary way. It should have been sent you either via Copenhagen. I am now waiting anxiously to hear from you whether this publication has reached you, because we are expecting to get a larger list and we will send it to you then in a safer way. It will take a little time to get the general list Vazquez wants; but it will be sent to you when ready via the address we agreed upon and you will give it to Vazquez.

Just at present we are head over heels in getting our new quarters painted and papered, so we can establish our Bureau, the Reading Room and the Exhibitions I am planning. It is a big job.

In addition we are having the structure of the C.M.T. and the letter to the Trade Union delegates printed. That will go out early next week. Of course I will send you copies of everything.

The next job is a gathering for next Wednesday of people who might constitute themselves a Committee for the S.I.A. You know how impatient I was with the slowness of our Spanish comrades. I now see that they had at least some cause to be slow. They have so much to do. Here slowness is due to lack of interest, lack of fire, lack of sympathy with and appreciation of the heroic struggle in Spain; but one must go on in spite of all, or one would lose all courage.

I have asked you in several letters about the parcel of food which I sent you nearly six weeks ago. It went from a big store in Paris, who assured us that the parcel would be delivered. It would be too bad if it were lost, not only because of the waste of 145 francs but more important because you and the other friends I wanted to have some milk etc will go without it, if the parcel is not delivered.

Good bye dear Martin. May the New Year bring the end of the

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19312

Anti-Fascist war and give our comrades strength and power to continue
the Revolution and may you have a strong share in it.

Affectionately,

P.S. I am very glad indeed that A.B. is landed safely in Paris.
I hope he will come here before he sails for America.

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[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 28 [London to] Fidel Martin, London (fragment) / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 20 x 17 cm.

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Mr Fidel Martin
1, Neale Street
London W.C.1

Dear Mr Martin, I have just received a letter from my comrade
B. Herrera from Barcelona giving me your address and asking me to get
in touch with you. As a matter of fact he had written me about you
before, but he had never inclosed your address so I did not know how
to reach you.

Comrade Herrera tells me that you were to represent the
SS in England. Then while I was in Spain I was asked to take charge
of the Section. So far I have done nothing in the matter owing to our
difficulties of getting proper quarters for our work and also owing to
the Christmas holidays. Our place is being renovated and we hope to
be settled in our new quarters early next month.

I would like very much to see you as soon as possible.
I hope you speak English or French because I do not speak Spanish
although I understand much of it. Howe or a friend here, Spanish does
a lot of translations for me and he would be present if you do not
speak either English or French. Will you kindly call me up

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Dec. 28, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—
3 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Tuesday

228

Dearest Emma, all over Xmas I kept saying I must ring Emma. I wonder if Emma is alright, not lonely, not feeling neglected, and I didn't ring you because somehow I was always doing something else - I had no domestic help over Xmas and that meant boils and washes and cooking to attend to, and y/day there was a visit to be made to my home and when we got back in the evening young B was here, and I had to go up the road to see a woman friend who has had an abortion and is very ill; and I went up to her twice on Sunday, and between one thing and another didn't even start on the proofs of the revolution book which I had told myself I'd do over Xmas, together with the Index... and now I've got my novel to alter and get off this week as well, and I don't see how I can, because Thurs. I can't work at all it being Jean's one day a week with me, and I can't very well ask her not to come at nights when he won't be here for two or three weeks after next week... altogether I feel very harassed and worried... but her isn't coming till late tonight, so I may get the alteration to the novel done, anyhow, and must simply not panic about the Rev. book, I suppose... Emma darling, will you think me neglectful (oh but please don't, dear, for in my heart I'm so very far from it, and worry about you far more than you can possibly realise) if I don't come again till Sat? By then at least I'll have broken the back of the work, and... oh god I've suddenly remembered I'd asked a girl to lunch Sat, because of my brother, I mean he is very unhappy and she can help him, and I wanted to talk to her. I'm still waiting to hear from her. If she accepts perhaps

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- 2 -

17229

I could come and see you in the morning, though I'll have to let you know. And next week we'll have that evening out. Reg will be away and I shall have got the worst of the week over. (This is a very day in the morning)

My cold is much better but I still cough a lot. I managed to Chair for Neill quite well - my throat held out and I think I made quite a good little speech (I wish so much and so much I could do better for you, at yr meetings, dearest Emma; I long to serve you in this way, and grieve and worry over my inadequacy)

This grey weather, this everlasting darkness..its a relief when its really dark and one can draw the curtains and shut it out.

Emma, I am sending you a copy of the letter I have sent (quite without hope) to the NS and the News C. About writing at once to the people proposed for the Cttee, we both feel strongly its better to wait till we have all the material to send - I mean that our personal letters should go out with the finally revised copy of the letter we drafted, and also the structure of the CNT-FAI which you speak of. This letter and this material about the CNT-FAI will speak for themselves and need only the briefest covering note from us. Will you send me the letter (or leaflet, or whatever it is) about the CNT-FAI as soon as you have it? And are you having the letter we drafted duplicated to send out? It would save a lot of work if you did, and I would pay for this to be done and arrange for it if you like, if you let me have the final draft, the paper you want it done on (the CNT-FAI stationery, or some special Cttee notepaper - or just plain paper? But must give an address)

600

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-3-

17230

Padmore I expect to be seeing Sunday. Orwell I don't know personally but can write to as one author to another. Warburg Reg can deal with. What about the other suggestions - Aldous Huxley? Havelock Ellis? I think it might be better if you wrote to them - to Huxley thanking him for his attitude ~~as~~ as expressed in that booklet *Authors Take Sides*. Conze I think it better Reg should write to. But I do think we should have copies of the final draft of that letter, also the stuff about the CNT-FAI to send at the same time.

I hope so much you got this tonight, dearest Emma. Once the Rev. book is to press, and the manuscript of the new novel at the printers, I'll have more time to give you, my very dear, and after this week things should be much easier. I've got to run out now to see that woman up the road, then this afternoon get a D. Sketch short story off (because its a high price and though she didn't like the last I sent them I can't be haughty and refuse to try again) and tonight settle down to altering the novel - a job I loathe. One needs far more than 24 hours to the day. I'll be with you again, my dear, before the 1911's faded.

Devotedly always, however harassed



601

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 Dec. 28, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. —
1 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Ethel Mannin

Oak Cottage,
Burghley Road,
Wimbledon Common, S.W.15.

Tuesday

Emma darling, omitted (the carbon) from mine of this morning. The other (cutting) for yr amusement.

My telephone conversation with you answered some of my questions in my letter. But we should surely have the final copy of that letter we drafted out to send out to people we are trying to interest? I will have heg ask Conze and Warburg for next Wed. to yr place, and will ask ~~Har~~more myself on Sunday. Don't quite know what to do about Orwell as I've never met him - don't even know if he lives in London. But maybe we'd not want him for Wed?

Greatest haste (and my god what a frightful day!
Absolutely bours down on one's spirits!)

Dear love —

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 28, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London (fragment)] / [Helmut Rüdiger].— 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Paris den 28. Dezember 1937

Liebex Emma,

heute, am Montag, 27. Dezember, erhalte ich Deinen Brief vom 4. ... Er ist bei Galve liegengeblieben. Dieser Brief ist also vor Deiner Reise geschrieben. Wie schade, dass wir ueber diese Angelegenheiten hier nicht gesprochen haben. Die Sache muss Dir ja hoechst sonderbar vorgekommen sein. Waehrend des ganzen Kongresses wollte ich Dich fragen, ob Du denn meinen Bericht und letzten Brief nicht erhalten haettest, und erst jetzt erhalte ich die Bestaetigung.

Nun also noch nachtraeglich zu diesem Briefe. Zunaechst die Sache S.-M. Du darfst mir glauben, dass ich ueber die Dinge nicht geschrieben haette, wenn es sich um Persoenliches handelte. Aber das kann ich Dir offenbar nicht beweisen, und will es auch nicht noch einmal versuchen. Ich erhalte jedoch jede Silbe meiner Anklagen aufrecht und kann Dir ausserdem noch mitteilen, dass viele Kameraden der Meinung sind, ich haette mich leider zu sehr zurueckgehalten. Meine Beruhigung in der Sache ist die, dass ich nicht nur persoenliche Erkenntnisse zum Ausdruck bringe, sondern spreche in absoluter Uebereinstimmung mit fast allen auslaendischen Kameraden, die in Barcelona gearbeitet haben. Die im Bericht von Besnard abgedruckte Resolution, von einer Unmenge auslaendischer Gruppen unterschrieben und nicht von uns Deutschen ausgehend, sondern von anderen, ist schliesslich ein sehr beredtes Zeugnis. Wannst Du ueberhaupt den Bericht von Besnard? Er ist sicherlich lesenswert, wenn auch die Lektuere kein Vergnuegen ist. Was nun S. betrifft, so hat mir den Rest gegeben, was Du selbst mir erzahlt hast ueber die Geruechte, die in Spanien und ueberall ueber die Gruppe DAS in Umlauf gesetzt werden. In normalen Umstaenden waere ich selbst ein Kritiker der Gruppe DAS, denn ich habe mich nie besonders wohl in der Atmosphaere gefuehlt, aber heute bin ich ihr Verteidiger gegen gemeine Verleumder. Was ich in dieser Beziehung habe schon aushalten und hoeren muessen, ging oft bis an die Grenze des Moeglichen. Ist man doch so weit gegangen mir zu sagen, ich solle doch mal von Lewin das Geld verlangen, fantastische Betraege, die er beiseitegebracht habe. Dieser Mann, der bitter arm ist wie keiner und den ich seit 15 Jahren kenne und beobachte und der nie an sich selbst gedacht hat und immer derselbe arme und unglueckliche Teufel war! Das ist Souchys Satz. Die spanischen Genossen denken alle so ueber die Gruppe. Auf dem Kongress war Vazquez nahe daran, gegen Lewin eine haltlose Verleumdung aufzutischen, um zu entschuldigen, dass man fuer den armen

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Kerl während seiner langen Gefangenschaft nichts getan hat. Aber kein Wort mehr. Mir kommen bittere Gefühle hoch, sehr bittere, und ich bedaure aufs Neue, dass ich gegen allen meinen Willen wieder zum Sekretär gemacht worden bin, und ich werde nicht fertig damit mich darüber zu ärgern.

Ein anderer Punkt Deines Briefes enthaelt einen absoluten Irrtum. Liebe Emma, ich habe Dir absolut nichts verschwiegen. Warum sollte ich denn wohl? Wir von der Gruppe DAS sind nicht die moralisch zweifelhaften Elemente, als die wir in Spanien abgemalt werden.

Ich habe keinen Brief von Melzer erhalten, mindestens nicht mit Wissen. Der Brief, der in meinem Bericht zitiert ist, war alles andere als verleumderisch gegen Dich. Nicht nur das nicht, sondern er enthielt nicht einmal die leiseste Kritik gegen Dich, absolut nichts. Im Gegenteil; es war dort sogar in einem sehr anerkennenden und vornehmen Tone von Deiner Arbeit die Rede. Leider duerfte der Brief unter dem Material sein, das verloren gegangen ist. Aber wenn ich nicht sehr irre, kenne ich den Verfasser. Es wird der junge Mensch sein, der, mit einer englischen Frau verheiratet, eine Zeitlang an der Front von Aragon war, dann nach England ging und spaeter wiederkam; heute arbeitet er, glaube ich, irgendwo in Nordkatalonien pädagogisch. Der Mann machte mir einen sehr guten Eindruck, und im Juli in Paris bestaetigte mir Mollie diesen Eindruck ebenfalls - trotzdem der Betreffende in wichtigen Dingen (Matiereignisse) ganz andere Ansichten hatte als Mollie. Sicher ist jedenfalls soviel, dass ich bis jetzt, das heisst bis zum Moment der Ankunft Deines Briefes vom 4., ganz sichere Gruende dafuer zu haben glaubte, dass der Genannte der Verfasser des Briefes war. Jetzt schwanke ich natuerlich ein wenig, aber sicher ist soviel, dass ich der Meinung war der Schreiber sei einer Deiner besten und treuesten Freunde und Mitarbeiter gewesen. Mindestens war der Brief absolut in diesem Geiste geschrieben. Wenn er eine Kritik enthielt und wenn ich ihn kritisch verwendet habe, dann gegen die Tendenz der CNT, eine eigene Internationale zu gruenden. Und dass das mit Dir nichts zu tun hat, nun das bedarf wohl keiner Versicherung. Wie schade, dass wir auf dem Kongress nicht darüber gesprochen haben. Du haettest etwas sagen sollen.

Besinnst Du Dich: an einem der ersten Kongresstage waehrend der Diskussionen fiel mir ploetzlich die Sache mit Melzer ein, ich schickte Bernard einen Zettel mit einer Anfrage, ob er einen solchen Brief erhalten habe, er verneinte und brachte Dir selbst die Antwort an Deinen Platz. Es ist mir sehr schmerzhaft, dass Du glaubst, ich haette Dich kritisiert oder mich mit einem Angriff auf Dich beschuldigen wollen; und schmerzhaft auch, dass

Ich habe also in keiner Weise eine "Anklage" gegen Dich in meinen Bericht "geschleppt" und bin aus diesem Grunde reichlich verdutzt ueber den vor mir liegenden Brief... In Deutsch existiert uebrigens mein Bericht nicht. Ich bin uebrigens in schlechter Stimmung, die nun noch schlimmer ist - denn ich hatte mich innerlich vollstaendig auf ein neues Leben ohne "Funktion" in der IAA eingestellt, in dem ich ohne jede Verwicklung in die verdammten persoenlichen "lios" unserer Sache dienen wollte. Mein Ruecktritt sollte fuer mich geradezu Ehrensache sein, denn durch ihn wollte ich beweisen, dass ich keinerlei Amtsehrgeiz habe und nie persoenlichen Einfluss gewuenscht habe, wenn ich andere kritisierte wegen Amtsanmassung. Nun sitze ich wieder drin und alles ist so unangenehm wie vorher. Ich koennte diesen Lewin verpruegeln, der an meiner Wahl schuld ist, ich habe es ihm schon gesagt, und allen Ernstes... Aber es soll nur provisorisch sein.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 28, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve.—
1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Delegación en Francia

Nº 54

NG/EM.

Paris, 28 Décembre 1937.

Camarade Emma Goldmann
18 Castletown Road
West Kensington
LONDON W.14

Chère Camarade,

Nous t'adressons, sous ce pli, un rapport en langue allemande sur la prise de TERUEL, et nous espérons qu'il vous sera utile pour votre propagande en Angleterre.

D'ici peu de jours, nous te ferons parvenir les cartes promises, ainsi que le reste de la traduction du livre "Apuntes Historicos de la Revolución Española."

Entre temps, nous te saluons bien fraternellement.

Pour la Délégation Permanente de la CNT-FAI en France,

Nemesio Galve

Nemesio Galve



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 28, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 22 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

Nº 1.083.

BARCELONA, a 28 de diciembre de 1.937.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
L o n d r e s .

Estimados camaradas:

Adjuntamos un nuevo resumen de las operaciones de la toma de Teruel para que lo utilicéis en la propaganda y en nuestra prensa, demostrando la intervención decisiva que han tenido nuestros camaradas en tan importante operación.

Confiamos en que sabréis sacar el rendimiento preciso entre éste y el informe que os remitimos hace unos días, os saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL CNT.

Pedro Herrera.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 29, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W.14

London Dec. 29/37

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Darling Ethel. Thanks for your letter of yesterday and the copy of your letter to the New Statemank. I too have my doubts whether it will go in. Nothing is so awful to me as the atrophy of human sensibilities since the World War and the horrors going on in Russia. No one cares, a damn any more no matter how frightful the crimes committed in the name of an ideal. Still, the few of us who still feel deeply must go on protesting if only to bring some relief for our own pent up indignation.

I would have written Warburg myself. But in that case I would have had to invite his wife as well. I must say she has shown herself more decent than most of the ~~own~~ women I have met of the middle class. She first struck me as being a snob. I still find her affectations. But also, she has disclosed some warm feeling. Still, I do not believe she cares about the social struggle, her attitude seems entirely personal to people. To me for instance. Do you know that outside of you and Auntie I have never met an English woman sufficiently human to ask if I am comfortably housed or whether I would like to spend a ~~week~~ ^{week} end in the country, or anything about my needs. I was therefore quite surprised to find Mme Debayo concerned. Still I do not think she would fit in the Weds gathering, and as I could not very well omit inviting her had I written him I am thankful you did it for me. Let me know please when you hear from the people you and Regie have written to.

Yes, indeed, we will have to have a letter or statement to send out before we approach other people outside of the few who will be present Weds. But the clearer it is to me that as far as the SIA is concerned the appeal will have to remain on purely humanitarian grounds and non-political. The SIA is now in complete charge of the bulk of refugees, men women and children in Cataluna, of the wounded at the front and the victims of the horrible bombardments, and finally but very important indeed, of the care of the prisoners. A commission to deal with them was formed before I left Barcelona and one of the important

the more I blame

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 29, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p.; 21 × 17 cm.

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However, that does not mean we should not stress and empheicise the Revolution. But it eeeme to me that this ie more appropriate and in keeping with the CNT and ite structure. I wounder what you and Regie will think of thie idea? What I mean is thie in sending out the folder containing the etructure we might send along a letter containing the text of the draft you sent me except that ~~wax that~~ it might be changed to the greater streee on the Revolution than the anti-Fascist side. In any event this should be sepearate and distinct from the SIA. I hope I have made myself clear.

Dearest since you have eo much to do and are not sure about Saturday let us postpone our evening for next week. On Saturday I could take Barabara to see the Spanish Earth. Or if your friend does not come Saturday and you have not yet taken your daughter to see it perhaps we can go together. The afternoon ehpw ing ie 12 minutes to 4.o/c. We migh order tickets in advance then. Will you let me know?

I am eo relieved you are feeling better.

With loads of love

Emma

How is Regie feeling in thie horribly depressing weather? Best greetings to him. Wish we could all get drunk on New Years Eve on Abels Champaign. I feel that desperate I can tell you.

Isn't it marvelous about Teruel. Yesterday I received word that it was the 25 Division consieting of ~~116, 117~~ 116, 117 and 118 birgades ALL CNT AND FAI ~~members~~ members and under the Command of Garcia Vivancos who actually took Teruel. You better none of the papers have mentioned it. I met Vivancos and had a long talk with him on the Eve of my departure from Barcelona in Nov. I found him as shy as a child. Yesterday also nrought a comrade from Spain, a German doctor who was 16 months at the Aragon front. She will be with ue on Wed and also give a short report of her experien Perhaps that will inspire those present to determined action.

cg

The Emma Goldman Papers

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17288

Dec. 29/37

Darling Ethel. Thanks for your letter of yesterday and the copy of your letter to the New Statesman. I too have my doubts whether it will go in. Nothing is so awful to me as the atrophy of human sensibilities since the World War and the horrors going on in Russia. No one cares a damn any more no matter how frightful the crimes committed in the name of an ideal. Still the few of us who still feel deeply must go on protesting if only to bring some relief for our own pent up indignation.

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609

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1928

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However that does not mean we should not stress and emphasize the Revolution. But it seems to me that this is more appropriate and in keeping with the CNT and its structure. I wonder what you and Rogie will think of this idea? What I mean is this in sending out the folder containing the structure we might send along a letter containing the text of the draft you sent me except that we that it might be changed to the greater stress on the Revolution than the anti Fascist side. In any event this should be separate and distinct from the SIA. I hope I have made myself clear.

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I am so relieved you are feeling better.

With loads of love

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1922

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 29 [London to Edgar G. Newman, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p.; 26 × 18 cm.

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Dec 29th 37

Dear Comrade.

Your letter of the 26th came too late to give Fenner the news of the transfer of Natal Landon and her friend. I will call him up to morrow and ask him to put the news in next issue of the New Leader. I did not reach He Govern because I do not know where he lives.

Fenner told me that three of the N.P.s going to Spain are sympathetic to the I.L.P. and they have promised to do the their utmost for Katia and the other prisoners. It is a commentary on the lack of humanity in the Atlens and Wilkinsons that they did nothing for the members of the POUM at least, it is natural they should not touch the GIT-MI comrades. Well, I only hope the new N.P. tourists to Spain will keep their promise to Fenner. It is Russia all over again. Of the thousands of Socialists and Liberals who went there no one asked about the political prisoners. Instead they praise the "modern prisons" in Soviet Russia. Yes the comrade it is Bolshevism which has atrophied and corrupted the feeling of solidarity and comradeship. Hitler and Mussolini have only copied the Soviet methods.

You said your wife was with child. Is she alright?

May the New Year be vital and interesting to you. May it bring the struggle against Fascism to a victorious end and inspire the Spanish workers to realize their revolutionary aspirations.

Fraternally.

I, poor German of course, I rarely write in it that's why it does not come so easy as English.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 Dec. 30, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.



C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W.14

London 30th December 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear Rudolf,

Your letter of December 13th reached me a few days after I wrote you at length. There is really nothing of great cheer to add to that letter except that I do not want the rotten old year to go out for good without writing you another few lines.

My dear the delay of getting your advance royalty has a lot to do with the fact that you did not ask one of our competent lawyers to go over the contract. You wrote you showed it to Marion. I know she is a very efficient girl but what does she know about the law appertaining to contracts with publishers. Any Attorney would have told you that the advance royalties should be sent you on receipt of acceptance of the manuscript. As the contract stands now Warburg is right in saying that the advance royalties are not due until the book is published. However, he promised me when I saw him in November that he would send you a cheque for part of the amount. I am sorry that he has not done so. He was away for Xmas so I could not get in touch with him; but I will telephone him to-day and beg him to send you part of the money.

It seems the proofs were also delayed. When I was at Warburg's he assured me that he would be sending to you by the middle of December. When I saw him again before Xmas I learned that they had not yet come off the press; but that they would be ready early in the New Year. Anyway I will talk to him and add a line to this letter.

Even the best of publishers are sharks and one cannot be too careful with them. I myself have been victimised by Knopf, although I had so competent a man as Ross to look after my interests. I think I told you a long time ago that Knopf begged me to consent to 10% royalties on the first 5,000 as against 15% I demanded. He assured me he would use the difference in extensive advertising, but he has not lived up to his promise. Neither the first expensive

and
I feared it is very simple

The Emma Goldman Papers

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2

edition or the three dollar edition were sufficiently advertised to impress themselves on the American reading public. It is true that the first edition was exorbitant especially as it appeared in the very midst of the crisis; but the three dollar edition would have had a large sale had the publisher spent money in advertising or had he used my return to America adequately. I was then given thousands of dollars newspaper space in every State I visited; but hardly any mention was made of "Living My Life". So you see my dear that one cannot be too careful with the publishing gang.

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You have received the report of Halmut of the Congress - so you will have learned that at the eleventh hour Beernard and Sania fell out. It is so heartrending. We have so few comrades in Europe. What is ever to become of our ideas, under these circumstances. However our Spanish comrades are not easy people to deal with. They do make some bad mistakes broke - I admit largely due to their inularity. They have not the faintest idea of European possibilities of our movement or labour in general.

Imagines Herrera asking me in a letter whether I could not now approach and break through the Labour Party here since the latter has suddenly come full fledged for Spain. One is at a loss what to write him or the other comrades. Ever since I came back from my first visit a year ago I have tried to impress on the minds of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. members how utterly hopeless the British Labour Party and Trade Unions are, as far as they the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are concerned. They hate the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and I suspect that they would rather have the most reactionary government in Spain than even mention the names of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. They have proven it time on end and again in their big meeting at the Albert Hall on the 19th of this month. Every speaker waxed enthusiastic about the "Liberal Government" and the victorious republican army. They succeeded in raising 23,300 (I only hope some

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I am very distressed about winning support for the S.I.A. You will see what I mean by the enclosed copy of my letter to Herrera. I know that the comrades in Barcelona will not be satisfied to stress the revolutionary aim in connection with the S.I.A.. That means I will have to appeal to some of the middle class in this country. God knows it is without stammering everywhere when it comes to real revolutionary fighters, but it is sickening here. 90% of the intellectuals have been caught in the communist trap including as great a man as Paul Robeson and the remaining 5% wishy washy pacifist pacifists. Well meaning I am sure. Thus Aldous Huxley for instance has declared himself for anarchism. He has answered a questionnaire which has been issued by the communist gang as to the stand on Spain on the part of the English writers. The reviews of his last book which I have not yet read indicates that he understands anarchism and that he holds the same position as Sasha and I do, that the means must harmonise with the ends. Also I have gone back on that much to my shame and inner misery. So I really don't know who to appeal to for the S.I.A.

I have called together some people for next Wednesday. I will see then what can be done but I am not very optimistic even.

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Dear Rudolf, I feel deeply your constant struggle for existence. Who should appreciate as much as I, having struggled desperately ever since our departure from America. For a little while I am relieved from the everlasting thought how to make ends meet. The funds gained from the sale of Bon Esprit will not last very long and then what? Neither goes over my head or money. A nice future to look forward to when I will reach 70. However I do not think about it now. I am so completely saturated with the struggle in Spain and the utter blindness towards it on the part of our comrades in France that nothing else matters.

Well my dear I must close. There is always so much to say to you my dear understanding friend; but we have a lot to do, comrade Barr and I, since we are almost the only ones who have to attend to everything.

We are in the midst of organizing new quarters for the C.N.T. and S.I.A. We are trying to reach the Trade Union Branches. We have one hundred irons in the fire.

May the New Year bring victory to Spain and the strength and fervor left in our comrades to continue their magnificent revolutionary work.

May there be a great change in our lives & yours and Mollie's. Something that would free you from the continual spectre of economic insecurity.

Mine will be a lonely New Year; but I promise you to drink at least a whiskey to your health and happiness.

Love to Mollie and Herman.

Devotedly

Emma

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*under no circumstance
are these two letters to R to
be circulated*

30th December 1937.

Dear Rudolf,

Your letter of December 15th reached me a few days after I wrote you at length. There is really nothing of great cheer to add to that letter except that I do not want the rotten old year to go out for good without writing you another few lines.

My dear the delay of getting your advance royalty has a lot to do with the fact that you did not ask one of our competent lawyers to go over the contract. You wrote you showed it to Marion. I know she is a very efficient girl but what does she know about the law pertaining to contracts with publishers. My attorney would have told you that the advance royalties should be sent you on receipt of acceptance of the manuscript. As the contract stands now Urburg is right in saying that the advance royalties are not due until the book is published. However he promised me when I saw him in November that he would send you a cheque for part of the amount. I am sorry that he has not done so. He was away for days so I could not get in touch with him; but I will telephone him to-day and beg him to send you part of the money.

It seems the proofs were also delayed. When I was at Urburg's he assured me that he would be sending to you by the middle of December. When I saw him again before Xmas I learned that they had not yet come off the press; but that they would be ready early in the New Year. Anyway I will talk to him and ask him to write to this letter.

Even the best of publishers are sharks and one cannot be too careful with them. I myself have been victimized by them, although I had as competent a man as Ross to look after my interests. I think I told you a long time ago that Ross begged me to consent to 10% royalties on the first \$,000 as against 15% I demanded. He assured me he would use the difference in advertising, but he has not lived up to his promise. Neither the first extensive

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May there be a great change in our lives - yours and Mollie's. Something that would free you from the continual spectre of economic insecurity.

Mine will be a lonely New Year; but I promise you to drink at least a whiskey to your health and happiness.

Love to Mollie and Therese.

Devotedly

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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22nd December 1937.

P. Herrero,
Federation Anarquista Iberica,
Via Lurruti 30,6.
Barcelona.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of the 18th instant reached me yesterday. It was certainly a pleasant surprise to receive a letter written in English from you. I am delighted to know that you have a secretary who knows the English language. It will save me a lot of time and bother. Our Spanish comrade in London is most willing to help with translations but he is very busy during the day for his living, and it is difficult for him to devote much time to my Spanish correspondence. It is stupid of me of course that I have not yet required Spanish sufficiently not to have your letters translated into English for me and my letters to you translated into Spanish. If then you can continue to write me in Spanish it will be a very great help, if not write me in French.

I am sorry to my dear comrade that we have not yet begun our actual work for you or the C.N.T. It has taken us all this time to find suitable quarters for our bureau and for the other work we are planning. We have a place at last; but we will have to not be able to move into it until after the New Year. The place is in a very deplorable condition and we have to have it renovated, painted and papered. Owing to the holidays (I don't know what the British workers are holidaying about) we are delayed; but I rather think we will be able to open up our quarters shortly after the New Year. Meanwhile we are preparing our printing, most important of it, the structure of the C.N.T. given me by Comrade Vasquez when I was in Valencia and which we are having printed in folder form. This with a letter we will send out to all the delegates who attended the Trades Union Congress held on the 5th September last. It is the only way to reach the workers direct. We are also hoping to get hold of a publication containing the addresses of all the branches. It is very difficult to obtain as it cannot be bought but can only be got

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in a round about way. In addition to this we are organising a reading room of our Spanish press and papers in all languages. We are also organising a small exhibition of the work of children I brought back with me, photographs of the new collottives I visited and various things of the Mujeres Libres.

About our possibilities "for relations and progress in-side the Labour Party or Labour Party opposition and the Trade Unions". My dear comrade, I am very sorry to tell you that the the other unions comrades are very naive indeed if you can in the for a moment that the Labour Party or the Labour Party opposition, and the Trade Unions in this country can be penetrated. Even if we had a movement in England, or any anarchists in about the trade union ranks, that might be possible although even that is not probable. I cannot in remembrance of your mind too strongly on the minds of the comrades of the C.B.T. that there is no anarchist activity in England. There are no anarchist individuals or organisations. To be sure there are a few old comrades whose conception of anarchist activity has never gone farther than small discussion groups. Not for you have they seen anything that would have made their existence known. These comrades have done nothing to help along the difficult efforts a few of us made in behalf of the C.B.T.-F.B.I. It may not be lack of will on their part, or rather it is a lack of ability. The situation prevails all through England. We have a group in Plymouth. We have a few good comrades in Bristol and a working group in Glasgow. The latter might do much more than it does if it were not interfered with by other groups calling themselves anarchist. I am sorry to have to give you such a gloomy picture of anarchist activities in this country; but it is just as well that you and the other comrades should know it.

On the other hand are the Labour and Trade Union parties. They represent a huge machine that has paralysed the efforts of the workers. There is no initiative within that framework. The London bus strike last summer. I can even tell you that the strike was the bus strike last summer. For a while came out on strike during the coronation the buses were a very celebrated by their own action. Actually a battle by their leaders and those who promoted the strike were subsequently after an enquiry suspended from doing any office for a number of years. This strike was organised by the local official committees of the section of bus workers of the Transport and General Workers Union. So you can see for yourself that a reactionary political machine the Trade Union and Labour parties are. All of that in the extensive opposition to our ideas for years and since the British revolution of 1917 the C.B.T.-F.B.I. the Labour Party and Trade Unions will go on to the most reactionary government for a long time rather than help the C.B.T.-F.B.I. to realize their revolutionary hopes. After all it was the Labour Party that supported the scandalous non-intervention decision. True the Labour Party is now reconsidering its attitude. I hope you do not think it is doing so because it has suddenly changed its front. It is because of the impending General Election which the Labour Party hopes will lead it to power. However I am glad the Labour Party is becoming active in raising funds for milk for the Jewish children. I attended a large meeting last Sunday in the Albert Hall where Major Allen and the other tourists to Spain spoke. Not one word was said about the C.B.T. or the U.S.T. For all the audience learned about the part in the anti-fascist struggle of our organisations or the U.S.T., these gentlemen and ladies would have done best to stayed at home.

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No dear comrade there is not the least chance of getting any support from the official Trade Union or the Labour Party. None whatever. All we can hope is to reach the workers over the heads of their leaders and we will leave nothing undone to achieve that. It will be uphill work, often discouraging and heartbreaking; but we are absolutely determined to get ahead.

This brings me to the S.I.A. Since my return from Spain I have come to the conclusion that there is little hope for response to our appeal to cooperate with the S.I.A. from people we can approach. The communists have captured the anti-fascist field in this country as they have everywhere outside of Spain, and they have ploughed it severely. They have raised thousands of pounds for anti-fascism, though there is no saying how much went for that and how much for their own Party Propaganda, not the least for their insidious activities against the C.B.T. - P.A.I. Now that at least the Labour Party has become active in raising funds for anti-fascism there is hardly anybody left whom one can hope to move with an appeal for "International Anti-Fascist Solidarity". However there is plenty of discontent and opposition in the various parties, communists included. We want to reach these people; but it will have to be with a more striking appeal - a slogan more striking than "International Anti-Fascist Solidarity", and that is "THE DEFENCE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION". Yes dear comrade there are people who are still intensely and keenly interested in the Spanish Revolution. They are not interested in the least in the Spanish Government or in so called democracy. I am convinced that we can reach these elements by an energetic appeal for the defence of the Spanish Revolution.

We can have a slogan as follows :-

INTERNATIONAL ANTI-FASCIST SOLIDARITY IN DEFENCE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION.

We have not yet proceeded with the printing of this heading because I naturally want to know whether you agree to this. I must therefore ask you to write me by return mail. Not only must we lose no time in getting the letter heading done, but I also have a sort of manifesto in mind which we plan to send out to Labour and Trade Union branches, as well as to many individuals who helped us this spring with a concert we arranged for the homeless Spanish women and children.

Believe me dear comrade it will be the only way of reaching at least the minority of the organised people in England for the S.I.A.

You may say that our comrades in France seem to have raised interest in the S.I.A. I grant you that. But France is not England. France has a revolutionary spirit. France has quite a substantial number of anarchists, Anarcho-Syndicalist and anarchist Groups. England has not got anything, least of all a revolutionary spirit. Therefore the methods in this country must be necessarily different.

As to the success of the S.I.A. in the United States I have no doubt that the foreign element in that country will respond; but

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without any disparagement of the work of comrade Galve in America. I wish to say that he reached no one of the native Americans except our own comrades. I have worked in the U.S.A. for 35 years. I know the country and its people. I know that the various foreign language groups never have and can't reach the American masses. It has got to be done in the language of the country and by people known in the states. People who have access to the American press, and the various channels of literary and cultural activities.

Please dear comrade do not take this as in any way derogative of the work achieved by comrade Galve. I am sure he has done much that will bear fruit; but it is necessary for you and the other Spanish comrades to know the real situation.

If I take the liberty of placing this and the other matters before you it is only because I want to spare you bitter disappointment. Believe me I want intensely and passionately to work for the S.I.A.; but to do so I must choose the best methods available in England. I have already explained what they are.

There is very much more I would like to write but I will have to leave it for next time.

Fraternal greetings to all the comrades

SALUD.

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H. Rüdiger
 vol 1: 1937

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

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18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
 WEST KENSINGTON
 LONDON, W.14

London Dec. 30th 37.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

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 Liber Helmut. Zu allererst danke ich Dir für den Bericht des Kongresses. Er ist ausserordentlich objektiv und informierend. Ich muss gestehen ich hätte ihn nicht so zurückgehalten schreiben können. Ich bin noch jetzt ganz krank und entmuthigt von die Sitzungen, die kleinhliche Reibereien und vernagelte Unfähigkeit Menschen und Welt Ereignisse grosszügig zu erfassen. Ich danke Dir auch für die kameradschaftliche Anerkennung meiner Ansprache. Mir kommt sie jetzt ziemlich fade vor. Ich bin es eben nicht gewöhnt "diplomatisch" zu reden oder zu handeln. Mein ganzes Leben sprach frei heraus was ich dachte und fühlte. Dass ich auf meine alte Tage eine Seilentanzlerin werden sein müssen hatte ich mir auch nie gedacht. Mir war beim Kongress so weh ums Herz ich hatte heulen können. Es war schwer, sehr schwer ~~immer~~ die richtige Worte zu finden die weder die Spanier noch die Opposition ~~wel~~ getan hätten. ~~Danktextur...~~ Solche Methoden helfen den andern nichts und lassen nur einen ublichen Geschmak zurrück. Na, der Kongress ist ja glücklich vorbei. Eins ist sicher ich werde nie wider Kongresse der I.A.A oder der irgend einen Anarchistischen Kongress besuchen wenn ich nicht mit reden oder bestimmen kann. Man hat das Gefühl einen Knebel im Maul zu haben, nicht das mir viel am Reden liegt. Aber anderseits ist es empörend nur als Popanz da zu sitzen wenn sich einem alles im Magen dreht.

Nur ein Punkt in Deinen Bericht kann ich nicht teilen. Deine Ansicht auf Seite 7. über die Notwendigkeit des "jahrelangen ~~militarischen Drills~~ technischen und psychologischen drills". Gerade in dem Spanischen Kampf ist es bewiesen worden dass die Praxis and der Enthusiasmus mehr erreichen als der Drill. Mera Viancos, Durruti and viele andere von unsere Kameraden sind ~~nicht~~ sicherlich nicht das Resultat vom "jahrelangen drill" ebenso wenig waren es die Brigaden die mit einem ~~wenig~~ solchen Helden mut Teruel eingenommen haben. Dem gegenüber hast Du die ~~Deutsche~~ das Deutsche Militär. Sicherlich war es technis und militärisch zur genüge gedrillt. Und doch ist es jammerlich geschlagen worden im Weltkrieg. Nein, gerade weil ich gegen langjährigen militärischen Drill bin, weil ich weiss das er paralyisierend wirkt ~~sehe ich die~~

Brigaden

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sehe ich die Gefahr des Militarismus in Spanien. Wenn ich trotzdem verstanden habe warum unsere Leute daraus ohne Protest eingewilligt haben so ist es weil ich hoffe der Krieg wird nicht lange dauern. Und auch weil ich weiss das man organisiertes revolutionäres Denken und handeln nicht mit einem Schlag ausrotten kann. Nie und nimmer würde ich auf jahrelangem psychologischen und militaristischem Drill eingehen weil ich in ihm die Paralisierung und Vernichtung des selbständigen Denkens und Urteils sehe.

betreffend
Du sprichst in Deinem Bericht von dem "sogenannten amigos Durruti". Ich hatte mir vorgenommen mit Dir über diese Gruppierung zu sprechen. Was ist es eigentlich um sie? Wer waren die Leute die sich so nannten und an den Mai Ereignissen teilnahmen? Ich habe in Barcelona kein einziges Exemplar ihrer Zeitung oder die anderen Blätter die geheim heraus kommen aufzutreiben können. Ich bitte Dich mir eingehend darüber zu schreiben. Ich finde es unerhört und im höchsten Sinner ungerecht von unsere Spanische Genossen zu sagen sie konnten nicht für die Befreiung aller Gefangenen eintreten. Ist es möglich dass die Leute sich so weit versteigen ihre eigenen Kameraden und treue Revolutionäre zu verneinen? Das wäre ebenso empörend wie Lenins Ausrede dass in Soviet Russland nicht "Idealisten sondern Banditen die Soviet Gefängnisse füllen". Eine ewige Wiederholung derselben Ungerechtigkeiten. Man sollte meinen Anarchisten werden es doch etwas anderes machen. Aber die Krankheit geht immer wieder vor sich und auch die Zersetzung. Das ist es was mich am meisten quält bei den Spanier.

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Ich werde zu Deinem Brief vom 25sten noch zurück kommen jetzt nur sehr kurz auf Dein Schreiben vom 27ten. Galve ist ein verlotterter Mensch. Wie in Allem so auch in der Wahl ihrer ~~Wahl~~ Spanischen delegationen zeigen die Genossen nicht die geringste Urteilsfähigkeit. Galve ist ein Aufschneider und wahnsinnig ein genommen von seiner Wichtigkeit. Ausserdem ist er nicht zuverlässig. So hat er meinen Bericht für das N.C über meine Tätigkeit in diesem grauenhaften Muckerland überhaupt nicht abgeschickt trotzdem ich es habe übersetzen lassen damit Vasquez keine Schwierigkeiten mit dem Lesen hat. Ein Bericht von 12 auf der Maschine geschriebene Seiten. Auch im Bezug auf Material hat er nie Wort gehalten. Es wundert mich also nicht dass er mein Schreiben an Dich hat wochenlang liegen lassen. Das wäre noch nicht so schlimm als die Aufschneideri über Amerika und was er alles dort erreicht hat. Tatsache ist dass er ausser der eingewanderten Arbeiterschaft, also Spanier, Italiener und Juden Niemanden erreicht hat, weder durch Versammlungen noch die Presse. Es ist der reinste Schwindel zu berichten dass in kurzer Zeit *Zeit* eine I.A.A. section von funzig tausend Mitglieder geschaffen

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wir werden kann. Einfach blodsinnig und irre führend. Aber die Spanische "Kinder" wie Deine Kameradin unsere Genossen nennt lassen sich jedem ~~Wort~~ Märchen einreden und schwören dabei. Da ich ~~wir~~ mich nie mehr auf Galve verlassen werde so bitte ich Di Dich ihm die paar Zeilen zu übersetzen und ihm zu geben. Ich nehme an Du hast den Artikel über Teruel geschrieben. Ich habe schon vor einige Tage einen Bericht direct aus Barcelona erhalten. Er wurde gesetern vom Spanischen übersetzt und kommt in Spain und ~~Beide~~ World. Wir haben leider keine Möglichkeit an die tagliche Presse heranzukommen. Auch das, wie so vieles andere habe ich der CNT schon ~~duz~~ ein duzend mal erklärt.

gehen
Lieber guter Helmut es lag mir sehr fern Dich der Unerlichkeit zu beschuldigen. Trotzdem wir beide eigentlich ~~ebens~~ ausserst wenig zusammen waren und uns nahe standen, jetzt mehr als je zuvor, so habe ich doch nie, auch nicht einen Moment an Deine Erlichkeit und Rechtschaffenheit gezweifelt. Vor allen Dingen verrätet Dich Dein Gesicht das Dein inneres Wesen ausprägt. Ausserdem bilde ich mir ein dass ich ziemlich viel Menschenkenntnissee habe. ~~Dein~~ dein lieber Junge ich habe keine Bedenken wegen Deine Persönlichkeit oder Deine Charaktereigenschaften. Wenn ich trotallemoch dem Eindruck nicht entweichen kann dass bei Deiner Beurteilung der Handlungen Souchys etwas persönliches dabei mitspielt so ist es eben weil ich weiss wie tief unsere symathien und antipathien wirken ob wir wollen oder nicht, oder ob wir sich ihrer bewusst sind.

Du musst zwei Dinge meinerseits im betracht ziehen erstilich dass ich Augustine 17 Jahre kenne, viel mit ihm in Deutschland, Paris und Barcelona zusammen war, und dass ich ~~war~~ ^{gesehen} zur Erkenntniss gekoomen bin dass jede menschliche Handlung nicht einseitig beurteilt werden kann da sie durch hunderte verwickelte Motive bewirkt ist. Ebenso wenig wie Du es zugeben kannst, und mit recht, dass Lewin unerlich ist, ebenso wenig kann ich glauben dass Souchy aus unerlichen Gründen gehandelt hat im Bezug auf die DAS oder ~~thun~~ Deine Verträtung, der IAA. Dass Souchy ambitioes ist das weiss ich, dass er reformistisch ist, mit aller Welt gut Bruder dass weiss ich auch. Das er die Tendenz hat so lange er im Burau in der Casa sitzt zu protzen und sich wichtig zu tun ist mir sihcerlich auch nicht entgangen. Ich habe ~~mehr~~ ^{mehr} als einmal den Kopf gewaschen als ich seine Überhebung sah, auch mir gegenüber. Alles dass gebe ich gerne zu, aber nicht Unerlichkeit, oder bosen Willen. Du has ja selber gesagt als wir im Cafe waren dass man Dinge und Menschen nicht mit einem Maas messen darf. Du kannst also nicht von mir verlangen, dass ich es tue einem Menschen gegenüber den ich so lange kenne und beobachtet habe. Dass/ will aber nicht sagen dass Du nicht in Deinem Recht bist. Ich ~~glaube~~ ^{glaube} ich bin aber doch der Meinung dass Deine starke antipathy gegen Augustine ~~viel~~ mit ~~Deiner Beurteilung einer Motive und Handlungen verbunden ist.~~

Ich mache Dir daruas keinen Vorwurf, gewiss nicht. Auch kann ~~die~~ dieses bei miner Beurteilung Deiner Person nicht die geringste Bedeutung haben. Ich versuche nur erlich Euch beide zu verstehen Das ist alles. Merkwürdiger Weise hat Souchy nie ein abfalliges Wort von Dir ~~ganz~~ gesagt. Sei mir also nicht bose mein Kind wenn



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name

Im Bezug auf die blode Meltzer Korrespondenz. Der Genosse den Du im Sinne hast heisst Droscher. Er ist in der Tat ein sehr feiner Mensch und prachtvoller Kamerad. Ich wusste natürlich nicht dass er es war der Dich veranlasste mich, oder vielmehr die Tätigkeit in England in Deinem Bericht als Bestätigung zu gebrauchen. Ich war natürlich sehr überrascht dass du meine Mühe für Spanien so grosszügig gewürdigt hast. Ich dachte natürlich dass Du es gewesen bist und nicht Meltzer der so wohlwollend von der Arbeit hier schreibt. "a Meltzer behauptet hat er hatte ~~nochmals~~ an das Secretariat der I.A.A. geschrieben und auch eine Antwort bekommen dahin gehend dass er recht hat gegen ein persönliches Mandat für mich von der CNT, so musste ich annehmen dass irgend jemand vom Sect. ihm geschrieben hat, entweder Du oder Besnard. Nun ist ja die Sache aufgeklärt ~~und~~ Meltzer hat einfach gelogen als er den Genossen hier erzählte man hatte ihm vom Sect geantwortet. Es wird schon sein dass er überhaupt and das Sect gar nicht geschrieben hat. Er hat wohl and die Officielle Propaganda Exterior geschriben, den Martin zeigte mir den Brief und auch die Antwort die er ihm geschickt hat. Ubrigens ist der ~~blode~~ bloede Mletzer der weder vom Anarchismus noch Anarcho Syndicalismu die blasseste Ahnung hat aus der Union ausgetratem. Es sind überhaupt nur noch sex Mitglieder da nach monatelanger Arbeit und Mühe ein Anarcho Syndicalistische Union zusammen zu bringen. Ich will dem nechst noch einen Versuch machen aber ich verspreche mir blutwenig davon, auch nicht viel von der ganzen Tätigkeit für Spanien. Es ist weder Geist noch Interesse für irgend etwas vorhanden unter ~~bei~~ der Englischen Masse. ~~aber~~ Wir haben keine Bewegung in England, nicht einmal viele einzelne Genossen. Tatsächlich giebt es nur einen der tüchtig und zuverlässig ist das ist Ralph Barr. Du kannst Dir denken wie verzweifelt schwer es ist mit der Hilfe eines einzelnen zu arbeiten. ~~Es ist~~ Schon aus diesem Grunde hatte man keiner Gruppe ein Mandat ausstellen durch die I.A.A. weil es wie ich schon sagte keine Organisation giebt in England.

Bitte sage Deiner Gefährtin sie hat gewiss recht in ihre Beurteilung der Spanier. Aber leider ist ihre Kindheit nicht genügend der Welt gegenüber die Kompromisse die sie gemacht haben und machen werden begreiflich zu machen. Die Massen ausserhalb Spaniens die durch die Revolution angefangen haben unsere Ideen zu begreifen, und sich mit ihnen solidarisch zu erklären sind, eben durch die Konzessionen und Kompromisse in Spanien zurückgestossen worden. Sie sind zur Überzeugung gekommen dass Anarchisten in einer revolutions Periode ^{nein} ~~haben~~ wie Parteien und Gruppierungen immer gehandelt haben, und es ist ausserst schwer die Arbeiter ~~überzeugen~~ zu überzeugen dass die Spanier "kindlich" sind. Darin liegt die tiefste Pein meiner Lage hier. Den 14ten soll ich über den Verrat des Spanischen Volkes reden in

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einer grossen Versammlung. Ich zittere jetzt schon von dem Gedanken dass ich duzende Fragen werde beantworten müssen im Bezug der Reaktion in Spanien, der Gefangenen, der Macht der Kommunisten. Es wurde mir sehr wenig helfen zu erklären dass die Spanier Kinder sind und verschiedene ihrer Handlungen überhaupt nicht ernst nehmen. So etwas ist eben nur zum privat Verbrauch aber nicht für die Öffentlichkeit. Es ist bitter schwer nach so vielen Jahren der konsequenten Einstellung alle Widersprüche zu vereinigen. Gewiss will ich unsere Spanier nicht verlassen. Aber eine Vereinigung mit der III Internationale, oder der Versuch der CNT mir den Mund über Russland zu stopfen, konnte ich nicht vertragen. Ich musste mich dann einfach von allem zurrück ziehen. Schliesslich waere damit nicht viel verloren da ich ohnehin nicht viel ausrichten kann in diesem selbstgefälligen Muckerland. Bis jetzt hat Vazquez noch nichts gesagt wegen meine Kritik über das morderische Stalin system. Aber es kann noch kommen. *einigung*

Vazquez Behauptung dass Russland noch immer Waffschickt kommt mir komisch vor den all in Spanien die ich traf sagten dass, hatte schon seit Monaten aufgehört. Aber wenn es auch wirklich wahr ist wie lange wollen unsre Genossen ihre Seele verschachern und den Kommunisten das Feld und die Macht überlassen

Gewiss lieber Helmut werde ich mich hier für dein beabsichtigtes Werk verwenden. Ich glaube sogar es dürfte nicht schwer sein einen Verleger zu finden. Also mach Dich an die Arbeit. Ich rate Dir das Buch etwas schwunghaft zu halten, nicht nur rein akademisch, auch nicht zu gross den das Werk musste in einer billigen Ausgabe erscheinen wenn es eine weitgehende Verbreitung haben soll. Rudolfs Arbeit über den Anarcho Syndikalismus wird glaube ich mit 3, shilling verkauft werden. Wenn ich Glück habe mit Deinen Werk dann wirst Du natürlich ein Summe voraus bekommen die von den Tantiemen abgezogen werden. *Dein*

Ich wünsche Dir und Deiner Gefarting alles Gute für das Neue Jahr. Ich weiss Ihr fühlt wie ich, das allererfälliche für uns waere der vollständiger Triumph über den Fascis und für die Revolution.

Herzliche Gursse.

Emma



*alles herzlichst
das kommt davon
weil ich so selten
Deutsch schreiben
auf meine Maschine*

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Dec. 30th 37.

Lieber Helmut, Zu allererst danke ich Dir für den Bericht des Kongresses. Er ist ausserordentlich objektive und informierend. Ich muss gestehen ich hatte ihn nicht so zurückgehalten schreiben kann. Ich bin noch jetzt ganz krank und enttäuscht von die Sitzungen, die kleinhliche Reibereien und vernagelte Unfähigkeit Menschen und Welt Ereignisse grosszügig zu erfassen. Ich danke Dir auch für die kameradschaftliche Anerkennung meiner Ansprache. Mir kommt sie jetzt ziemlich fade vor. Ich bin es eben nicht gewohnt "diplomatisch" zu reden oder zu handeln. Mein ganzes Leben sprach frei heraus was ich dachte und fühlte. Dass ich auf meine alte Tage eine Seilentrainerin werden sein müssen hatte ich mir auch nie gedacht. Mir war beim Kongress so weh ums Herz ich hatte heulen können. Es war schwer, sehr schwer ~~akuten~~ die richtige Worte zu finden die weder die Spanier noch die Opposition we getan hatten. ~~Dankbarkeit~~ Solche Methoden helfen den andern nichts und lassen nur einen üble Geschmack zurrück. Na der Kongress ist ja glücklich vorbei. Eins ist sicher ich werde nie wieder Kongresse der I.A.A oder der irgend einen Anarchistischen Kongress besuchen wenn ich nicht mit reden oder bestimmen kann. Man hat das Gefühl einen Knebel im Maul zu haben, nicht das mir viel am Reden liegt. Aber andererseits ist es emporend nur als Popanz da zu sitzen wenn sich einem alles im Magen dreht.

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~~Ich mache Dir daraus keinen Vorwurf, gewisse nicht. Auch kann die dieses bei meiner Beurteilung Deiner Person nicht die geringste Bedeutung haben. Ich versuche nur erlich Euch beide zu verstehen Das ist alles. Merkwürdiger Weise hat Souchy nie ein abfälliges Wort von Dir gesagt. Sei mir also nicht böse mein Kind wenn~~

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als eure Mutter meine Sohne von zeit zu zeit beim Wickel nheime und ihnen doch gut bleibe.

Im Bezug auf die blode Meltzer Korrespondenz, Der Genosse den Du im Sinne hast heisst Dreescher, Er ist in der Tat ein sehr feiner Mensch und prachtvoller Kamrad. Ich wusste natürlich nicht dass er es war der Dich veranlasste mich, oder vielmehr die Tätigkeit in England in Deinem Bericht als Bestätigung zu gebrauchen. Ich war natürlich sehr ubberascht dass du meine Muhe fur Spanien so grosszugig gewirdigst hast. Ich dachte natürlich dass Du es gewesen bist und nicht Meltzer der so wohlwollend von der Arbeit hier schribet. Meltzer behauptet, hat er hatte ~~xxxxxxx~~ an das Secretariat der I.A.A geschrieben und auch eine Antwort bekomme; dahin gehend dass er recht hat gegen ein persönliches Mandat fur mich von der CNT, so musste ich annehmen dass irgen jemand von Sect. ihm geschrieben hat, entweder Du oder Bernard. Nun ist ja die Sache aufgeklärt ~~xxxxxxx~~ Meltzer hat einfach gelogen als er den Genossen hier erzalte man hatte ihm vom Sect geantwortet. Es wird schon sein dass er buberhaupt and das Sect gar nicht geschrieben hat. Er hat wohl and die Offician de Propagan Exterior geschriben den Martin zeigte mir den Brief und auch die Antwort die er ihm geschickt hat. Ubrigens ist der ~~xxxxxxx~~ bloede Mletzer der weder vom Anarchismus noch Anarcho Syndicalism die blasseste Ahnung hat aus der Union ausgetratema es sind uberhaupt nur noch sex Mitglieder da nach monatelanger Arbeit und Muhe ein Anarcho Syndicalistische Union zusammen zu bringen. Ich will dem nechst noch einen Versuch machen aber ich verspreche mir blutwenig davon, auch nicht viel von der ganzen Tätigkeit fur Spani Es ist weder Geist noch Interesse fur irgend etwas vorhanden unter ~~xxx~~ be der Englischen Masse. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Wir haben keine Bewegung in England, nicht einmal viele einzelne Genossen. Tatsächlich giebt es nur einen der tuchtig und zuverlassig ist das ist Ralph Barr. Du kannst Dir denken wie verzweifelt schwer es ist mit der Hilfe eines einzelnen zu arbeiten. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Schon aus diesem Grunde hatte man keiner Gruppe ein Mandat ausstellen durch die I.A.A weil es wie ich schon sagte keine Organisation giebt in England.

Bitte sage Deiner Gefartin sie hat gewiss recht in ihre Beurteilung der Spanier. Aber leider ist ihre Kindheit nicht genügend der Welt gegenüber die Kompromisse die sie gemacht haben und machen werden begreiflich zu machen. Die Massen unserer habi Spanien die durch die Revolution angefangen haben unsere Ideen zu begreifen und sich mit ihnen solidarisch zu erklären sind eben durch die Konzessionen und Kompromisse in Spanien ~~xxxxx~~ zurruckgestossen worden. Sie sind zur Überzeugung gekommen dass Anarchisten in einer revolutions Periode hadlen wie Parteien und Gruppierungen immer gehandelt haben und es ist ausserat schwer die Arbeiter ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ zu uberzeugn dass die Spanier "kindlich" sind. Darin liegt die tiefste Pein meiner Lage hier. Den 14ten soll ich über den Verrat des Spanischen Volkes reden in

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einer grossen Versammlung. Ich zittere jetzt schon von dem Gedanken dass ich duzende Fragen werde beantworten müssen im Bezug der Reaktion in Spanien, der Gefangenen, der Nacht der Kammisten. Es wurde mir sehr wenig helfen zu erklären dass die Spanier Kinder sind und verschiedene ihrer Handlungen überhaupt nicht ernst nehmen. So etwas ist eben nur zum privat Verbrauch aber nicht für die Öffentlichkeit. Es ist bitter schwer nach so vielen Jahren der konsequenten Einstellung alle Widersprüche zu vereinigen. Gewiss will ich unsere Spanier nicht verlassen. Aber eine Vereinigung mit der III Internationale, oder der Versuch der CNT umir den Mund über Russland zu stopfen konnte ich nicht vertragen. Ich musste mich dann einfach von allem zurrück ziehen. Schliesslich waere damit nicht viel verlohren da ich ohnehin nicht viel ausrichten kann in diesem selbstgefälligen Muckerland. Bis jetzt ~~haben wir~~ hat Vazquez noch nichts gesagt wegen meine Kritik über das morderische Stalin system. Aber es kann noch kommen.

Vazquez Behauptung dass Russland noch immer Waffen schickt kommt mir komisch vor den all in Spanien die ich traf sagt sagten dass, hatte schon seit Monaten aufgehört. Aber wenn es auch wirklich wahr ist wie lange wollen unsre Genossen ihre Seele verschachern und den Kommunisten das Feld und die Macht überlassen

Gewiss lieber Helmut werde ich mich hier für ~~meinen~~ beabsichtigtes Werk verwenden. Ich glaube sogar es dürfte nicht schwer sein einen Verleger zu ~~finden~~ finden. Also mach Dich nun get ost an die Arbeit. Ich rate Dir das Buch etwas schwunghaft zu halten, nicht nur rein akademisch, auch nicht zu gross den das Werk musste in einer billigen Ausgabe erscheinen wenn es einen weitgehenden Verbreitung haben soll. Rudolfs Arbeit über den Anarcho Syndikalismus wird glaube ich mit 3, shilling verkauft werden. Wenn ich Glück habe mit ~~meinem~~ Werk dann wirst Du natürlich ein Summe voraus bekommen die von den Tantiemen abgezogen werden.

Ich wünsche Dir und Deiner Gefarting alles Gute für das Neue Jahr. Ich weiss Ihre fühlt wie ich, das allererföliche für uns waere der vollständiger Triumph über den Fascis und für die Revolution.

Herzliche Grösse.

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[Letter, 19]37 Dec. 30 [London to Nemesio Galve, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
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Lieber Kamerad.

Danke für Deine Zeilen xxx und den Artikel über den Triumph unserer tapferen Kämpfer in Teruel. Ich habe schon vor einige Tage den Bericht in Spanisch direkt aus Barcelona bekommen habe ihn übersetzen lassen. Er kommt in unsere Zeitung SPAIN AND DIE WORLD nächste Woche heraus. Wie ich schon mehrmals die Kameraden von der CNT-FAI und der SIA erklärt habe ist die bürgerliche Presse gegen uns und trotz aller Mühe ist es mir nicht gelungen ihr Schweigen zu brechen. Ubrigens hat der Manchester Guardian einen klaren Bericht über die Einnahme Teruels gebracht aber natürlich kein Wort über die 25 Division unsere Brigaden oder die heldenhafte Handlung von Vivancos.

Da es wie gesagt nicht möglich ist das Schweigen der Englischen oder Amerikanischen Presse zu brechen so verende ich von jeder Nummer SPAIN UND DIE WORLD die wichtigsten über Spanien geht an alle tagliche Zeitungen in England und America wie auch

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Ich habe bedauernde privat Personen in öffentlichen Leben, in
jeder tausend Exemplare von jeder Ausgabe, Ausserdem
ich regelmässig je eine Unrichtigkeit, oder Lüge über die
und ihren herrischen Kampf. So habe ich erst vor zwei Wochen die
täglich und Sonntags Ausgabe der New York Times eine Wider-
gesprochen. Ich weiss natürlich nicht ob dieselbe erscheint
auch in eine Zeitung in Toronto Canada, der Weg zu
Köpfen und Herzen des Anglo Saischen Volkes ist. Aber
Aber man muss nicht den Mut verlieren.

Ich warte ungeulig auf den Rest der Englischen
Übersetzung, die Karte von Spanien die man mir versprochen hat und
und die Photographien der letzten Opfer Franco's, die unglücklichen
Kinder die er aufgehängt hat.

Genossenschaftliche Grusse and Boca und Mackay

Salud.

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: 7224

Thurs

Dearest B, Reg is seeing Warburg today, and we are seeing Padmore Sun. Reg will write or ring Conze, whom he knows better than I. I don't quite know what to do about Orwell as I've not met him; I think I will ask Fenner to approach him.

That girl I wanted to see about my brother is coming out. I now hear; I have to see some comrades in the evening at 5.30. So it will depend what time I can get rid of the girl whether I will be able to fit in a visit to you in the afternoon, Emma dear. I'll ring you. If she went at 3.30. I could be with you by 4.30. and have at least an hour with you. I don't like to turn her out at 3.30 as she's coming a way and I always feel that for town people to come out to Wembley is a 'trip' - most of em regard it as going out to the 'country,' in fact. Which always make me smile, as it's 30 mins from Charing Cross and 20 mins from Waterloo. However.

I got the revision of my novel done last night and am posting it off today with such relief. Today I must devote to Jean. I think we will go to the Spanish film this afternoon if we can get in. I want Jean to see it, but Jean can only go in the afternoon, and B whom I would also like to see it can only go in the evening, so it's no use our trying to see it altogether - I mean if I suggest you come with Jean and me that cuts poor little B. out.

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and she has so few treats. Did you know, by the way, that a Fascist (German - UFA) film is showing in the same program? It means that in order to see the Spanish film one has to support also this blasted Nazi film. There's a similar predicament at the Academy - a good film in the program with an Italian Fascist-propaganda film.

On the other hand if one is going to start ~~to~~ boycott where is one going to end? One loathes British Imperialism and on the boycott principle should refuse to buy-British - but it all becomes impossible.

Dearest Emma I shall be ficer next week - Reg will be away for one thing - and if you have an evening other than Mon. or Thurs (Mon. being the Branch meeting and Thurs Jean's day) I shall love for us to have that long-promised quiet evening together. New Year's Eve I intend merely to grind away at the Rev. proofs. I hate all these 'organised' celebrations. And Jan. 1st 1938 is no different from Dec. 31st 1937. I feel its all so artificial. If we all ran out and rang bells and celebrated on the first warm Spring day, now, pagan-wise, that would be something different - spontaneous - it would have meaning....

These dark dreadful days! Reg keeps well. I don't think he's as influenced by externals as some of us, in which he's fortunate. Dearest Emma I must fly - there's so much to do before I go out with Jean.

Dearest love

Will Wed occupied as are {the
left with a chair of ~~the~~ Tues or Friday - any good?

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19056

T. 251/37

Barcelona, Via Durruti 30, 62
30. December 1937

**Solidaridad Internacional
Antifascista**

Consejo General

Emma Goldman Colton
18 Castletown Road
L O N D O N W 14

Dear Comrade Emma Goldman,

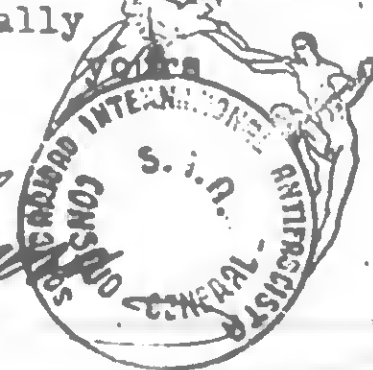
from your letter of December 22nd, for which we thank you very much we learn that your plan for a greater success of S.I.A. was, to add some effective slogan to the name of our organization. For formal reasons it is not possible to change the name of the S.I.A. in any way. S.I.A. is an international institution and if one or the other section changes its name according to the particular circumstances of its country, it might damage the work of the other sections of the S.I.A. in other countries, where a general antifascist activity is possible.

What you can of course do is take into consideration all the special circumstances and psychology of the English when you design your propaganda for S.I.A. The French section for instance has issued a slogan - probably out of similar considerations - "Aide immediate a l'Espagne", which appears on all their posters and other printed propaganda. Something like it should be possible in England also. Though, always keeping in mind for the above mentioned reasons, that it will have to be done strictly within the international frame of S.I.A. The "defense of the Spanish Revolution" can therefore not figure officially as a name of a section of the S.I.A. Apart from this, the sections of the S.I.A. can of course out of their own initiative adjust the means of their propaganda to the circumstances of the countries.

We missed in your letter mention of our suggestions concerning the I.L.P. and its collaboration in S.I.A. Your description of the situation in England confirms our opinion, that only by collaboration with the elements of the I.L.P. the English section of the S.I.A. can be made a success. We take it, that your silence meant agreement and that you have already undertaken the necessary steps in this direction. But we are very interested in every detail of this, please let us know about what you have been able to do.

Wishing you all the best success for the start and greeting you most heartily and fraternally

For the General Council of the S.I.A.
The Secretary:



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FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBERICA

COMITÉ PENINSULAR
Sección Internacional
(SECRETARÍA)

Via Durruti, 30, 6.º, ~~Barcelona~~
Teléfono ~~71111~~

Barcelona, 30 de December 1937 de 193

Emma Goldman Colton
18 Castletown Road
L O N D O N W.14

Dear comrade Emma Goldman,

we thank you very much for your long and detailed letter of December 22nd, presenting an extensive answer to all the questions we put to you in our last letter.

Your information about the English workers movement are very valuable to us. We really had no illusions about the real character of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions; we even were aware of the fact, that the change in their attitude towards Spain is only due to the impending elections. We only thought, that these tactics of their, might be used for our propaganda purposes. It seems that this is your opinion also as we guess from the schemes for propaganda you mention in our letter.

What you tell us about the United States meets with our agreement. We know that it is necessary to reach the AMERICAN people themselves.

Concerning the S.I.A., you will get an answer from the S.I.A. itself. For the sake of organisational work, archive etc. we must separate in a sense the correspondence for the S.I.A. from that of our particular office.

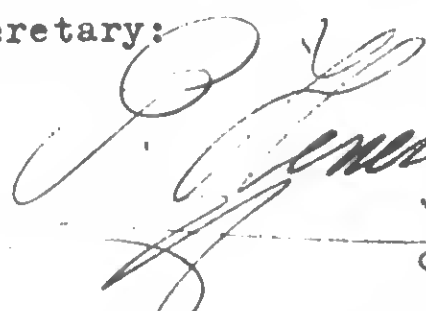
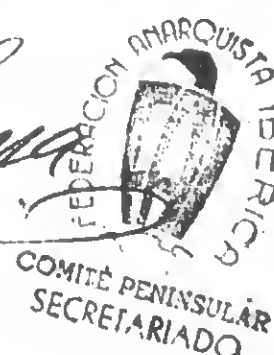
Hoping to hear from you again very soon,

we are

yours fraternally

For the Section of Foreign Relations
of the Peninsular Committee of the F.A.I.

The secretary:

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[Letter] 1937 Dec. 31, London [to] Samuel Freedman, New York / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W.14

London 31st December 1937

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear Samuel, *Freedman. New York.*

I have received your good letter. Since nothing can be done about eliminating the errors in my preface we need not waste time on it anymore. I only hope that in any further proof reading you will see to it, that it is done adequately.

To-day I am sending you day by day report of the taking of Tarruel. Is is written in German so you had better give it to Mark that he might translate it for the Freie Arbeiter Stimme I wish it could also be got into the "Spanish Revolution" and "Vanguard". We must try to prove to the world that most of the heroic achievements in the war have been accomplished by our own comrades. No papers have mentioned that. From time to time an isolated tribute of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. appears such as the "Toronto Star" for instance. I enclose a copy of my letter I have written to the Editor in appreciation of his fairness and in further information for him about the aims of our Spanish comrades. I don't know whether he will print it. I am writing Joe Dresse to keep an eye on the Star and to send me a clipping if the letter appears.

Actually a great deal of my time is taken up replying to the numerous misrepresentations of our people. Thus I had to write two letters, one to the Daily and one to the Sunday "New York Times", showing up the ignorance of their correspondents in Spain and the meanness of some of the editorial jottings.

I was suddenly called to Paris to attend the Congress of the I.A.A. I must say I did not go very gladly. I knew that I had no rights to participate not being a delegate and that it would be painful to sit through gaged. However the Spanish and Swedish delegates insisted on my being given the floor. I am now preparing my notes and when they are in shape I will send you a copy: but it will not be for publication, except perhaps in the form of quotations of a few paragraphs. It is bad enough to see

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boiled linen washed at the Congress. At least we should not do so in the face of the whole world.

That is the last day of the old year. It has been an eventful and a tragic year in many respects, and one can only hope that the New Year will bring victory to the Spanish people over Fascism and that the Revolution will triumph. It would be too frightful to have so many lives lost and so much blood spilt without great results.

Give my fraternal greetings to all the comrades and my heartfelt wishes for an eventful New Year to all of them and to yourself.

Tell Mark that I cannot forgive him his continued silence unless he turns another leaf in the New Year.

Affectionately

Emma

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31st December 1937

Dear Samuel,

I have received your good letter. Since nothing can be done about eliminating the errors in my preface we need not waste time on it anymore. I only hope that in any further proof reading you will see to it, that it is done adequately.

To-day I am sending you day by day report of the taking of Teruel. It is written in German so you had better give it to Mark that he might translate it for the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*. I wish it could also be got into the Spanish Revolution and Vanguard. We must try to prove to the world that most of the heroic achievements in the war have been accomplished by our own comrades. No papers have mentioned that. From time to time an isolated tribute of the C.N.T.-F.I.L. appears such as the Toronto Star for instance. I enclose a copy of my letter I have written to the Editor in appreciation of his fairness and in further information for him about the aims of our Spanish comrades. I don't know whether he will print it. I am writing Joe Dresse to keep an eye on the Star and to send me a clipping, if the letter appears.

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2

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Affectionately

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enc. 18 to S. Freedman
31-12-37

The Editor,
TORONTO Star,
Toronto, Ontario,
CANADA.



December 27th 1937

Sir,

The American Press has rarely shown an intelligent appraisal of Anarchists and anarchism. All the greater surprise to find an exception in the TORONTO STAR. I am referring to your Editorial entitled "Brickmaker Turns General" which appeared in your issue of December 8th.

You quote the Bulletin of the C.N.T. -A.I.T.-F.A.I. to the effect that "to provoke internal conflict at the present time, whatever their motives, actually amounts to betrayal and serves the interests of the international fascism" and then you proceed by saying that "at this distance the correctness of that statement appears to be open to question". I realise your difficulty, being so far removed from the scene of action as you are. Many correspondents, though right on the spot in Spain, likewise seem to find it difficult to appraise the true value and force of the National Confederation of Labour (CNT) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (FAI). Maybe they are simply unable to see, for as the saying goes: "none so blind as those who will not see". Hence the many distorted reports concerning the C.N.T.-F.A.I., that are sent to the Press by their representatives.

Well, I have just returned from my second visit to Spain. During a seven weeks' stay I travelled up and down the country, between Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid; I visited the trenches in that epic city, only a hundred metres away from Franco's side; I covered all the industrial collectives in the large cities, as well as the collectivised villages in Castille, the Levante, Aragon, and Cataluna, and I can assure you that the contents of the Bulletin are by no means exaggerated.

The Anarchists in Spain still adhere to their firm belief that "Governments interfere too much with the lives of the people". On this score, there is no difference or disagreement whatever between the Anarchists in or outside of Spain. It is therefore incorrect to say the "sincere idealists are checking those of their number who are disposed to attack the Government as bourgeois and reactionary". They know only too well that the Negrin-Prieto - Communist Government is a bourgeois and reactionary Government and that it is the "disastrous policies followed by those now in power" which has done no end of harm to the pursuance of the Anti-Fascist struggle.

In point of truth, the Communist pseudo allies of the Negrin-

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Prieto Government have done their utmost to sabotage the victory over Franco. They have done so insidiously and openly by means of armed force, the destruction of a number of collectives, the arrest torture and death of many true and ardent revolutionary Anti-Fascists. Indeed, their acts of provocation since May last would be enough to try the stannicest hearts. If Stalin's emissaries with the aid of his translated Cheka failed in Spain, it is because the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. refused to fall into the trap so clumsily set for them.

The C.N.T.-F.A.I. were the first to repulse on that ~~historical~~ historic date - JULY 19th 1936 - the military and Fascists conspiracy and they are determined to be the last on the battlefield in order to deal the death blow to Fascism. To them the struggle does not mean mere scene-shifting and the change of one set of politicians for another. The motive inspiring the C.N.T. and F.A.I. in their heroic and desperate fight against Fascism is to safeguard the Spanish Revolution and its constructive achievements. In this they are not only supported by their own large memberships, approx 3,000,000 workers, peasants and Libertarian Youth; but also by the great majority of the Spanish people as a whole. You are therefore quite right in saying that "The thing that matters most is that the masses of the Spanish people are forgetting their differences and uniting to oppose the forces that have held them in bondage for centuries".

I must add, however, that the Spanish people are well aware of the fact that their liberation will not be accomplished by the "Liberal Government" enjoying Stalin's blessing; they know their liberation will be achieved through their own efforts, through their syndicates, their collectivised and socialised institutions. Komunismo Libertario (Libertarian Communism) - that is the living force deeply ingrained in and animating the Spanish masses; it is this which is urging them on to destroy Fascism and all other enemies of the people's heritage of political, economic and social freedom and well-being.

I appreciate deeply your tribute to my comrade Cipriano Mera. He did all you say, and more. Next to Buenaventura Durruti, the people's idol, it is Mera whose Valor has caught the imagination of the Spanish masses. Another of their heroes is the Anarchist Garcia Vivancos, the hero of Belchite, who freed that city from Franco's German and Italian forces. For this he was highly commended by General Franco. The latter though known as an arch-hater of Anarchism, yet felt impelled to send Vivancos a message of appreciation.

Great as that achievement was, Vivancos - as I have just heard from an authentic source - has now followed it up with one still greater: for it was GARCIA VIVANCOS who with his 25th Division, which consisted of the 116, 117 and 118 Brigades, all C.N.T.-F.A.I. members actually captured Teruel. Vivancos is a born leader of men, and is greatly beloved by his men.

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There are many women who are not only of such great
talent but also of such high moral heights in their
conduct in their fight against Fascism. Most of them were simple
women whose idealism and spirit have proven stronger than
German and Italian arms.

The greatest characteristic of the Spanish people is their
selflessness. They do not want honors or medals. They find their
supreme reward in the consciousness that by fighting Fascism they are
not merely fighting for Spain alone but for the whole world, for the
liberation of the people from that scourge.

Sincerely

Emma Goldman

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and half-starved from lack of food, and yet they go on printing beautiful books and papers with the finest illustrations and doing the rest of the work as if Franco were no longer infesting Spain. I was moved deeply yesterday by a letter by one of the comrades in which he told me the joy of the men at the front when they received a thousand fountain pen and writing paper from some organisation in France. You can see the child-like naïveté and sweetness along with their tremendous strength, how can it be that such people should be destroyed? Like you, I hang on to every shred of hope that in the end our people will conquer. But whether they conquer or are conquered, the constructive work that they have begun will not die, and as long as there is one Spanish anarchist left no system, whether Fascist or Capitalist or Republican will be safe in Spain. That is my only consolation and the one thought that keeps me going and makes me want to continue in my efforts.

I had a long letter from Carlo Tresca, the first I think since I was deported from America. Like so many other people, he now admits that Sacha and I were right in our critical attitude to the Soviet régime. He is very anxious to help with the campaign for a visa. He, too, agrees that it is essential to create a formidable committee of known people. He seems to think that it will not be difficult to organise such a committee and also to have the support of some Labour Union. I doubt the latter, but I am certain that a committee is necessary. The question is who will organise it? It is my rotten luck that Stella is not in New York. She would be the person to do it. I know nobody else. Will you see Tresca the next time you are in New York and talk the matter over with him? See what he suggests. Van will have to be drawn into the effort, as he was among the first who offered to go ahead. The unfortunate thing about him is that he is not always very tactful. He often is like a bull in a china shop, but I naturally do not want him shoved aside or hurt in any way.

I cannot say at this writing when I will sail for Canada. It depends a great deal on the Spanish comrades. I have not yet mentioned my plan to them. They keep on writing me glowing appreciations of the work I am doing here. It really makes me want to weep when I know how little I achieve. At any rate I will have to submit my intentions to them, but I dare say that I will be able to sail the latter part of September. As I have already stated, the result of our work here is so infinitesimal that I can well leave the office with Corrado Barr and entrust Sonia to help him should important matters come up.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938? Crompond? N.Y.? to] Emma [Goldman, London?] / Rudolf [Rock-
er]. — 2 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Liebste Emma:

Deine lieben Zeilen aus Barcelona gerade erhalten. Du hast keine Ahnung, welch tiefen Eindruck sie auf uns beide gemacht haben. Ich sehe mit grosser Spannung deinem kommenden Bericht entgegen, den du wahrscheinlich erst schreiben wirst, wenn du erst wieder auf englischem oder französischem Boden sein wirst. Allerdings war dein Bericht keine Ueberraschung für mich; überrascht wäre ich gewesen, wenn er anders ausgefallen wäre. Ich habe die spanische Bewegung seit langen Jahren so gründlich studiert, dass ich längst überzeugt bin, dass kein anderes Volk in der Welt etwas Ähnliches vollbringen konnte. Die grösste Tragödie ist, dass so viele unserer eigenen Kameraden die ungeheuerliche Lage der braven Spanier überhaupt nicht verstehen und sich in der Kritik von Einzelheiten verlieren, so dass sie die ungeheuerere Bedeutung dieses Kampfes gegen eine ganze Welt überhaupt nicht richtig bewerten können. Jeder von uns weiss, dass Fehler gemacht worden sind; die Spanier selbst bestreiten das Nicht. Ich habe gerade Santillans Buch über den Krieg und die Revolution beendet und daraus ersehen, wie klar er die Dinge beurteilt. Ich habe ausserdem eine Menge Aeusserungen von spanischen Genossen gelesen, aus denen hervorgeht, dass sie sich bewusst sind, Fehler begangen zu haben, aber sie waren in einer so verzweifelten Lage, dass sie es sicher nicht verdient haben, dass man ihnen einen Strick daraus dreht. Menschen, die von einer ganzen Welt von Feinden umringt sind und sich seit 27 Monaten in einem Kampfe auf Leben und Tod befinden, könnten billigerweise beanspruchen, dass man ihnen nicht aus den eigenen Reihen in den Rücken fällt. Aber ich habe es längst aufgegeben, über diese Dinge zu rechten. Wer nicht versteht, dass man einem Volke, das aus tausend Wunden blutet, kein Salz auf die Wunden streuen darf, dem ist überhaupt nicht zu helfen, und viele Worte machen die Sache nicht besser.

Ich bin gerne bereit, ein Vorwort für die spanische Ausgabe von Sashas Buch zu schreiben. Lasse mich bloss wissen, wann unsere Genossen, das MS benötigen. Dass die Genossen meine Werke in zehn Bänden herausgeben wollen, hatte mir Santillan bereits mitgeteilt, aber ich zweifle stark, ob sie noch dazu kommen werden. Seit der Konferenz in München hat sich die allgemeine Lage so verändert, dass man jeden Augenblick erwarten muss, dass Frankreich die spanische Grenze schliesst und keine Waffen mehr durchlässt. Geschicht dies aber, so ist die letzte Hoffnung geschwunden, denn ohne Waffen und Lebensmittel ist auch der grösste Heroismus nicht imstande, etwas auszurichten. Mir graut es, wenn ich daran denke. Der Gedanke lastet auf mir wie ein Alpdruck, und ich kann meines Lebens nimmer froh werden.

Ich habe nicht gesehen, was Graham über Nomads Essay geschrieben hat, aber die Sache hat ihre Richtigkeit. Nomad wird in Bälde ein Buch herausgeben, Essays über Most, Bakunin, Marx, Machno usw. Sein Artikel über Most war ein Abschnitt daraus. Der gute Max hat ein geradezu perverses Vergnügen daran, in den schwachen Seiten bedeutender Persönlichkeiten zu wühlen und sie möglichst in den Staub zu ziehen.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938? Crompond? N.Y.? to] Emma [Goldman, London?] / Rudolf [Rock-er]. — 2 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Er hat vor einiger Zeit aus der Stiftung Guggenheim ein paar tausend Dollar zugesprochen bekommen, um seinen Studien nachgehen zu können. Ich glaube, dass der arme Teufel eine lebendige Tragödie ist, den sein Zynismus völlig ausgehöhlt hat, so dass er jeden Masstab für eine tiefere Erkenntnis verloren hat. Er ist sicher ein krankhafter Mensch und innerlich tief unglücklich. Ich hatte vor einiger Zeit ein sonderbares Erlebnis mit ihm, das mir seinen wahren Geisteszustand enthüllte. Eines Tages schickte er mir ein Exemplar seines Buches *Renegades and Rebels* zu. Aber das Buch war verbunden, so dass ein Bogen daraus fehlte. Als ihn Milly später sah, sagte sie ihm, dass in dem Buche etwas fehle. Er wurde ganz blass, als er das hörte. Später erzählte mir sein Bruder, dass er in heller Aufregung zu ihm gekommen sei und ihm erzählte, was Milly gesagt hatte. Als dieser ihn nicht verstehen konnte, sagte er: Verstehst du denn nicht, Milly meinte damit zu sagen, dass unter den Renegaden ich mich selbst vergessen hätte. Er weiss natürlich nicht, dass ich das weiss. Kannst du dir ein solches Misstrauen von einem vorstellen? Er fühlte sich natürlich sehr erleichtert, als ich ihm das Buch zurückschickte und er selber sah, dass ihm sein Verdacht einen schlimmen Streich gespielt hatte. Aber für mich ist es ganz klar, dass ein Mensch, der so krankhaft misstrauisch ist, nicht normal sein kann.

Ich hätte ihm auf seinen Artikel über Most geantwortet, aber es lohnte sich nicht und ausserdem ist es auch ~~mein~~ ^{meiner} jetzigen Lage nicht angebracht, denn ich hätte stets Gewalttätik erklären müssen, was andere sehr leicht als eine Rechtfertigung von Attentaten usw. auffassen konnten. Ich befinde mich überdies in einer sehr unangenehmen Lage. Du hast wahrscheinlich das elende Zeug gelesen, was der Schuft Guy Aldred letzstens in seinem Wisch über dich und mich geschrieben hat. Er hat das Blatt über ganz Amerika geschickt und ich vermute auch an die Immigration Office in Washington, dann das war ja der Zweck der Uebung. Was er dort schreibt, ist natürlich nebensächlich und ich würde mir noch nicht an den Hintern deswegen greifen. Aber seine Behauptung, dass ich als Redakteur des Arbeiterfreund Gelder von Expropriateuren angenommen hätte, eine fausdicke Lüge, und die Breittretung von unserer Zurückschickung aus Amerika vor vierzig Jahren kann mir unter Umständen sehr gefährlich werden. Was er wegen meiner offiziellen Verheiratung schreibt, ist natürlich alles erlogen und erstunken, aber der Fakt, dass man uns zurückschickte und der den Behörden bisher nicht bekannt war, kann vielleicht Unheil anrichten, umso mehr als die Zustände hier immer reaktionärer werden. Es genügt eine Person ins Ramponlicht zu ziehen und der reaktionären Presse Stoff zu Betrachtungen zu geben, und man ist geliefert. Eines wunderte mich bei der Sache. Der Kerl hat mir ein Exemplar direkt auf meine Adresse zugeschickt. Ausser dir und den Genossen von Spain and the World hatte niemand diese Adresse. Er muss sie also von irgend jemand von den Genossen herausgegarnt haben. Das fehlt gerade noch, dass man durch einen solchen Lump vielleicht noch von dem einzigen Punkt vertrieben werden könnte, wo man noch einigermaßen existieren kann.

Wann wirst du übrigens nach Canada kommen? Hast du etwas Neues in deiner Sache betreffs den USA erfahren?

Und nun sei herzlich unarmt und begrüsst von uns allen.

Rudolf

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880726182

[Letter, 1938? Nice? to] Emma [Goldman, London?] / Emmy [Eckstein].—
1 p.; 23 x 29 cm.
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

If your pen
describes my sad
loneliness.

I miss you, &
your

I am sending the greatest
way possible. He demanded
Document —

Emmy

your very beautiful
letter made me cry
If only I had a
hope that you love
me — what I
wished now could
not be felt within
my heart —

The spirit of the Great
Man would be
soothing, more healing
to me.

Great Father, you never
had died. You never will.
I have you within my
heart and my thoughts.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938? Nice to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein].—
1 p.; 29 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Tuesday morning

Dearest Emma, we are going to come Thursday at noon about to St. Raphael.

I am not feeling well, dear, but I will try to come. My family and comrade BERTRAND will come.

Yes, dear you may depend on me, when I tell you that Auntie is NOT the person I expected. Not to speak of that I do not disturb her, that I never go there, WHENEVER I DO she finds some kind of a scandal with me. She atrocious jealous, if you want to know it. And a gossip. Our dear Doctor D'Eck of whom she said that he does not want to be disturbed "what do you think, Emma that the people are there for you, only" talked TO ME without that I approached him, being so surprised why, when I see him I am so reserved. He asked me (von ganz selbst) to come to his office and have a talk with him. I told him that never and never I would want to disturb him, and that after all, I really cannot see that I did (In fact I have nothing to do with all those people, and if we talk very nicely and that is all).

Emma, you should have seen that scene Auntie made when you, darling, asked her to phone her up in behave of myself. It is too LOW to repeat all that thrash. Anyway, if you want to know. I have no confidence in Auntie's friendship. She repeats every word to everyone. She will not, with all her talk appear convince decent people about myself as she would like to, dear. I am friend with all those I came in touch to. Doctor D'Eck had a heart to heart talk with me, dearest, and knows Auntie through and through.

Please, darling Emma, I have enough confidence in your strength and cleverness do not let feel anything about it all. I want you to know that Auntie noch nicht den Finger geruehrt hat, um mir zu helfen. When the other day I want to begin agony ausgehungert, sass sie den ganzen Platz Tag am Platz und did not even come up to ask if I want some soup. I had to call for Anna. I want you to know, darling besides, that Auntie got from our Nelly every time she sold something her share. Anna, who does not know all that, told me so naively. And I know Nelly and believe that.

Well, Emma, I would not mind all that and I ~~don't~~ don't because I do not go to Auntie anymore. I am not holding, but I am not.

I greet you and ask you to be quite uninfluenced again your friend, but I wanted to explain my feelings.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938? Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin [Gudell].—
1 p.; 21 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

A. I. T.
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Comité Nacional

1938

Liebe Emma:

Wir haben schon Schwierigkeiten
mit Absendung von Briefen. Misch
sich ein nicht nur spanische Zei-
tun, sondern auch französische;
Es kann sein, dass in der Zukunft
ich werde Ihnen Briefe mit Bulletin
schicken. Wenn Sie ein Bulletin mit
einem blauen Ausbruch bekommen,
lesen Sie es bitte, da wird ein
Brief oder andere Notizen sein.

Wir haben es heute gewusst
und teile ich es Ihnen mit

Herzliche Grüße

Martin

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929524

[Letter, 1938? Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London (fragment?)] / Martin [Gudell]. — 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

In meinem Brief von gestern, sagte ich Ihnen,
dass Klose schon frei ist. So wurde mir von
Kommission Juridica gesagt. Jetzt aber ich
habe erfahren dass Klose noch im Gefängnis
von Valencia sitzt. Es wurde versprochen von
die Behörden dass er wird in diesen
Tagen befreit, bis jetzt ist es nicht ge-
schehen, oder, wenigstens wir haben keine
Bestätigung davon. Während alle andere
deutsche syndikalisten sind schon frei
und vorbereiten sich nach Barcelona
zu kommen. Herzliche Grüsse Martin

Wahrscheinlich morgen werde
ich Ihnen Antworten können
an andere Briefe die ich heute
von Ihnen bekommen habe.
Ich muss die Genossen beraten.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938? Paris? to] Emma [Goldman, London? (fragment)] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. — 4 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Noch etwas, Emma, worauf Du mir vielleicht irgendwann einmal bei passender Gelegenheit antworten kannst, denn es ist vorläufig mehr eine Privatangelegenheit und nicht so eilig.

Dieser Plan spielte eine kleine Rolle bei meinen leider vereitelten Ruecktrittsabsichten. Ich hatte mich nach neuen Existenzmöglichkeiten umgesehen und hatte den Plan, nebenbei einmal ein Buch zu schreiben, das ich schon lange im Kopfe habe und ev. ausserdem haette einen kleinen Verdienst bedeuten koennen.

Das soll ein Buch sein ueber den spanischen Anarchismus, in dem dieser dargestellt werden soll ohne naecheres Eingehen auf die Doktrinen, sondern einfach als vitale spanische Volksbewegung - ohne Ruecksichtigung unserer internationalen anarchistischen "Familien"-Angelegenheiten. Von 1840-1938.

Als Materialgrundlagen sollten mir dienen, u.A.:

Meine Broschuere Was sind die CNT und die FAI.

Eine Arbeit von ca. 100 Seiten "Zur Geschichte des spanischen Anarchismus und Syndikalismus", die ich Sommer 1934 nur fuer mich schrieb und die von den 1840er Jahren bis 1934 reicht.

Meine Broschuere Revolution und Konterrevolution in Spanien.

Ferner eine Menge neues Material, das ich mir in den letzten Monaten gesammelt habe, durch welches die Darstellung abgerundet und aktuell gemacht werden koennte, wobei ich mich abeer bemuehen moechte, ihr eine Form zu geben, die nicht nach vier Wochen als veraltet wirkt.

Ausserdem soll das Ganze mehr fuer das allgemeine Publikum als fuer unsere Genossen geschrieben sein. Ich will den Versuch machen, so undoktrinaer wie moeglich zu zeigen, dass der spanische Anarchismus mit seiner Tendenz des sozialen Aufbaus durch wirtschaftliche Arbeiterorganisationen und seinen Kampf gegen jede Diktatur einen neuen sozialen Gedanken entwickelt hat, der bestimmt ist, in der kuenftigen Geschichte der Welt eine grosse Rolle zu spielen.

So etwa. Eine Sache von 250-350 Seiten.

Und ich habe mich gefragt, ob man fuer eine solche Arbeit vielleicht einen Verleger ausserhalb unserer Reihen finden koennte. Diese Arbeit muesste meines Erachtens vor allem in Englisch und Franzoesisch erscheinen. In den Rahmen der IAA passt sie nicht recht. Ich dachte an den Verleger, der Rudolfs Arbeit herausgebracht hat. Koennst Du mir spaeter einmal zu dieser Frage Deine Meinung sagen; eventuell einen Rat geben? Die Arbeit selbst werde ich in der kommenden Zeit nebenbei ein wenig fortfuehren und dann in einem Zuge einmal fertig schreiben, wenn ich die laestige Buerde los bin, die man mir neuerdings aufgehaut hat.

Bitte nimm das also so wie es gemeint ist - als eine nicht eilige, rein private Angelegenheit. Ich waere Dir abder dankbar, wenn Du gelegentlich dazu schriebest.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938? Paris? to] Emma [Goldman, London? (fragment)] / Helmut [Rüdiger].— 4 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Meine Freundin von der ich mir sehr viel versprochen habe.
Ich habe mich für Spanien interessiert. Ich habe dir
sich ist meines Erachtens nach die beste Lösung.
Du mußt mir also so bald als möglich
das ganze Unternehmen mit mir teilen. Wie ich die
Reisekosten und Aufenthalt bezahlt werden
sicherlich zuverlässig und lebt nur für ihr Ideal.
Wie sie nach Paris kommen soll. Unsere Später
und werden sie jedenfalls bald wieder vorwärts
gehen. Sie werden ihren Vorschlag in Betracht ziehen.

Ich gehe morgen zu einer Freundin wo ich heute
ein Zimmer haben werde. Du hast aber von jetzt an
sein müssen so wird es dir nicht genügen. Meine
Adresse ist 2, South Ave. London N. 1. Du kannst mir aber
nicht schreiben.

Herliche Grusse, auch an Deine Mutter.

James hat mir Deinen Bericht in Broschurenform geschickt.
Mit dem Bericht der CNT.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870930222

[Letter, 1938? Paris? to] Emma [Goldman, London? (fragment)] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. — 4 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Dann ist Schluss, liebe Emma. Ich bin
dass die Atmosphäre zwischen uns
entspannt und bereinigt wird. Ich bin
von 4. hat mich sehr bekräftigt, und
mir lehren, dass ich einen ungeheuren
Fehler gemacht habe, als ich dem Dr. J.
den Spornier folgend mein Amt als
einmal annahm. Aber ich kann mich
erheben, wenn ich wenigstens mit einem
wenigen Menschen Beziehungen der
Freundschaft und wirklicher Kameradschaft
unterhalten kann. Ich bin nun
Einsamkeit, dass zwischen Sie und mir
gibt eine starke geistige Beziehung
da; und ich bin sehr glücklich
Nun bin ich phlegmatisch — so ganz
und ohne jedes Zornen —

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938? Paris? to] Emma [Goldman, London? (fragment)] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. — 4 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Sonderbare Stellung D. gegen mich
Ich hoffe, mit diesem Briefe
aufgeklärt..

Auf jeden Fall, wie immer

herzliche Grüße

Helmut

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938? New York to] Emma [Goldman, London? (fragment)] / Evelyn Scott.— 1 p. ; 12 × 9 cm.

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EXCERPT FROM A LETTER

Dearest Emma:

I am not surprised that you didn't hear from Strunsky, because I am out surprised at anything these days. I didn't "forewarn" you, however, because I had no specific reason for suspecting him to be cautious in the degree now overtaking everyone here. I tell you, my dear, you still probably have no conception of the nightmare New York has become since all radicals and liberals equally have fallen under Communist domination. People who used to fall over themselves to be helpful don't speak when they see you, and after no personal quarrel, etc., etc., I have resigned myself to the abandonment of a writing career for the present, and that is why it would be quite impossible to do anything for Mr. Read now. Communist controlled unionism is regulating every official move of everybody with any but reactionary opinions to state; and I for my part, simply consider that, for the present, all means of printed communication are barred to any with a belief in freedom. I have trained myself through years and for the purpose of novel writing in close inductive reasoning on the evidences of human behaviour, and I am quite sure of many things I cannot, of course, express in any way that runs counter of a demand for technical legal proof. But for my own part, and that of the minority who see eye to eye with me in these ways, it is completely demonstrated that the literary world of New York where not actually directly manipulated by a cabal, is terrorized by hints and suggestions of threat, and by evidences of sabotage and boycott from quarters hard to trace in any fashion that would bring individual perpetrators to account.

The effort to organize not only art but everything related, and everything professional, and white collar, has gained a great deal of ground; and there is no professional branch not at present in the throes of a struggle to put over something which is, in essence, the microclim of the totalitarian state—namely, unionization by industry in which the guild spirit is eliminated and the political power motive is unhampered. I regarded this as America's most calamitous ore since the Civil War; and heaven knows what the result will be, when the innocent and alas ignorant American public have really to "choose between Fascism and Communism". There is an alternative, but the prospect is no less bloody on that account. All people like myself whose life is art and who cannot physically survive arbitrary checks put on such freedom, are living in the same hell, escaped from in fancy or not according to the individual capacity for being willingly blind to what is around. But I can't be blind.

And so darling Emma, I am not much good to anybody practically, having a hard time finding a way to keep going on some non-writing basis. I shall probably go back to school teaching.

EVELYN SCOTT.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938? London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Gwendolyn Adams de Puertas. — 1 p. ; 17 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20582

17, Fleet Street,
E.C.4.

Wednesday.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Thank you for your letter this morning and cheque - I will do my best to see Martin and hope to see you again about the end of next week.

Kind regards from my husband and myself.

Yours sincerely,

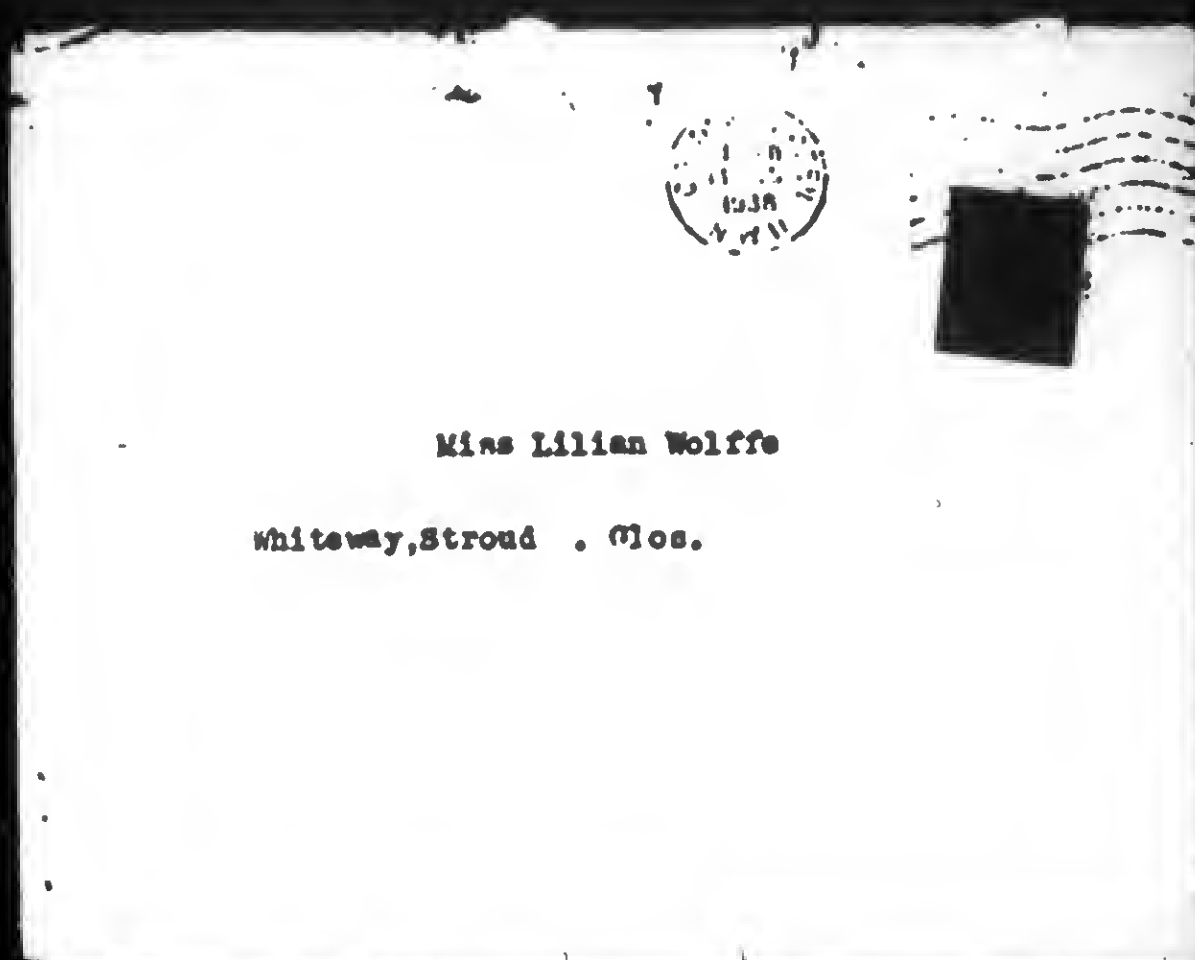
Gwendolyn Adams de Puertas

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1938 London [to] Lilian Wolfe, Stroud, [England] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 11 × 14 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Heiner Becker. Institutional Location: the International Institute of Social History.



Miss Lilian Wolfe

Whiteway, Stroud . Mos.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1938 London [to] Lilian Wolfe, Stroud, [England] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 11 × 14 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Heiner Becker. Institutional Location: the International Institute of Social History.

Colton 21 ~~Southampton~~ Frith St
London W.1

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938, London to Joe Desser, Toronto (fragment)] / E[mma] G[oldman]. -
1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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understand, both she and Aaron would be willing to extend a loan of some part of the 300 dollars necessary to show at the border. There is no need to bother them about it now. I will probably write them myself when the time comes, unless you wish to talk to them about it. In any event I could not start for Canada before August or September. I cannot drop the work here until it is thoroughly organised.

Unfortunately the outlook in America is not bright. Roger Baldwin, who saw Perkins, reported that she was adamant about my re-entry into the States, and a letter from Harry Kelly had the same report to make, which he got from Mr. Ernst, the lawyer of the Civil Liberty League.

I heard from my Stella yesterday. She has some scheme up her sleeve which may help her to get to the "First Lady in the Land". That may be the most direct and favourable way. I do not know. Besides that, Rose Pesotta, who was here on a visit and returned to New York, has undertaken to organise a Committee of women if possible, or mixed, that would begin systematic work for a visa. I am not very optimistic, but I intend to go to Canada any way, if only to be closer to my loved ones, among whom you have a very large and abiding place.

Please, dearest, do not wait so long in writing. I am moving from my apartment to a very dear friend of mine - Liza Koldofsky. You probably have heard of her husband, Simion Koldofsky. He died six months ago. She remained very desolate and feels her loneliness deeply. I might be able to help her by my presence. Besides, I am quite selfish in moving to her. I have lived with her before, and I have received such loving care, attention and thoughtfulness that I shall feel much better than I do now in my lonely apartment. My personal address will be:

Mrs. E.G. Colton,
c/o Mrs. L. Koldofsky,
6, Sneath Avenue,
N.W. 11.

Give my loving greetings to J., the Halperines and other friends who still remember me, and take a large chunk of love from me for yourself,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938, London to Aldous] Huxley, [Hollywood?, Calif.?] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Doc. 11.

Dear Professor Huxley,

You will find enclosed a Bulletin devoted to the interests of refugee women and children in Spain. It contains an appeal to the scientists of the world by Professor Paulis who is himself one of the most outstanding men of science in Spain. (As the representative of the above organisation, I would like very much to get this appeal to as many men/of science in England, as well as those of letters, as I can possibly reach. I wonder whether you would be good enough to suggest from among your friends those who would be interested in the appeal of Professor Paulis as well as in the rest of the contents of the Bulletin.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938, London to Rose Pesotta, Boston? (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

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I hope Abe has taken your advice to take time to digest his impressions of the last part he spent in Spain. For it was at the end of his stay that he reversed all his ideas about our comrades. I don't know whether he read you a copy of his long letter to me. In any event I am inclosing a copy of my letter to him. I understand Abe's feelings and reactions. As you said yourself Spain was his first great adventure. He went there thinking the Social Revolution had ushered in Anarchism. For nine months he continued to believe in the miracle. Then suddenly he came down with a thud. And being ~~xxx~~ young and optimistic the change naturally had to be from the sublime to the ridiculous. Much of what he says is unfortunately true. But it is true only because the forces arrayed against our people ~~xxx~~ are too formidable to be met by theoretic simplicity. And not because the National Committee has ceased to be what they were, real revolutionists and Anarchists. I cannot believe that Vazquez or the others whom you met and who look as if pulled out of ash barrels in the same old tattered clothes they were 16 months ago when I first met them are compromising their ideas ~~xxx~~ in return for luxuries or because they want power. They see themselves besieged on all sides with the waves rising high above their heads and they feel they must grab at every straw or sink. ~~xxx~~ How Abe could have it in his heart to leave Spain and then attack our people is beyond me. I do not mean he should not have left the country. It was damned little he could do there. But to know he will be in safety while the others face death every hour and yet to attack them that is the thing I cannot understand. By the way, I have a feeling though I maybe mistaken that if Abe had been helped to carry out his ambitions of an English paper and other important work he would have not gone away nor would he have felt so bitter against the ~~xxx~~ comrades. Well, whatever it is you will read my reply.

I referred to the possibility of having to give up active service for the C.T.-F.A.I. That moment has almost arrived. A letter from Vazquez in a very comradely and kindly tone suggests that I should handle the Communists ~~xxx~~ in a gentler manner and also not to write so condemnatory of the Legerin government because this will hurt the anti-Fascist struggle. "What would the workers do is the good of helping the anti/fascist war when our brothers are being persecuted in anti-fascist Spain even more than in Capitalist countries". I inclose copy of my reply. You will agree I have been milder than mild. So far I have had no answer to my letter. I do not believe Vazquez will put me before any alternative. I hope not for it will break my heart to have to give up the amount of work I have begun for the C.T.-F.A.I. here. But if he does I will retire. I simply will not be sucked about the rotten Communist gang and their lies about Spain in their press. Rose my dearest my answer to Vazquez as well as the other inclosures are only for yourself. And possibly for the very few most trusted comrades. I really must insist on that. I know I can rely on you to stick by my request. As you have not been at the conference in Paris when I addressed the delegates I am sending you the speech.

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difficult to get members among the English people. I have written comrade vasques that he and you and other Spanish comrades do not seem to realise the terrible difficulties in this country that is confronting our work. For one thing we are known as anarquista, and while we do not accentuate it in our work, our names are enough to make people realise who we are, and anarchism continues to be anathema to the average British worker or intellectual, and even those who know something about Anarchism continue to misrepresent it; but that is not the principle reason for the many obstacles in our way. The main obstacle consists in the fact that all the Anti-Fascist societies in England, who go by all sorts of names and all sorts of slogans in their work for Spain, are either fully fledged members of the communist party or strongly in sympathy. Aside of their opposition to the CNT and the SIA, they will not permit any other body to succeed in their work. They are doing everything possible to get everything into their own hands. Moreover, there is the general situation of the labour movements in this country. The Labour Party and the Trades Unions are getting their members in a vice. They do not permit them the slightest ~~free~~ divergence from the rules laid down by these organisations. This has gone on for so long that the workers themselves are either afraid or have not the stamina to speak up for themselves, or to undertake any opposition. A case in point is the bus strike last year during the coronation. Not only was it betrayed but some of the busmen at the head were expelled from the union and some were suspended. Mr Bevan, like "Sir" Walter Citrine are lickspittles of the Government and of the employers, and they see to it that nothing filters through their unfortunate slaves. You will probably say that there must be millions of unorganised workers who might be reached. Unfortunately unorganised workers are not interested in anything else than cinemas, dog racing and other sports. However we have begun to go to the poorest districts. We had two meetings last week in districts where the majority of workers are unemployed. Some of them did not know the meaning of Anti-Fascist International Solidarity - the Nacional Confederacion of Labor or Anarchist Federation of Iberia. It took all the time to teach them the ABC of the struggle in Spain. We intend to continue but whether anything will come out of it or not it is difficult to say.

I am telling you all this, dear comrade, so that you should realise why we have failed in creating a live interest in the splendid work you are doing through the SIA. It is hardly necessary for me to tell you that the few comrades connected with our work are deeply devoted and spare no time in doing their utmost - so it is not as if we do not try, or as if we did not wish to help you. It is just that England seems to me to be sterile ground for our ideas and for your high aims.

I can only repeat what I wrote comrade vasques - that it is ~~not~~ on his part and yours to write to ask us to get the news of the pact between the CGT and the CNT to the unions and Anti-Fascist organisations and to ask them to send you telegrams of congratulations. My dear comrades, how can you be so childish. I have already said that there are no Anti-Fascist organisations in your sense, and it is impossible to reach the unions direct through the official sources. However as I have informed you comrade vasques we have in the last few months circularised thousands of delegates to the Trade Union Congress, the Trades & Labour Councils, Trade Union Local branches, and Trade Union Journals, and next week we will circularise some more of the Trade Union Local branches. We will enclose a slip asking them to send letter

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or telegrams to the CNT and UGT of congratulations. That is absolutely the only way and may bring results.

Already we have heard from a number of these 'Tradas & Labour Councils asking for more material and we also know that the structure of the CNT has been discussed.

Dear comrade, there is one thing I intended to write Vasques but forgot. Will you please submit it to his consideration. It is this. In my absence in Scotland Boyer arrived with a UGT man who spoke English. Comrade Barr was in charge of the bureau. For some unknown reason Calvo failed to give Boyer our present address. They got it through the National Trade Union Club. They came to us after they had already interviewed all the reformists. I cannot imagine what the CNT-FAI hope to achieve by approaching these people who have paralysed the labour and trade union movement in this country - people who will support the national government in its preparation for an imperialist war. It is a sad commentary on the condition of labour in this country when the leaders are carried away by the appeal of the Premier, the most fascist of fascists in this government. The few workers who can think, feel that they are being betrayed by their leaders and will be offered up as sacrifice to the insatiable monster of war, a war which by the way is intended to crush Spain and to destroy the most militant elements in the Anti-fascist struggle. However that is for the CNT to decide. What interests us was the attitude of Boyer and the UGT man to the work we are doing. Comrade Barr was informed that it would be as well not to stress the FAI - that we might cease using the red and black colours on our paper - in other words, that we should really deny you and your struggle. It interests us to know whether you had given Boyer these instructions. I can hardly believe it because if you had such a thing in mind, you certainly could have written us direct, as you do in all other matters. Please understand that I do not mean to disparage the suggestions made to comrade Barr. It is merely to be clear on our own position, and also to know in a direct way rather than roundabout, whether you also wish the FAI denied, and the colours we are using to be hidden under cover. As I said I cannot believe that that is your desire; but I want to make sure.

Another matter as regards the fund, small as it is of the SIA. I have written and told you that last year the Independent Labour Party had taken forty one children of the Basques under its wing and that it has kept them going all the time. I understand that the I.L.P. has already spent £2000. They are supposed to be CNT-FAI children. Last year we contributed from the money I collected £50. I rather think that the I.L.P. will ask for another contribution. Naturally we do not want to respond without your consent; but as I have said the fund will not be large as we shall have to take the expenses of the work for the SIA. Still after our affair we may be "richer". There is just this - our affair may take place in conjunction with the I.L.P. There is such a suggestion; but it will depend on the artists who have promised their co-operation this time. They may object playing for a political party and as the SIA is purely humanitarian I am not so sure whether it is possible to have the affair with the I.L.P.; but if we can get the musicians to consent we will have it jointly for the 41 children's colony which the I.L.P. is supporting and the S.I.A.

Lastly is a personal request. You have always been very understanding and very helpful dear comrade Herrera. I therefore want you to have a talk with comrade Vasques in regard to the fund created in Paris, the F.I.S.-C.S.I. It seems that our unfortunate refugee com-

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rades are simply starving. It seems to me that they should be given help; but it is impossible for us to make appeals for the S.I.A. and also for the French organisation. I beg Vasques for permission to contribute in the name of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. London Bureau a sum of money merely as a proof of solidarity. I rather think it would have a good-moral effect for the CNT if it became known that we working here have helped our refugee comrades in France. Please talk it over with Vasques and write me.

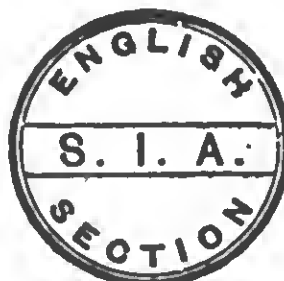
In conclusion I wish to say that some part of the bulletins which you sent me will be used in "Spain & The World" and if there is any room possibly also in our forthcoming SIA bulletin.

Thank you for supplying us so regularly with your material.

Please give my greetings to comrade Ilse. Tell her she is improving in her English and I am sure she will go on improving. None of us can be too perfect in our languages and the way we use them.

Faternally,

Emma



Please, please
let us know
right away about
the present situation
the capitalist press
lies so much
one can not
believe it. I am
ill with
anxiety about
you, the other
comrades - and
the struggle.
EG

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S . I . A .

Section Espagnole

Circulaire N°35



SERVICE DE PREVENTION ET D'AIDE AUX VICTIMES DES BOMBARDEMENTS

Personne n'ignore que, dans la nature humaine il y a deux principes contradictoires, que jusqu'à maintenant on a appelés " le bien et le mal". Peut-être que sans la réaction continue de ces deux principes, l'humanité n'aurait avancé d'un seul pas sur le chemin du progrès.

Dans l'actuelle guerre espagnole on peut constater les contrastes de ces deux réactions. Si d'un côté la science, au service du mal, paraît vouloir secouer le monde pour le détruire jusqu'à sa base, de l'autre côté s'affinent les sentiments d'humanité qui poussent à chercher la façon de rétablir l'équilibre.

Une des expressions les plus violentes des agressions de guerre, est le bombardement aérien, et c'est logique que, comme réaction naturelle, on cherche tous les moyens pour neutraliser et diminuer ses effets d'une part et d'en adoucir les conséquences de l'autre.

Nombreuses sont les idées et les projets essayés pour ce dernier plan sans obtenir un grand succès, mais par des rectifications et des corrections on s'approche à la méthode définitive.

S.I.A. croit d'avoir préparé un plan de travail parfait, qui répond à toutes les nécessités et qu'elle développera sous le titre de ces lignes : Plan de prévention et d'aide aux victimes des bombardements."

Ce plan est composé de trois activités supplémentaires suivantes :
Campagne pour la création de refuges
Constitution de Brigades de Sauvetage et
Services d'assistance aux endommagés.

Côté économique.

La mise en marche de ce plan sera l'oeuvre des Groupes Locaux de S.I.A. et, pour ses nécessités économiques, on ouvre une souscription permanente, avec caractère national, sans écarter par là l'emploi d'autres moyens que Solidarité Internationale Antifasciste, puisse juger utiles pour arriver à son but.

Construction de refuges.

Nous croyons que la construction de refuges doit être l'oeuvre exclusive des Organismes Officiels et donc les activités de S.I.A. se limiteront à chercher le moyen d'exercer tout genre de pressions sur ces organismes et créer par l'entremise de campagnes de propagande, meetings, manifestations etc. l'opinion nécessaire qui les obligerait à adopter rapidement cette mesure de prévention pour tous les endroits menacés. A ce travail participeront tous les organismes de la Section Espagnole de S.I.A.

Vu les difficultés économiques engendrées par la guerre, S.I.A. fera le possible afin que tous les travaux, tant de caractère technique que manuel, soient exécutés par un personnel compétent et professionnel et avec toutes les garanties techniques demandées.

Organisation des Brigades.

Les Brigades de Sauvetage ont été essayées plusieurs fois, mais on n'arriva jamais jusqu'au point parfait d'organisation qui assure tous les bénéfices attendus. Le Conseil National de S.I.A. a étudié avec attention tout ce qui a été essayé jusqu'à maintenant dans ce sens, il en a recueilli les idées (puisque elles représentent sans doute l'essence du système plus efficace de secours immédiat aux endommagés) il a retouché, rajeuni et perfectionné l'organisation existante sur la base d'une coordination et direction intelligente, et croit de pouvoir offrir le plan parfait des Brigades, qui seront en mesure de donner les meilleurs résultats dans une oeuvre de haute conscience solidaire.

Dans l'organisation des Brigades on cherche aussi à diriger l'esprit de

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solidarité de nos travailleurs vers une prestation personnelle qui peut soulager la situation des victimes des agressions aériennes, contre la population civile, et aussi d'autres agressions quelconques que, bien fréquemment se réalisent contre les villes ouvertes de notre arrière-garde.

Dans les bombardements de villes, non seulement il est nécessaires de recueillir les ~~les~~ blessés au lieu sinistré et leur prêter l'assistance sanitaire mais aussi il est fondamental d'éviter des nouvelles victimes. Nous devons donc nous préoccuper avant tout de la constitution d'équipes spécialisées dans ces travaux.

Notre mission sur ce point de vue, doit être d'orienter concrètement à les travailleurs qui désirent rendre un service à la cause de l'antifascisme en contribuant à éviter la démoralisation que l'ennemi veut nous infliger, avec ses brutales agressions aux villes ouvertes. Et pour la rendre presque nulle, il n'y a rien de meilleur que de procurer de diminuer les dégâts provoqués par ces agressions en réduire ses conséquences dans la mesure du possible, en ayant soins des victimes, éviter des nouvelles victimes localisant ou réduisant les dommages.

Ces Brigades entreront en action seulement dans les cas où leur travail peut signifier le sauvetage de citoyens ou que leur intervention rapide peut éviter des catastrophes ou des dégâts matériels, en relation directe avec notre lutte antifasciste.

On va constituer donc les brigades de sauvetage, annexées à notre section d'Assistance Publique. Sa structure sera la suivante :

Un Conseil Technique auquel seront réservés les fonctions dirigeantes des travaux. Ce Conseil sera formé par un camarade responsable qui se chargera de la distribution des équipes de déblayement ~~xxxx~~ et aussi des autres travaux, après avoir consulté les camarades spécialisés de chaque travail qui seront : l'électricien, un technicien de gaz, un plombier, un téléphoniste, un médecin ou sanitaire, un chargé de transports, et un autre de l'aubergement.

Ces camarades se chargeront tous ensemble de la direction des travaux à réaliser et ils pourront disposer des services suivants : sanitaire, transport, aubergement, déblayement.

Les services sanitaires, transports et aubergement sont des services généraux et celui de déblayement se partagera en plusieurs Brigades selon la nécessité.

COMPOSITION DES SERVICES GÉNÉRAUX SERVICE SANITAIRE

Le service sanitaire sera composé de divers équipes, selon la nécessité, qui se partageront la tâche de recueillir les victimes, et sera composé de la façon suivante : Un sanitaire, six brancardiers, une ambulance, une caisse-pharmacie pour les secours d'urgence.

S'il y aurait des difficultés pour obtenir des ambulances motorisées on pourra recourir aux bicyclettes-ambulances : c'est à dire : deux bicyclettes unies au moyen d'un brancard, comme il a été fait déjà par les Brigades de Sauvetage de Valence. Cette équipe formera une Brigade et on formera autant de Brigades qu'on croira nécessaire, selon l'extension de la ville.

Services de Soins et d'assistance.

Ce service s'effectuera partageant la population civile en zones afin d'établir dans un point central de chacune d'elles, une équipe médico-chirurgicale d'urgence composée par le personnel sanitaire qui vit dans la même zone et qui, au commencement du signal d'alarme se rendra immédiatement à l'endroit indiqué. Pour gagner du temps on peut utiliser les cliniques particulières, dispensaires ou maisons de santés déjà existantes.

De cette façon, avec des équipes régulièrement alimentées, il n'y aura pas de danger que les blessés s'accumulent dans les centres hospitalaires, en compliquant l'assistance, comme c'est déjà arrivé à plusieurs occasions.

Il faudra recruter le personnel médical parmi les individus âgés de plus que trente ans, de façon que, n'étant pas compris dans la mobilisation, on puisse les rencontrer assez facilement.

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Service de Transports.

Les services de transports se divisent en services de : communication et service de camionnage pour le déblayement. Le service de transport sera composé de : trois voitures rapides pour la Direction technique, une auto-tourisme par brigade, quatre cyclistes par Brigade.

Le service de camionnage sera composé par : un camion fixe et cinq camions facultatifs chaque brigade, dont la mobilisation sera à la charge du responsable des travaux selon les nécessités plus urgentes.

Brigade de Déblayement.

Ces Brigades seront composées par : Un responsable, un technicien du gaz, un plombier, un téléphoniste, dix maçons et deux charpentiers. Le personnel sera équipé avec courroies comme les pompiers, aura une pelle droite et une appelée "langue de boeuf" pics, pioches, massue en fer, cordes de différentes mesures, deux échelles, etc..

On fera le possible pour obtenir des Organismes Officiels et des Syndicats ouvriers, tout le matériel nécessaire pour réaliser ce travail. Le responsable de la Brigade sera l'unique personne qui aura la faculté de demander du matériel, et toute la Brigade se rendra responsable de sa restitution. En cas de perte on remboursera le montant correspondant.

Afin que, au moment nécessaire on sache exactement la quantité de matériel dont on peut disposer, on s'arrangera de façon à connaître avec précision l'endroit où il est enmagasiné, pour ne pas perdre du temps au moment d'entrer en action.

Il faut remarquer aussi qu'on fera tout le possible afin que le matériel indispensable soit propriété de la Brigade.

Aux Brigades de déblayement se joigneront les services sanitaires et de transports détaillés dans les paragraphes des Sections correspondantes.

Fonctionnement

Examinée la composition des Brigades, nous devons maintenant arrêter exactement le plan de travail du Conseil Technique qui a la responsabilité de tous les services et qui est chargé d'orienter les travaux.

Voici le plan de son fonctionnement: Nous avons dit que, au commencement, que les Brigades doivent faire les démarches afin de pouvoir disposer du matériel indispensable en temps utile. Les Brigades disposeront d'un local de réunion dans lequel se trouveront tous les éléments directifs au moment où on donne le signal d'alarme. La ville doit être divisée en zones selon nous avons expliqué précédemment et à chaque zone correspondra une Brigade de déblayement avec les services inhérents.

Terminé le bombardement le Conseil Technique, par l'entremise du camarade téléphoniste, fera les recherches nécessaires pour savoir exactement l'endroit qui a été frappé, et avec les voitures de communication, il ira immédiatement sur les lieux sinistrés en avisant en même temps la Brigade la plus proche.

Arrivé au bâtiment endommagé, le Conseil Technique donnera immédiatement toutes les indications nécessaires à la Brigade, ou mieux au responsable de la même. Dès lors, celui-ci sera chargé de la direction des travaux.

S'il n'y avait dans la ville qu'un seul endroit frappé par le bombardement, le Conseil Technique resterait sur les lieux jusqu'à la fin des travaux, mais s'il y aurait plus qu'un point touché, le Conseil Technique doit visiter rapidement les divers endroits et décider lequel il faut secourir le plus urgentement.

A cet effet, la priorité dans l'assistance, doit être dans l'ordre suivant : Collèges, Établissements sanitaires et d'assistance sociale, bâtiments militaires, et après les maisons particulières et comme dernières les dépôts de marchandise. Si parmi les édifices endommagés il y en avait qui présentent danger d'incendie, on le secourra le premier, et on fera le nécessaire pour éviter que le feu se propage. Pour ce qui concerne les maisons particulières, les Brigades de sauvetage, choisiront avec préférence celles où il y a plus de victimes, ou où on aurait

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une probabilité plus grande de sauver des gens.

Dans chaque localité les organisations syndicales respectives obtiendront que les membres de la Brigade reçoivent leur salaire complet aussi pendant les jours où ils sont obligés d'abandonner leur travail pour participer, avec la Brigade aux travaux de sauvetage.

Pour n'importe quel accident qui pourrait survenir aux composants des Brigades de S.I.A., les accidentés seront assistés ~~mutuellement~~ en conformité aux lois du pays, et aussi selon les lois de la conscience solidaire des hommes.

Il est absolument défendu de recueillir n'importe quel objet des endroits endommagés, autant s'il a une valeur comme s'il n'en a pas.

Les Groupes locaux de S.I.A. seront en relation entre eux, pour s'aider mutuellement en cas de nécessité.

Personnel des Brigades .

Le personnel qui fait partie d'une Brigade, et qui sera admis dans le Groupe Local correspondant, devra être garanti par l'Organisation syndicale à laquelle il est inscrit. La demande d'admission devra être signée par l'intéressé et dans la même on fera ressortir clairement que le signataire est sérieux et qu'il s'engage formellement à ne manquer jamais à l'engagement pris.

Dans le cas d'une question assez grave qui l'empêche de s'acquitter de son devoir, il devra écrire au responsable de la Brigade en expliquant les causes de son absence. Tous les membres des Brigades s'engagent formellement à se mettre à la disposition du responsable, et on recommande dès maintenant de ne pas faire des objections importantes pendant le travail. Pour se reconnaître ils porteront au bras un distinctif avec les initiales de S.I.A. timbré avec le cachet du Groupe Local correspondant.

Relations avec autres Organismes .

Dans toutes les villes où il y a des organismes officiels qui ont établi des services similaires, nos Brigades se mettront en contact avec eux afin de se faire reconnaître, et obtenir l'unité d'action dans les travaux de débarrasement. Nous insistons sur le fait qu'il faut cohésionner l'action pour éviter un dualisme nuisible à toute action solidaire.

Service d'Assistance aux victimes des bombardements .

L'aide aux victimes des bombardements est une nouvelle institution organisée par S.I.A. et qui n'a pas de précédents dans la lutte antifasciste. Ses fonctions concernent l'aide sous les aspects suivants :

a) aubergement provisoire de toutes les personnes dont la maison a été détruite afin de leur permettre de rencontrer une solution définitive à leur situation.

b) leur procurer les vêtements nécessaires

c) secours matériels afin qu'ils puissent couvrir momentanément leurs nécessités immédiates.

Les Groupes Locaux seront chargés de l'assistance dans le sens indiqué

Service d'aubergement

Le complément de ces services, et peut-être le facteur le plus important, c'est de procurer logement à toutes ces personnes qui, victimes des bombardements, sont restées sans domicile.

Ces auberges, devront réunir la double condition d'auberge-restaurant. Seule dans les grandes villes le personnel de service dans ces établissements sera rétribué. Dans les petites villes il n'y aura pas de personnel fixe, et toutes les prestations seront gratuites. A cet effet on fera le possible pour que toutes soit prêt à fonctionner au moment donné.

Tout le personnel inscrit, soit rétribué ou non, devra être garanti par les organisations syndicales respectives, tant du côté politique que du social.

Le personnel qui n'est pas fixe s'engage moralement à se rendre à l'établissement fixé tout de suite après la signal de cessation de danger et à prendre les dispositions nécessaires afin que les victimes des bombardements, qui

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ne sont pas blessées, mais qui sont restées sans logis, peuvent être hébergées.

Dans les petites villes, où pour des difficultés faciles à comprendre, économiques ou d'autre genre, il ne serait pas possible d'établir des maisons ~~d'hébergement~~ d'hébergement, on fera un recensement des habitants disposer à loger environs quinze jours ou trois semaines, des évacués des zones endommagées de la ville, juste le temps pour faire les démarches nécessaires pour leur trouver un logement définitif.

A cet effet, si on n'arriverait pas à réunir assez de logements volontaires, on fera les recherches nécessaires pour les rendre obligatoires. Ces logements volontaires, on les offrira par écrit avec un engagement formel, et le responsable d'hébergement sera le seul autorisé à régler la distribution des endommagés.

Le propriétaire des habitations engagées, tout aussitôt après l'alarme devra ouvrir les portes et allumer, si possible, les escaliers, attendant disposé pour l'utilisation immédiate, dans le cas de nécessité.

Dans aucun cas ces logements ne pourront rester fermés 24 heures après le bombardement. Dans le cas d'absence forcée, le propriétaire du logement devra justifier son départ et confier les clefs aux voisins, ou au responsable d'hébergement qui disposera du logis seulement à dernière heure, dans un cas urgent.

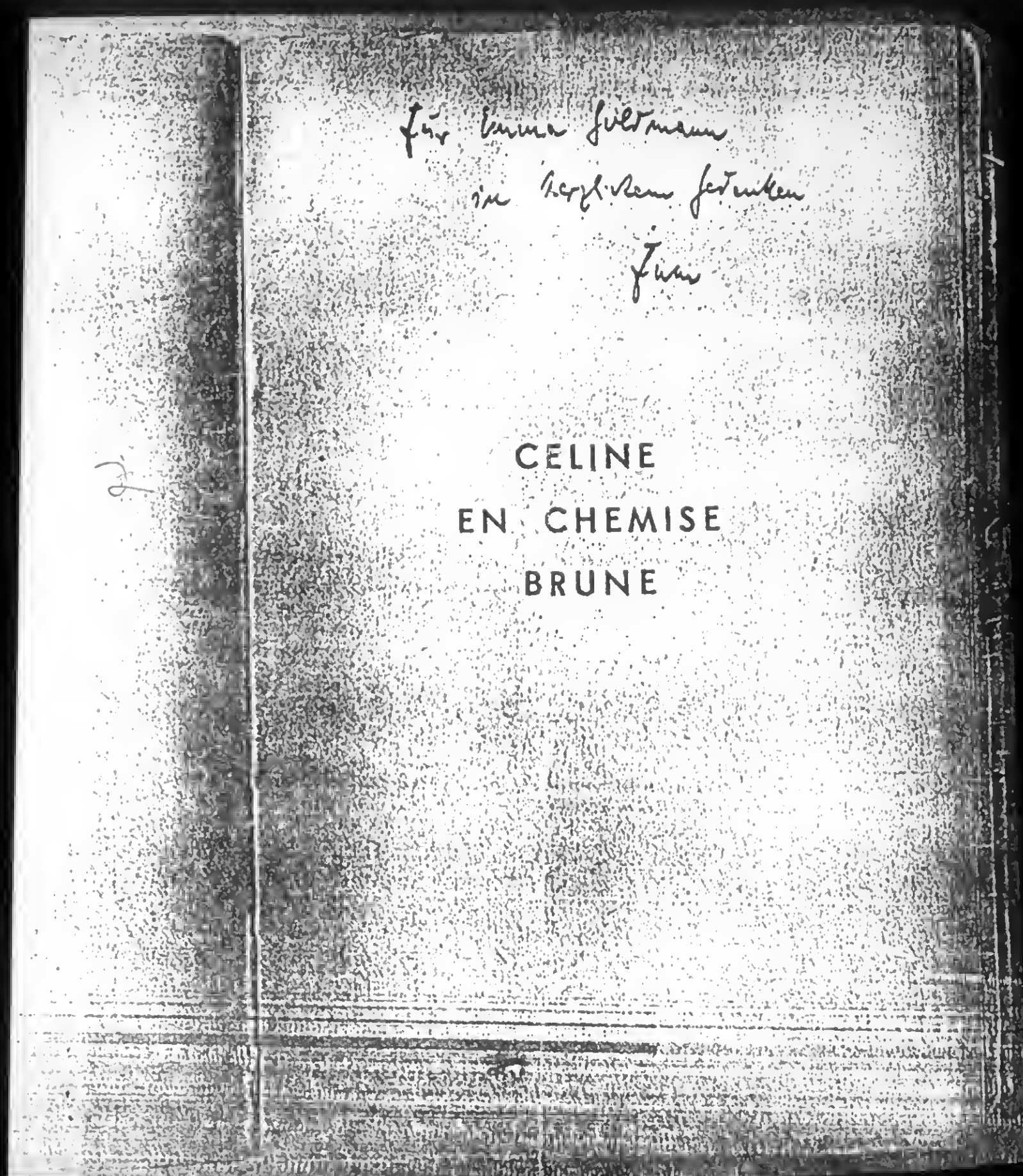
Les services qu'on devra assurer dans ces logements éventuels, seront des facilités pour dormir et pour se laver; on suivra le régime qui est de coutume chez les habitants de la maison, en recommandant aux uns et aux autres d'observer les plus aimables règles de convivence,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Book inscription, 1938, Paris to] Emma Goldman, [London] / [Hanns-Erich Kaminski]. — 1 p. ; 20 × 17 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Fredrico Arcos, Windsor, Ontario, Canada.



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Circular, 1938 Jan.? London to unknown recipient] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 26 × 21 cm.

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SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL ANTIFASCISTA.

(International Anti-Fascist Solidarity.)

Dear Friends,

This is not just one more anti-Fascist organisation, or one more Spanish Aid Committee, asking for your support. We do ask for your support, moral and material, but along lines not covered by any other organisation, and which urgently demand to be covered.

In the first place SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL ANTIFASCISTA is an international organisation, as its name indicates, founded in Spain and already functioning to good effect in many countries.

Its purpose is to co-ordinate the anti-Fascist sympathies of men and women of all nationalities in all countries, and afford those sympathies expression in the direction where it is most needed in terms of action.

The Spanish Section of the S.I.A. for example has formed "Brigades of Rescue" for the assistance of the terrified and helpless civilian population, fleeing homeless and hungry before the terror of air attack and bombardment. These brigades work in the towns and villages of Catalonia, and are especially active along the coast and in all places where the population is most exposed to attack. Other groups in this Spanish section make the children their special care, removing them from the war zones and organising their care and protection away from their own menaced or already destroyed homes.

A French Section has for some time been working energetically and valuably, and it is felt that there are sufficient humanitarians in this country for the formation of an English Section, through which "non-political" men and women, moved by the sufferings and tragedy of Spain's defenceless civil population at the mercy of Fascist bombs and guns, may render practical and efficient co-operation.

The S.I.A. with its Spanish headquarters is in the position to know where such co-operation is most needed. To-day it is chiefly - and very urgently - needed in Catalonia, into the towns and villages of which terror-stricken refugees pour in their hundreds and thousands after every air raid and bombardment.

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3 p.; 26 x 21 cm.

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2

Some Facts and Figures.

Before you protest that surely the various Spanish aid organisations are catering for the refugees in Catalonia, we would first point out to you that splendid and valuable as is the work being done by these other organisations in securing and sending out medical supplies for the fronts and for the hospitals, and in sending out milk and food supplies for Madrid and other places, Catalonia with its great and ever-growing population of refugees imposed on its own large population, tends to be neglected - because of a popular idea that it does not need much in the way of outside help.

The latest information of the S.I.A. is that Catalonia has over a million refugees!

Every town and village has its quota, from 5 to 500.

It is very far from the wish of the S.I.A. to belittle the splendid work that has been and is being done, or to duplicate the work of any other organisation, or to impinge on it in any way, but information direct from Catalonia stresses the need for very much more assistance than it is receiving. There is a great need for an organisation which will concentrate its efforts on Catalonia's refugee problem, and this is the objective of the S.I.A.

In addition to its own population, Barcelona has thousands of refugees to contend with. She received 2,000 haggard, starving Asturians, men, women and children, in one batch. You may not find this particular human "item" detailed anywhere else; it is recorded here from first-hand information. After all, it is not cold figures, but living facts that matter. Our purpose is to stress Catalonia's need, not to give paper statistics.

A Direct Appeal from Catalonia.

The English Section of the S.I.A. is not organised by men and women who sit in London and sentimentalise about Catalonia without knowing the facts. It has personal knowledge of conditions, and it is all the time in direct communication with Catalonia. You need not fear that what you give for the assistance of the homeless people in Catalonia will never reach them, or, reaching Catalonia, not be used for the purpose for which you give it, or question whether you can give more effectively for this purpose through any other organisation. If you are moved to do what you can to help the refugees in Catalonia - and if you are capable of human pity you cannot fail to be - you can best do so through the international organisation which is concentrating exclusively on their needs.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Circular, 1938 Jan.? London to unknown recipient] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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3

Here is a message direct from Catalonia, from the founder of the S.I.A., Federica Montseny, one of the outstanding women in the anti-Fascist struggle:

"From far-away Spain, where thousands of lives are being sacrificed by a generous people fighting against the life-long enemies of the proletariat, against the universal peril of Fascism which threatens the destruction of all the conquests of civilisation, from this Spain of ours, bleeding in defence of Peace and world's freedom, I send this appeal ... in the name of tortured multitudes, legions of desperate women, old men and children, who tramp their tragedy along the Spanish roads. Whole towns wiped out, homes destroyed, children bereft of their parents, depending entirely on the charity of outside helpers. All the terrors of the Great War let loose in this corner of Europe. In the name of these helpless victims, of the mothers and children, wives and sisters, of the men at the front, I make this appeal to you and implore your help. Please give us, through S.I.A., all the assistance that your warm hearts can lend and that thousands of beings need and hope you will not deny them.

"Through me as a woman, a mother, and an actor in the struggle, S.I.A. implores your support, your aid, the mobilisation, moral and material, of all of you in favour of Spain and her people fighting for their freedom and the freedom of mankind against the greed and bestiality of the Fascist states. In helping us you will start defending yourselves against an enemy who is also your enemy.

"Your solidarity, moral and material, your aid, the warmth of your friendship, are our consolation and our hope, the great faith that kindles our spirit and makes us invincible."

IF YOU WILL HELP

in the most effective way you can, through this English section of the S.I.A., send what you can quickly - send your uttermost - to the Hon. Treasurer, MISS ETHEL MANNIN, The S.I.A., 21, Frith Street (Shaftesbury Avenue), London, W. 1.

Whatever your politics, or if you have none, if you are moved by the tragedy of the homeless, destitute thousands of refugees in Catalonia, now is the time to help - to prove that you have a heart; send your cheques and postal orders, and in the words of Federica Montseny, "Agitate in favour of Spain and the victims of Fascism wherever you may be".

It is impossible to do too much.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1938 Jan.? Stockholm to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Albert Jensen. —
1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3460

Liebe Frau Goldman:

Durch Brief an Elise erfahre ich dass Rosberg hat Ihre
Manuskript zurückgesandt. Ich wünsche sehr gerne entweder in Original
oder in Copie seine Briefe an Sie zu sehen, und werde dieselbe sofort zu-
rücksenden. Ich werde die Sache für unsere Centralkomitee vorlegen,
wenn die zusammentretet Ende dieses Monats und zwischen anderes auch un-
serem Verlag behandeln werd.

Mit bestem Gruss.

Albert Jensen.

Liebe Frau Goldman:

Danke bestens für Ihrem letztem Brief. Ich werde
später ausführlicher schreiben. Nur etwas: Sigrid Undset hat mit ihrem
letzten Buche: Kirsten Lavransdatter ein historisches Werk geschrieben,
welches kein männlichen Verfasser schreiben konnte und Sie wird nicht
nur mehr gelesen als Hamsun sondern ist auch eine Verfasserin welche
giebt etwas mehr als die meisten männlichen Verfassern. Ich glaube bestimmt
ihre Buch ist auch in deutsch oder englisch zu bekommen. Weis es aber lei-
der nicht.

Mit hertzlichem Gruss

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan.] London [to] Paul [and] Es[landa Robeson, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Telephone
Fulham 68 29.

London 18, Castletown Rd.
W.14.

Dear Paul, dear Essie.

Won't you please see me for an half hour
for our old friendship sake. I know it is unkind to
bother you when you have but just returned and probably
have many people to see and much to do. But as such old
friends as we have been all these years I feel I might
ask you to make time to let me come. I wouldn't if
it were not very, very urgent.

I will come any time if you will phone me.
I am going to be in until five o/c tomorrow.

With my old love.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan., London [to unknown recipient] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p.; 27 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION DE LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE
LONDON, W.1

London, _____

TELEPHONE: GERARD 3636

January 1938

The Secretary,

Dear Comrade,

The enclosed folder contains a brief outline of the structure of the CONFEDERACION NACIONAL TRABAJO (National Confederation of Labour - C.N.T.) in Spain.

Right from the historic date - July 19th 1936 - when the heroic Spanish people repulsed the treacherous military and Fascist rebellion, the C.N.T. took upon itself the task of looking after the functioning of the Economic Life of their country.

They took charge of the Transport, Railway system, the various industries, as well as the Land, which were collectivised under Anarcho-Syndicalist control. By the excellent working of all these Services, they proceeded to demonstrate to the world the possibility of constructive work in the midst of a Revolution and civil war. This had never before been attempted during a revolutionary period. Despite well-nigh insurmountable difficulties and hardships, in the face of ever present danger and death, they succeeded in maintaining their remarkable achievements to this day!

The growth and Revolutionary character of the C.N.T. must be sought in the Federalistic structure of its organisation, as described in the enclosed folder. They are therefore anxious to share their experiences with all Trade Union comrades in other countries - not because they want to impose their own form of organisation on others. They know too well that every country has its own special conditions which determine the policy and tactics of any labour struggles and fundamental changes.

The C.N.T. does feel, however, that if the workers outside of Spain possessed an accurate knowledge of the methods and bases of their organisation, it would bring the other workers closer to them and would enlist their solidarity and support.

We hope, therefore, that you will give the enclosed folder careful consideration and bring it to the attention of your members.

Should you desire any further information on the subject, please write or call at the Office of the London Bureau of the C.N.T., 21 Frith Street, (Shaftesbury Ave., W.1).

Yours fraternally,

Emma Goldman

Accredited representative of the
C.N.T.-F.A.I. in England

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan., London [to unknown recipient] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 27 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: FAI Propaganda Exterior.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing--THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION DE LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.-BARCELONA
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Yours fraternally,

Accredited representative of the
C.N.T.-F.A.I. in England

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 1, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 26 x 17 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W.14

London 1st January 1938.

TELEPHONE : FULHAM 6819

Dear Harry,

I am head ~~and~~ ^{all} over heels with work for Spain. We have launched out on rather a difficult undertaking. We have taken quarters as per enclosed address for the offices of the Bureau, the S.I.A. and "Spain & The World", and also a Reading Room that could be used for exhibitions. When I tell you that we are no more than half a dozen comrades and among them only one who really does most of the work, comrade Ralph Barr, you will realise what a task we have gone into; but this is definitely my last attempt at re-surrecting the dead in England. Until now we had the excuse that people did not know where we could be reached or what work we were doing. We therefore felt that we must bring our ideas under their very noses. Anyway there will be no excuse that there is no decent headquarters, or that the place has not been advertised or a lot of other mere excuses. Anyway we will see. I never like to give up anything lightly as you well know from the past, so I have decided to devote the next six or eight months on building up something. I don't know what it is to be. May be the Anarchist Syndicalist Union. So far it is not functioning. Of the forty who first came six remain. Well I don't have to tell you how disappointing work is in England. You know from your own experience, except that when you were living in London, you had the support of our greatest people and there was some kind of an anarchist movement,—now there is nothing.

I was called to the congress of the I.W.M.A. in Paris. I really had no business there, as I am not affiliated with any of their sections, and I was not sent as a delegate; but Vazquez wired me to come, so I went, and I sat through a week's procedure which was certainly the most agonising I have ever experienced, and you also know that anarchist congresses have never been pleasant affairs.

At the instance of the Spanish and Swedish delegations I was given the floor. I am just in the midst of writing out my

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2

notes. I will send you a copy ; but of course it will not be for publication. I should hate to make the washing of anarchist soiled linen a spectacle for the world.

For the present I am sending you a copy of my letter to Rudolf. Please bear in mind that this too, is not to be circulated.

Yes my dear, we have come to a point I never expected to arrive. To have two opinions. One for the outside world, and one for intimats comrades and friends. How I upbraided Bob Minor when he refused to divulge to the public the horrors of the Soviet regime he disclosed to Sasha and me. How naive and childish we were not to believe that a revolution brought about by anarchists will not impose measurss wide of the mark of our ideas.

Next week I hope to begin writing a long report of my second visit to Spain. I will naturally give the numerous collectives I visited. You will see, dear old pal, that whatever the mistakes of the National Committee, there ~~is~~ no reason whatever to be discouraged about the Spanish people and the rank and file of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Anarchist ideas, especially "Kommunismo Lib^{erale}" and the federalistic basis of such a society are so deeply ingrained in the very marrow and sinew of the Spanish people, the temporary compromises will not decide the issue. Our Spanish comrades as a whole will have their say sooner than anyone of us expect. It is this which keeps me going and which whips me up every time I feel depressed. That I am not mistaken - the taking of Teruel has proved it.

old
Harry, our comrades took Teruel. Under the command of a/C.N.T. man, General Vixanco, his 25th Division, consisting of the 116, 117 118 and several other brigades fought like lions with our men in the first ranks until they drove back the Fascist hordes from Teruel. I cannot believe that men of such utter recklessness of their own lives, such supreme courage will ever permit the death of the revolution. No I am certain as I can possibly be that the Spanish Revolution is not dead, although side tracked in some respects; but that it is moved on by its own momentum and that is enough for me.

I do not share your idea that all that can be expected in Spain is a Liberal Socialist Government. In the first place there can be no such a thing as a Liberal Socialist Government. Everywhere and every time the socialists got into power they became worse than the liberals. Besides whatever Government will follow the triumph over Franco will be short lived. It is a great mistake for anyone to imagine that our people, after having fought and shed their blood will supinely submit to "Democratic Government". I know them well enough to insist that if the Anti-Fascist war will be brought to a successful end, the actual determination to fight on for the Revolutionary cause will only begin. So please get away with the notion that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are fighting for democracy. If they did they would be taken to the bosom by the Agrin-Pietro Government and by all the Marxists in the world.

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[Letter] 1938 Jan. 1, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 26 x 17 cm.

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3

No-they proclaim their adherence to the Revolution, and their opposition to any political institution that will return the old bourgeoisie and the church in Spain. Nothing doing my dear, so lets not despair.

I will send this with Rose resato. She is sailing on the Aquatana Wednesday. She arrived from Paris to-day.

As you know, I had intended to sail for Canada on my return to Spain. But the comrades would not hear of it. While our work for a year showed very small results we have made a beginning and the comrades in Barcelona felt that it would be wrong to drop it. So I had to come back to the most hateful city I know to work resume the work started just a year ago. However I have not given up my intention of sailing to Canada, and nor my hope of getting back to America for some months; but it will have to be some time next summer. I therefore want you to keep after Ernst. I don't think it any use bethsring much with Roger. He has too many irons in the fire, and he is so ~~disaffected with his idiotic~~ discredited with his idiotic support with the horrors in Russia that he probably has no longer any influence in Washington. I will have a long talk with Rose and make some suggestions about the procedure of getting me back to America. I will ask her to call on a gathering of the comrades including yourself to map out a line of action. As you know such things move very slowly in America, so it is just as well you people have plenty of time.

Well my dear I must close. I have no personal wishes in this New Year for myself. My one urgent and passionate wish is the conquest of Fascism and the triumph of the Spanish Revolution.

I am sure that that is your wish also.

For you and yours I wish health and may the New Year bring you some eventful experiences.

Give my sincere wishes to Leah and your children.

Give my affectionate greetings to Minna and all the comrades.

Fraternally.

Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 1, Esbjerg, Denmark [to] Emma Goldman, London / Walter Gube. — 1 p. ; 26 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Walter Gube,
Esbjerg, Jyllandsgade 93.
Danmark.

Esbjerg am 1.1.38.

Emma Goldmann
London.

Werte Genossin!

Deinen Brief habe ich dankend erhalten. Ich komme erst heute dazu Dir zu antworten da ich einige Zeit verreist war. In dieser Zeit habe ich zwei neue Genossen geworben die sicher gerne mit Dir in Verbindung treten würden. Es sind dies zwei Bibliothekarinnen. Die Adresse ist Ida Bachmann, Maribe Boulevard, Danmark. Ida Bachmann ist eine in Dänemark nicht unbekannte Persönlichkeit und ich glaube dass es eine gewisse Bedeutung haben kann wenn Du versuchen würdest ihr etwas Material durch den Genossen Barr zu senden. Diese Genossin spricht und schreibt perfekt englisch und ich glaube Du kannst versuchen ihr einige englische oder amerikanische Zeitungen zu senden und sie aufzufordern zu einem Abbonement.

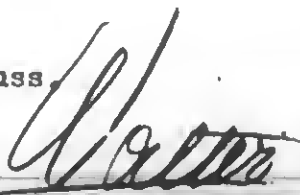
Ich danke Dir für den Brief über Durrutti. Wenn es Dir möglich ist dann bitte sende mir auch den Amerikanischen Brief den Du in Deinen Schreiben erwähnt hast. Deinen Wunsch angehend der Zusendung unserer Zeitung werde ich weiter leiten und Dir heute vorläufig die ~~ersten~~ zwei Nummern zusenden. Leider ist es immer noch sehr ungewiss ob unsere Genossen im Stande sein werden diese Zeitung weiter herausgeben zu können. Die finanzielle Seite der Sache ist wie immer nicht in Ordnung und es scheint mir so als ob unsrer Genossen in Kopenhagen nicht im Stande sind diese Sache richtig ~~zu~~ anzugehen. Für mich ist es sehr schwer mich in diese Angelegenheit einzumischen da ich ja als Emigrant keinerlei politische Rechte in diesen demokratischen Lande habe.

Was die Situation in Spanien angeht so sieht es von hier aus geschehen so aus als ob England eine langsame Schwänkung zugunsten der spanischen Regierung vornimmt. Natürlich werden darunter die revolutionären Kräfte zu leiden haben und vielleicht werden die meisten Errungenschaften der Arbeiter die sie sich unter der Periode ~~der~~ nach dem Juli erkämpft haben wieder verloren gehen. Ich kann aber trotzdem nicht an der Kritik ~~gegen~~ unsere spanischen Genossen teilnehmen die von verschiedener Seite erhoben wird. Ich meine die Tatsachen sind so dass unsere Genossen in Spanien im Grossen gesehen nicht andere ~~handeln~~ handeln konnten als eben so wie sie handelten. Ich bin der Meinung das wir uns auf eine Neuorientierung im Anschluss an die Erfahrungen in Spanien einrichten müssen. Ich will mich natürlich nicht klug machen. Meine Erfahrungen sind zu kurz und ich bin zu jung um eine solche Situation wie die jetzige richtig übersehen zu können. Ich ~~glaube~~ glaube jedoch dass ihr älteren Genossen den richtigen Weg finden werdet ohne dass ihr Euch von übertrieben sentimentalen Gefühlen leiten lassen werdet.

Ich wünsche Dir und allen andren Genossen ein gutes und erfolgreiches neues Jahr. Meiner Meinung nach steht unsere Sache zu Beginn dieses Jahres besser als seit Langem. Die Entwicklung in der Sowjetunion und die Entwicklung der kommunistischen Parteien in der ganzen Welt zeigen klar und deutlich dass nur wir im Stande sind den Weg zu einer besseren und wirklich rechtfertigten Gesellschaftsordnung zu zeigen. Das Wichtigste für uns ist heute die richtige Organisierung unserer Propaganda. Viele Arbeiter und Intellektuelle sind für unsere Ideen reif. Leider aber ist es so dass zuwenig Menschen unsere Ideen ausbreiten und dass diese wenigen oft ~~nicht~~ nicht im Stande sind effektiv zu arbeiten. Es mangelt uns an System. Zu wenigstens hier in Dänemark und auch in Norwegen. Unsere schwedischen Genossen arbeiten dagegen sehr gut und vorbildlich. Also, ich wünsche Euch nochmals ein gutes neues Jahr und hoffe dass Ihr Euch nicht pessimistischen Stimmungen hingeben werdet.

Unsere Sache steht gut.

Mit freiheitlichen Gruss



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 1, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

BARCELONA, 1^o de enero de 1.938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. de Inglaterra.
Londres.

Estimados camaradas:

Con esta misma fecha, os remitimos certificado impreso y por avión, el libro "VANGUARDIA Y RETAGUARDIA DE ARAGON", de Alardo Prats, para su reproducción.

Interesa os indiquemos para los efectos de la propaganda del mismo, que este libro ha sido editado por este Comité Nacional, pero su autor es socialista, lo cual da más relieve al contenido del mismo.

Huelga deciros la importancia que tiene hablar de Aragón cuando tanta campaña se ha hecho en el Exterior para desprestigiar la gestión de nuestros camaradas.

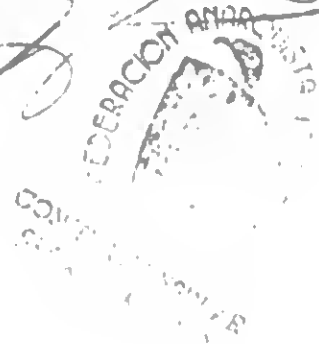
Os saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR F.A.I.

Pedro Herrera.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL C.N.T.

Mariano R. Vázquez



The Emma Goldman Papers

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

BARCELONA, a 1 de enero de 1938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. de Inglaterra.
London.

Estimados camaradas:

Adjuntamos a la presente copia del comunicado que debéis hacer público en la prensa.

Como podéis observar, se trata de puntualizar sobre las actividades del presunto Comité de Víctimas de la Contrarrevolución Española.

Nos vemos obligados a hacer esta nota, ante la insistencia del indicado Comité, de pedir públicamente medios económicos.

Os saluda fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

Pedro Herrera.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL FAI.

Mariano R. Vázquez

COMITE PENINSULAR
SECRETARIO

SECRET

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Circular] 1938 Jan. 1 [Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London] / [Mariano R. Vázquez and Pedro Herrera].— 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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20664

C.N.T.

F.A.I.

A LAS ORGANIZACIONES Y AFINES Y CAMARADAS DEL MUNDO.

El Secretariado de Relaciones Exteriores C.N.T.-F.A.I., se ve obligado a dirigirse a las Organizaciones afines de todo el mundo y a la opinión libertaria en general, para ponerlos en guardia contra ciertas actuaciones que considera fundamentalmente inmorales y atentatorias contra el prestigio de nuestras Organizaciones.

Nos referimos a los diversos Comités que en distintos lugares y con denominaciones varias, se han creado, invocando la ayuda a las "víctimas de la contrarrevolución española" y solicitando fondos a tal efecto. Hace algún tiempo, se constituyó en París una entidad con tal denominación, que se ha dirigido y se sigue dirigiendo a los camaradas de todos los países, reclamando premiosamente ayuda monetaria. En su oportunidad, el Comité Nacional de la C.N.T. expresó su repudio a dicho Comité, constituido sin consulta previa a la C.N.T. y a la F.A.I., directamente afectadas en este caso. Considerábamos improcedente que, tratándose de un problema directamente ligado a la revolución en España, se prescindiera de nuestras Organizaciones, dando la impresión de que éstas habían sido reducidas a la impotencia, hasta al punto de requerir la solidaridad material para las "víctimas".

No obstante nuestra declaración categórica, dicho Comité y otros similares siguen funcionando, haciendo una propaganda derrotista que perjudica directamente al concepto que los trabajadores del mundo tienen de la C.N.T. y de la F.A.I. Por tanto, nos dirigimos una vez más a los organismos internacionales aludidos para declarar lo siguiente:

- 1º - Que no reconocemos personalidad al llamado "Comité de ayuda y socorro a las víctimas de la contrarrevolución española" con sede en París y a otros similares.
- 2º - Que la C.N.T. y la F.A.I., atienden con sus propios medios a los compañeros que sufran persecuciones en España.

Que recomienda se desatime todo pedido de solidaridad material para el movimiento libertario de España que no esté avalado por nuestras Organizaciones.

Que considera indignos de toda ayuda a quienes, sin motivo alguno abandonaron sus puestos de lucha en España para trasladarse al extranjero.

Esperamos que los compañeros de todos los países no se dejen sorprender por una propaganda insidiosa, derrotista y que se presta a la inmoralidad y que contribuirán con su buen sentido a que termine la indigna especulación que se está efectuando en torno a la lucha del proletariado español.

EL SECRETARIADO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES C.N.T.-F.A.I.

EL CTE. PENINSULAR F.A.I.

EL CTE. NACIONAL C.N.T.

ESPAÑA, a 1 de enero de 1938



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Am 2. Januar 38

Liebe Emma,

herzlichen Dank für Deinen Brief 30. Mein Kongressbericht ist allerdings "objektiver" als meine tatsächliche Geistesverfassung. In unserer Stellung zu Spanien ist nun einmal ein innerer Zwiespalt, wir müssen ihn ertragen. Gerade Deine Haltung auf dem Kongress hat mich erneut dazu ermutigt, den Versuch weiter zu machen. Ich werde versuchen, Dir die Resolution zu verschaffen, muss aber dazu einige Tage bis zur Rückkehr des verreisten Besnard warten. Sie spricht allgemein von Zusammenarbeit mit anderen Arbeiterorganisationen, ohne direkte Angaben. Jetzt haben die Spanier ihre Kandidaten genannt - erschrick nicht! Für Generalsekretär: Mascarell oder Prieto. Prieto kennst Du. Mascarell ein wahrscheinlich harmloser, aber absolut ungeeigneter Mann. Für den zweiten Posten: Galve oder Roa. Stell Dir vor, Galve. Nachher! Roa wäre natürlich ganz anders, sehr angenehmer. Wie mag die Wahl ausfallen? Die Franzosen schlagen für den ihnen zustehenden Posten wieder Besnard vor.

Ehe ich vergesse, Folgendes. Es ist mir sehr lieb, wenn unsere doch mehr "private" Korrespondenz zu mir ins Haus kommt, ich setzte deshalb auf meinen letzten Brief meine Adresse (135 Rue de Charenton). Nur bitte ich Dich, sende Briefe, die unmittelbar mit der CNT-Delegation zu tun haben, vor allem an G. selbst gerichtete, ~~Warte~~ an das Büro. Andernfalls ist G. etwas misstrauisch und fühlt sich halb und halb umgangen. Ich möchte jeden Eindruck solcher Art vermeiden, und Du sicher auch. Du kennst G.

Eine Anfrage, eine Bitte um Rat. In der IAA werde ich den Vorschlag machen, dass, auch wenns viel kostet, die illegalen deutschen Genossen besucht werden sollen. Dazu müsste man einen nicht der Bewegung angehörigen, möglichst bürgerlichen Ausländer finden, der uns sympathisch gegenübersteht, Interesse an der Sache hätte und intelligent genug wäre, eine von uns ausgearbeitete detaillierte Darstellung unserer internationalen und der spanischen Probleme sich ins Hirn zu prägen ohne Notizen zu machen, um die Dinge in Deutschland gewissen Genossen vorzutragen und uns dann deren Äusserungen zu hinterbringen. Könntest Du Dich einmal mit der Idee beschäftigen, ob das möglich wäre? Weisst Du jemanden, einen Kaufmann, Journalisten oder Ähnliches, auf den die Bedingungen zutreffen? Ich erwähne, dass wir auf diese Weise schon Anfang 37 einen schwedischen Genossen in Deutschland hatten, der mit meiner Fotografie als einzigem Ausweis reiste und tatsächlich einige alte Genossen, darunter Holke-Leipzig, besuchte, nur geschah das ganze nicht systematisch genug und ausserdem kann aus bestimmten Gründen derselbe Genosse nicht nochmals fahren. Aber Du begreifst sicher, dass dies eine grosse Aufgabe wäre, eine neue Reise dieser Art, gründlicher organisiert, zu veranstalten...

In der Militärfrage glaube ich, dass wir beide etwas Richtiges verteidigen, wobei vielleicht jeder einen Teil des Problems im Auge hat. Ich glaube, dass Fähigkeiten wie sie Mera und andere gezeigt haben, im allgemeinen für Führerstellen grösserer Infanterieverbände (wie Divisionen) ausreichen, nicht aber für mehr - nicht für Planung grosser Aktionen unter Mit-einkalkulierung aller technischen Faktoren. Ich bin überzeugt, dass im modernen Kriege die Faktoren Begeisterung, Tapferkeit, persönliches Führerbeispiel die kleinste Rolle spielen. Einst waren sie alles, im heutigen Kriege ist der Mensch ein mechanisiertes Etwas. Das Material spielt die grösste Rolle: einmal seine Menge, dann aber die Art der Verwendung. Was die Menge betrifft, sind wir in Spanien immer noch im Nachteil, aber was seine zweckmässige Verwendung betrifft, auch. Glaubst Du, dass bei den faschistischen Truppen Begeisterung eine Rolle spielt? Bei vielen wird das Gegenteil der Fall sein, und selbst die Freiwilligen, die für

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ihre wie auch immer geartete Sache kämpfen, pflegen den Krieg nach kurzer Zeit satt zu haben und demoralisieren. Dann ist die Organisation und die Führung alles. Unsere Ideen über Kampf haben nur für spontane Aktionen wie den 19. Juli in Barcelona Geltung, auf den Krieg aber, den modernen Krieg, ist der Anarchismus nicht anwendbar. Das spricht keineswegs gegen den Anarchismus. Man kann uns nur vorwerfen, dass wir nicht daran gedacht haben, dass auch eine anarchistische Bewegung um allgemeiner Interessen willen sich Situationen unterordnet, in denen sie auf volle Betätigung ihrer Prinzipien zeitweise verzichten muss. Man kann in den militärischen Apparat von unten her Kontrollen einbauen, so viel die Sache eben zulässt, aber die Organisation selbst wird unanarchistisch bleiben, schon durch die unvermeidliche ausschlaggebende Macht der Techniker, die nötig ist trotz aller Gefahren, die sie einschliesst. Übrigens gehört zu militärischer Führerqualität noch etwas, was keiner von uns hat und je haben wird: Fähigkeit zur absoluten Nichtachtung des menschlichen Lebens, wenns darauf ankommt, Fähigkeit, Menschen rücksichtslos als Kanonenfutter zu benutzen, um eines konkreten Erfolges willen. Dieses Prinzip haben die Faschisten in Spanien Erfolge zu verdanken, auf unserer Seite sind aber grosse Herrungen vorhanden. Ich traf an der spanischen Grenze Carabineros, die acht Monate lang an den Fronten von Madrid gekämpft hatten und mir mit allen Einzelheiten erzählten, mit welchen Mitteln seinerzeit die Deutschen ihre Offensive am Jarama führten, bei der sie Menschen opferten wie Vieh, und die Carabineros sagten mir: "Da gabs einfach nichts anderes mehr, wir mussten ausreissen." Übrigens sind das alles Dinge, deren Feststellung mir kein Vergnügen macht, sondern sie sind sehr bitter, aber doch bin ich überzeugt, dass man, einmal in einen Krieg verwickelt, die Dinge sehen muss wie sie sind.

Eine andere Sache. Die Zeitung der Amigos de Durruti lag noch August im Haus der CNT selbst zum Verkauf aus. Ich habe sie aber seitdem nicht mehr gesehen und kann über den heutigen Stand dieser Gruppen kaum etwas sagen, nur glaube ich, dass sie ein eigentliches Programm nicht haben, bzw. dass das, was sie so nennen, falls man ihm diesen Namen geben will, mit freiheitlichen Auffassungen wenig zu tun hat.

Ich bin übrigens überzeugt, dass die Spanier tun was sie können, um die Gefangenen zu befreien, sie sind aber ohnmächtig gegenüber den uralten spanischen Methoden der Polizei- und Gerichtsbürokratie, die noch nie an Achtung vor dem Menschen und seiner Würde "gekränkt" hat... Aber Du hast Recht, es ~~ist~~ ist nicht schön, wie sie einen Teil der Gefangenen verunglimpfen. Trotzdem mag es so sein, dass Fälle existieren, wo Genossen Handlungen begehen, die strafrechtlich verfolgt werden und als solche schlecht verteidigt werden können, obwohl es sich um Genossen handelt. Ein schwieriges Kapitel ist zum Beispiel die Desertion von der Militärdienstpflicht, die früher für einen Anarchisten ehrenhaft war und heute von der CNT anders beurteilt werden muss.

Ich habe Galve Deinen Brief und das Dokument übersetzt. Die spanischen Genossen sind eigentümlich, sie nehmen gewisse Dinge einfach nicht zur Kenntnis, und halten hartnäckig an Illusionen fest, die sie sich einmal fabriziert haben. Lese ich da jetzt das innerorganisatorische Bulletin der CNT und stelle ~~da~~ mit Staunen fest, dass das Nationalkomitee der Organisation mitteilt: "Wir arbeiten jetzt tüchtig im Auslande und haben schon einige Verbindung mit Organisationen, die mit der IAA nichts zu tun haben wollen, aber mit der CNT. Wir haben unsere Arbeit organisiert unter den Militanten der französischen CGT und in den Reihen der englischen Trade Unions." Das wird Dich wundern, aber so steht es (das Zitat ist aus dem Gedächtnis, aber dürfte ziemlich treu sein) in einer ziemlich neuen Nummer des Bulletins. Warum beschwindeln sie sich und andere? Der Kurs ist einmal eingeleitet, sie setzen ihn fort, um seinetwillen

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haben sie die IAA in Barcelona vor den Kopf gestossen, und ihr verfluchter Stolz verbietet ihnen jede Rektifizierung. Aber sie erwecken doch Illusionen, die schliesslich der Sache schaden müssen, schon vom einfachsten Nützlichkeitstandpunkt aus!

Wenn ich noch einmal auf meine Souhykritik zurückkommen darf - obwohl es sicher besser ist, das Thema zu begraben, schon da es jetzt "historisch" ist - so bedenke bei alledem immer eins. Ich wurde zum IAA-Sekretär ernannt und bekam einen bestimmten Auftrag: Übernahme der Aussenpropaganda der CNT-FAI, Organisation derselben auf kollektiver und internationalistischer Basis. Der Versuch scheiterte, nachdem das Nationalkomitee seine volle Zustimmung gegeben, nach energischer Intervention Souhys. Das sind einfache Tatsachen, über die andere viel schärfer noch sprechen als ich. Ich war aber verpflichtet, dem IAA-Kongress einen Rechenschaftsbericht zu geben, und zu sagen, warum ich den mir gegebenen Auftrag nicht ausgeführt habe. S. dabei nicht zu erwähnen, was ausgeschlossen. Was heisst hier Ehrlichkeit und Unehrlichkeit. Diese Kategorien stehen ausserhalb der Diskussion. Nach organisatorischen Normen handeln oder persönliche Macht- und Einflusspolitik betreiben, darum handelt es sich. Ein Mann, der nur an seinen Einfluss denkt, kann materiell hundertprozentig ehrlich, einer, der von organisatorischen Normen redet, kann unehrlich sein. Das kann sich durchkreuzen. Doch darum handelt es sich hier nicht, ich sprach nur als Organisationsfunktionär, dem man die Durchführung seiner Aufgabe systematisch vereitelt hat, von einer Seite, die dabei hundertprozentig bewusst gehandelt hat. Aber wie gesagt, es ist vorbei. Auch die CNT selbst hat gesprochen und entschieden: sie legt geringen Wert auf organisatorisch korrekte Beziehungen zu uns ausländischen Genossen. Was S. selbst betrifft, so hatte ich mit ihm am 20. Juli 1936 ehrlich Frieden geschlossen und war glücklich darüber, aber der Konflikt begann erst wieder, als ich ohne mein Wissen in meiner Abwesenheit November 36 zum IAA-Sekretär gewählt worden war. Ich musste handeln, und die tragische Verwirrung begann. Heute ist dieser Konflikt, was mich betrifft, vorbei, aber leider hat er Nachwirkungen, indem man eine ganze grosse Gruppe, die, wie alle Gruppen in Barcelona, in dem Konflikt auf IAA-Seite stand, auf ein ausl. kriminelles Niveau zu setzen versucht. Das ist bedenklich, und dagegen gedenke ich weiter zu kämpfen, trotzdem man mich ausnimmt, gerade weil man mich ausnimmt (denn jeder sagt zu mir: "Du bist an nichts beteiligt, Du hast positiv gearbeitet, aber die Anderen...." Es ist nicht wahr. In unserer Gruppe gab es Idioten und Tüchtige, Flüssige und Faule, klar, aber von den paar in jeder Gruppe vorhandenen negativen Elementen abgesehen hat jeder das getan was er konnte, und gerade die einfachen, wehrlosen Menschen werde ich verteidigen gegen die Litzenkampagne, obwohl mich in Wirklichkeit fast an keinen freundschaftliche Beziehungen binden...). Es handelt sich nicht mehr um mich dabei. Aber - Schluss. Es macht mir kein Vergnügen, daran zu denken.

Liebe Emma, es freut mich, dass Du meinst, für ein Buch wie das von mir geplante seien Möglichkeiten vorhanden. Ich arbeite an der Sache. Sag, ist das Buch von Rudolf schon erschienen, und welches Format, welche Seitenzahl hat es?

Im vorigen Briefe schrieb ich, dass wahrscheinlich der Genosse, der nach Deinen Angaben Droscher heisst, jenen von mir zitierten Bericht geschrieben hat. Jetzt besinne ich mich sogar genau! D. kam mich nämlich geraume Zeit, nachdem er diesen Bericht eingesandt, besuchen - es muss zwischen Juni und August gewesen sein, und fragte mich, ob ich den Bericht erhalten hätte. Der Bericht war übrigens äusserst sympathisch gehalten und der Autor trat auch in sehr angenehm wirkender Weise hinter die Sache zurück, ganz der Eindruck, den ich auch immer von dem Mann

Helmut hatte. Nun aber will ich aufhören, wir werden sicher weiter in Verbindung bleiben. Nimm viele herzliche Grüsse.

Helmut

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[Letter, 1938 Jan. 3? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].—
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Monday

17201

Dearest Emma,

Wanted to write at once to thank you for the very nice little Party New Year's Eve, which we both much enjoyed, and it was nice to see you relaxing; we both thought you in ver. good form. Would have written at once but have been very rushed one way and another. But we do thank you, most warmly.

I saw Padmore y/day and I don't think he will come on Wed. He said at once that there was no room for another anti-fascist organisation, or for another Spanish aid committee. If it's a matter of helping the refugees, the Lab. Party and the CP raise the money good and plenty. If it's a matter of helping political prisoners it's no use appealing on humanitarian lines, the thing must be frankly political and anti-fascist. Dr. Conze writes Reg this morning in the same vein, though says he will come along on Wed. to hear more about it. Fenner will also definitely come, I suppose, and I've asked him to ask Orwell, but we can't count on him, of course. Warburg is asked but I haven't heard if he is coming. The only positives so far are Fenner and Conze (who is opposed to the idea) and

Padmore also pointed out that the Communists in the Trade Union branches will jib at the anarchist element in the proposed new organisation & he doesn't see much chance of interesting the branches, as a result.

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17302

I feel myself, as I've told you before, that if its a matter of raising money for political prisoners we'd do it better by straight appeals (mean frankly CNY-FBI) at meetings and through film showings, as before. I don't believe a new anti-fascist drive will bring in anything; there are enough anti-fascist organisations already, and you can't make an anti-fascist appeal non-political; non-political appeals appeal to people like Quakers and 100% pacifists who help refugees on both sides. An attempt to get through into the working-class organisations with anti-fascist drive that smacks of anarchism (as it must if Emma G's name is associated with it) is quite hopeless; we all feel that. Anarchism simply has no roots in the working class movement in this country; its more scaring-off than wicked Reds and Moscow gold!

Important as it is to voice the wrongs of the political prisoners of Republican Spain, and defend the Revolution in Spain, I can't honestly feel that a new committee, an attempt at a new anti-fascist organization, can help at all. All that can help is the continued propaganda of meetings such as we have had before, particularly if we can couple it with a new film showing what has been achieved.

I will work all tonight and tomorrow night ^{hoping} ~~sure~~ to be able to come along on Wed. I wish I could be convinced that an attempt at a branch of the CIA in this country would not be futile. If I can't get ahead with the work tonight and tomorrow night I think I'll ask you to excuse me coming Wed. night. I don't see what I could do in any case, beyond lend my name, the more so as I won't be here after Jan.

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-3-

17203

Fenner is in a position to do something if you are able to get going. I don't know who else. It seems that little Barbara even can do more than I can. The most, it seems, I can do, is write letters to the papers (that don't get published, alas) and give you my moral, and when possible financial support on paper, and (so inadequately) on the public platform. If I thought it would help my coming Wed...but you know my views, and its not (this time) as though I can give you any comfort by being present, my feeling of hopelessness about the idea being what it is.

Nevertheless I will certainly come if the work goes tonight and tomorrow as it should (I am cutting out the Franch meeting tonight so as to be free to work)

Perhaps B should come Wed in case there is any little job you want her to do?

I hate being so discouraging but I can't ^{pen} avoidable ~~futilities~~ - there are enough unavoidable ones in this revolutionary struggle; efforts that end in ~~futility~~ ~~efforts~~ nothing; when it seems obvious they must one best serves the cause by not attempting them I feel. ^{have}

Am expressing myself clumsily, but am so harassed with work, and Warburg keeps clamouring for the finished proofs and Index.
My devoted love, dear Emma

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Emma Goldman
Comrade National del Trabajo.

Dear Comrade,

Your two short notes of the 1st and 2nd December reached me a few days ago. I also received the enclosure about the collectives. I am having it translated for our paper "Spain & The World" and it will appear in the issue after the current issue. The current issue will contain the article Martin sent me about the taking of Teruel. We are rejoicing here over the victory our comrades have sustained.

The reason I have not written you before is that I was waiting to have our printing done as per enclosed.

I see that Herrera has an English secretary, or one who can write English. She or he will therefore be able to translate for you the letter I wrote to the delegates to the Trade Union Congress which was held in September last. The structure is what you sent comrade Barr, only revised to make it simpler for English trade unionists. We are also sending them the postcard we have just received from the transport workers. I am so glad that my suggestion of such a thing has been carried out. I hope that you will go further and work out an appeal from the various syndicates in the C.B.T. and send it to their brother trade unionists in England. The appeal for direct action, general strikes, and boycotts as an expression and sympathy with the struggle in Spain. I cannot urge this sufficiently dear comrade. I am convinced that it is the most practical and effective way of getting rid once from English and American trade unionists.

Whatever the leaders of the British Trade Union and Labour Party may do to help the Anti-Fascist struggle and send milk for the Spanish children, they will never raise a finger to help the C.B.T. and its affiliate organizations. I cannot impress that upon your mind too forcibly.

I know these people. I know how reactionary they are. I know that they have suddenly woke up to the struggle in Spain for two reasons. First because they wish to keep support of the workers in the coming General Election which the Labour Party and the Trade Union leaders hope will turn them into the Government. Secondly, because they have evidently been assured by the British Government that the syndicalists are no longer a danger. I don't mean to say that I repudiate whatever propaganda they are making, not at all, but I am not deceived by their "sudden enthusiasm" for the Spanish cause. We must work in our

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[illegible]

In your two short letters you ask me for names and addresses of all friends of liberal people, professional and otherwise. Yesterday I had a letter from Martin asking for the same. We are preparing such a list which I hope to be able to send you the end of next week. I must impress upon your mind that this list should not be used for anything turned by the C.A.F.-P.-I. If at all, it should only be used for the W.I.A. To tell the truth I see no purpose in sending material to people on the list from Spain unless it will be done in the English language. I doubt whether any per cent of the whole list know Spanish. It will therefore be wasted time and money to send them material. Another thing is that they may resent having their names used in Spain.

It is quite a different thing with the trade unions. Far from resentment, I feel sure that the workers in the branches will feel honoured to receive something direct from the C.B.T.

We have already sent a publication giving 600 names and addresses of trade union delegates who attended the congress last September. I was foolishly sent it by ordinary mail in the ordinary way. It was sent to Martin. I am not sure whether it has reached him. I should think that the people who censor our mail may have taken a day to such a list. I am waiting to hear from Martin whether it arrived. If not I will send another one by another route. I am also trying to get a list of the names and addresses of the Secretaries of all the Trade Union branches. It consists of three or four thousand names and addresses of each local branch. These are the people that your appeal should be sent to - also in English. It would be costing postage to do so in Spanish.

Let us remember the list of individual names is not
to be used for any other purpose except the S.I.A.

"We have lost an awful lot of time getting the right quarters for our bureau. Most places would not have us, others gave up. I insisted that we could not use them after 6 o'clock in the evening. I definitely have something new that will we believe be suitable not only for our office, but also for a reading room, and the exhibition of childrens drawings I brought out with me from - Lin.

best ensure, dear comrades that we are leaving nothing a
system to keep your heroic struggle before the British public, re

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But as it is possible to do so with our limited group of workers.

On the 14th January we are having a large meeting as per enclosed handbill.

Wednesday next we are having a gathering at my place of people whom we hope to organize into a Committee for the S.I.A.

Our greatest drawback is the conspiracy and silence on the part of the conservative press and the misrepresentations in the so called radical papers.

Even that is not going to discourage us in our work.

The material sent us about Teruel and which will appear in the current issue of "Spain & The World" will be sent out to all the important newspapers in England, Canada and the United States.

That is all for the present. Please give my fraternal greetings to all the comrades and my fervent wish that the New Year may bring victory over Fascism and help your Revolution to a triumphant march.

SALU .

Emma Goldman

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3rd January 1938.

19175

Mariano R Vazquez.
Federacion Nacional del Trabajo.
BARCELONA.

Dear Comrade,

Your two short notes of the 21st and 22nd December reached me a few days ago. I also received the enclosure about the collectives. I am having it translated for our paper "Spain & The World" and it will appear in the issue after the current issue. The current issue will contain the data Martin sent me about the taking of Teruel. We are rejoicing here over the victory our comrades have sustained.

The reason I have not written you before is that I was waiting to have our printing done as per enclosed.

I see that Herrera has an English secretary, or one who can write English. She or he will therefore be able to translate for you the letter I wrote to the delegates to the Trade Union Congress which was held in September last. The structure is what you sent comrade Barr, only revised to make it simpler for English trade unionists. We are also sending them the post card we have just received from the transport workers. I am so glad that my suggestion of such a thing has been carried out. I hope that you will go further and work out an appeal from the various syndicates in the C.N.T. and send it to their brother trade unionists in England. The appeal for direct action, general strikes, and boycott as an expression and sympathy with the struggle in Spain. I cannot urge this sufficiently dear comrade. I am convinced that it is the most practical and effective way of getting response from English and American trade unionists.

Whatever the leaders of the British Trade Union and Labour Party may do to help the Anti-Fascist struggle and send milk for the Spanish children, they will never raise a finger to help the C.N.T. and its affiliated organisations. I cannot impress that upon your mind too forcibly.

I know these people. I know how reactionary they are. I know that they have suddenly woke up to the struggle in Spain for two reasons. First because they wish to ~~keep~~ support of the workers in the coming General Election which the Labour Party and the Trade Union leaders hope will turn them into the Government. Secondly, because they have evidently been assured by the Negrin Government that the ~~Spanish~~ ^{anarchists} are no longer a danger. I don't mean to say that I repudiate whatever propaganda they are making, not at all, but I am not deceived by their "sudden enthusiasm" for the Spanish cause. We must work in our

get the

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own way to reach the British and American workers, and the only way ~~is~~ as I say, and with me comrade Barr and a few others in our work, is to appeal by manifesto direct to the branches of the Trade Union and Labour organisations. I hope you will see this importance and that you will soon prepare the appeal or manifesto, whichever it is to be, and send us a copy which we will print and spread broadcast.

In your two short letters you ask me for names and addresses of all friends of liberal people, professional and otherwise. Yesterday I had a letter from Martin asking for the same. We are preparing such a list which we hope to be able to send you the end of next week. I must impress upon your mind that this list should not be used for anything issued by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. If at all, it should only be used for the S.I.A. To tell the truth I see no purpose in sending material to people on the list from Spain unless it will be done in the English language. I doubt whether any per cent of the whole list know Spanish. It will therefore be wasted time and money to send them material. Another thing is that they may resent having their names used in Spain.

It is quite a different thing with the trade unions. Far from resentment, I feel sure that the workers in the branches will feel honoured to receive something direct from the C.N.T.

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Please remember the list of individual names is not to be used for any other purpose except the S.I.A.

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Wednesday next we are having a gathering at a place of people whom we hope to organise into a Committee for the S.I.A.

Our greatest drawback is the conspiracy of silence on the part of the conservative press and the misrepresentations in the so called radical papers.

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The material sent is about Teruel and which will appear in the current issue of "Spain & The World" will be sent out to all the important newspapers in England, Canada and the United States.

That is all for the present. Please give my fraternal greetings to all the comrades and my fervent wish that the New Year may bring victory over Fascism and help your Revolution to a triumphant march.

SALUD.

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19259

3rd January 1938.

Mariano R Vazquez.
Federacion Nacional del Trabajo.
BARCELONA.

Dear Comrade,

Your two short notes of the 1st and 2nd December reached me a few days ago. I also received the envelope about the collectives. I am having it translated for our paper "Spain & The World" and it will appear in the issue after the current issue. The current issue will contain the data Martin sent me about the taking of Teruel. We are rejoicing here over the victory our comrades have sustained.

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Whatever the leaders of the British Trade Union and Labour Party may do to help the Anti-Fascist struggle and send milk for the Spanish children, they will never raise a finger to help the C.N.T. and its affiliated organisations. I cannot impress that upon your mind too forcibly.

I know these people. I know how reactionary they are. I know that they have suddenly woken up to the struggle in Spain for two reasons. First because they wish to keep support of the workers in the coming General Election which the Labour Party and the Trade Union leaders hope will turn them into the Government. Secondly, because they have evidently been assured by the British Government that the Syndicalists are no longer a danger. I don't mean to say that I repudiate whatever propaganda they are making, not at all, but I am not deceived by their "sudden enthusiasm" for the Spanish cause. We must work in our

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19260

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1924

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Wednesday next we are having a gathering at my place of people whom we hope to organize into a Committee for the I.I.I.

Our greatest drawback is the conspiracy and silence on the part of the conservative press and the misrepresentations in the so called radical papers.

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The material sent us about Teruel and which will appear in the current issue of "Spain & The World" will be sent out to all the important newspapers in England, Canada and the United States.

This is all for the present. Please give my fraternal greetings to all the comrades and my fervent wish that the New Year may bring victory over Fascism and help your Revolution to a triumphant march.

SALUD.

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3rd January 1938.

19189

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Federacion Nacional del Trabajo.
BARCELONA.

Dear Comrade.

Your two short notes of the 21st and 22nd December reached me a few days ago. I also received the enclosure about the collectives. I am having it translated for our paper "Spain & The World" and it will appear in the issue after the current issue. The current issue will contain the data Martin sent me about the taking of Tarrad. We are rejoicing here over the victory our comrades have sustained.

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I know these people. I know how reactionary they are. I know that they have suddenly woken up to the struggle in Spain for two reasons. First because they wish to keep support of the workers in the coming General Election which the Labour Party and the Trade Union leaders hope will turn them into the Government. Secondly because they have evidently been reassured by the Negrin government that the Syndicalists are no longer a danger. I don't mean to say that I repudiate whatever propaganda they are making, not at all, but I am not deceived by their "sudden enthusiasm" for the Spanish cause. We must work in our own way to reach the British and American workers, and the only way is as I say, and with me comrade Barr and a few others in our work, is to appeal by manifesto direct to the branches of the Trade Union and Labour organisations. I hope you will see this importance and that you will soon prepare the

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19190

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09191

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This is all for the present. Please give my fraternal greetings to all the comrades and my fervent wish that the New Year may bring victory over Fascism and help your revolution to a triumphant march.

SALUD.

Sd Emma Goldman.

705

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11500

3rd January 1938.

Dear Van,

I have again neglected you. Believe me unwillingly. There is so much to do here and so few to do it that I seem to get no time for anything else. Besides comrade Barr who acts as head cook and bottle washer in our campaign for Spain is also acting as my provisional secretary. He has the same good will as you; but not your expert experience as a stenographer and typist. Still he has been a great help indeed, only I could not answer all the letters, yours among them, as quickly as I should have liked.

I had a letter from Freedman and was shocked to hear that you were in the hospital. If I am not mistaken this is already the second time. That is really the matter with you. Needless to say I am very anxious.

My dear, do not rely entirely on the P.O.U.M. information you get from Spain. I don't mean to say that their news is not correct; but it must be coloured. I mean to say that the P.O.U.M. people now consider themselves the only sincere revolutionists in Spain and are discontented with our comrades because of some of the concessions they have made. It must never be forgotten that in October 1936 the P.O.U.M. then heatedly attacked the C.N.T. & P.A.I. They suddenly changed their attitude because they knew they were too small and insignificant to seize power, and therefore began saying nice things about our people. That they wanted to seize power there can be no doubt whatever. From their point of view they were consistent of course. They believe in political power; but I am afraid that their love overtures to the C.N.T. & P.A.I. are not actually the best thing for our people. Inasmuch as they are persecuted now I have no wish to upbraid them; but my recent visit to Spain has convinced me that the participation of the P.O.U.M. in the May events was not actually selfless. For the present this is not of importance to dwell upon.

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11509

I am enclosing copy of my letter to Harry. You will see that I simply do not share the doubts you and the other comrades may have in the leadership of the C.H.T.-S.A.I.. In the first place I cannot impress upon your minds too much and on the minds of our comrades that the very federalistic structure of the C.H.T. precludes any arbitrary methods on the part of the National Committee. I have elaborated on that in the talk I gave at the Congress of the I.W.O.M. in Paris. Just as soon as my notes are put into shape and typed I will send you a copy, and you will see that in an emergency such as the unexpected May events may have forced the Committee to call a retreat before having consulted every Regional; but the Regional Committees could have later eliminated the National Committee had it disagreed with its decision. Surely dear there are always reasons for our notions whether individual or in the bulk, and the one supreme reason for some of the tactics of the C.H.T. is the menace of Fascism. The comrades who were the first to repulse Franco felt that they must be the last in crushing him. They are convinced that if Franco conquers, not only the C.H.T.-S.A.I. but all ideas in Spain and the rest of the world will be destroyed utterly. Any of my letter to Harry should convince you that our comrades are made of sterner stuff, and though they have strayed from the anarchist "line" I do not think we need fear for the future of the Spanish Revolution or our ideas. You will also see that I have in mind a series of articles on my second visit to Spain. I hope to begin on it this coming week. Naturally I will send you a copy.

I am glad that my article on political prisoners in Spain appeared in the "Spanish Revolution".

I am enclosing copy of a letter I wrote to the "Toronto Star" in answer to a rather favourable Editorial about our people. You can print that if you wish although I am not sure whether it will appear in the Star or not.

About three weeks ago I sent two letters to the Daily and Sunday "New York Times" repudiating some of their idiotic statements about our comrades at the Front. Here to I have no certainty that it will be published. As no doubt you are reading the Times you will see it sooner than I. Should it appear I should want a dozen copies each of the clippings. Let you can print if you wish.

Now about my sailing for Canada. You will see by my letter to Harry that I cannot get away for the present. I definitely will next summer. I am very glad that Morris Ernst is interested in my getting to America. I hope that Fresco and he will keep up the good work in preparing the ground for my application for a visa, for I want everything done to make that possible. Yes Freedman wrote me that they had 150 dollars collected towards my expenses. I understand that Toronto has 50. That of course is not enough; but I can say that when it will come to my actually sailing more money will be raised. It might then be time to appeal to individual people who had contributed four years ago.

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Now here is the situation regarding the amount of money needed. I need to be assured a return fare which will cost from 350 to 400 dollars. I need to have a little money to live upon the first month or two in Canada, until some meetings can be arranged. In other words some five or six hundred dollars. I must have 300 dollars to show on arrival. That amount is merely a loan; because it can be returned immediately I have reached Canada. I hope this is clear to you now.

I have had a talk with Rose Resuto, who has come here from Paris before sailing back on the 5th January. She will make notes of my suggestions and on her return to call a gathering of the comrades, possibly also Resuto, and explain my idea of the campaign. Naturally it is not to be imposed on those who will work for my return, since being on the spot, they know better than I what methods are necessary. The one thing that is to be made clear from the very beginning is that no compromises is to be made to Washington which I cannot and will not keep. For instance, if Washington should insist that I must say nothing about Spain I will have to forego its "hospitality". Perhaps Washington will not think about it nor is there any need to suggest it. Should the question be posed - the purpose of my coming to America again, say it is to visit my family and friends and to hold some meetings on European affairs. That is a truthful answer as we say in America. There is enough to speak about I am sure. Anyway I do not want to be tied to the letter of the law. I do not mind certain restrictions provided of course it does not gag or bind me.

My dear, I hope when this reaches you, you will be your old self again and more active than ever.

May the New Year restore your health and your faith in our ideas and in the comrades in Spain.

Affectionately,

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19288

3rd January 1938.

Herrera.

Dear Comrade,

Comrade Fidel Martin has just left me. I found out that although he has been living in England for ten years he speaks as much English as I do Spanish, and I'm afraid he understands less.

As far as any help to the London C.B.T.-P.M.I. Bureau or the S.I.M. is concerned Fidel Martin is out of the question, as I have already stated he does not speak English, so could not be ~~help~~ helpful with translations, and he tells me that in any event he could do nothing outside of what he and another half dozen comrades are already doing, raising a little money here and there. The comrades who was with him and speaks English hardly understandable supported comrade Martin in their assurance that they cannot do anything in connection with our work.

Dear comrade, you seem to think that all that is required is Good-Will. I am sorry to disappoint you as far as England is concerned. The goodwill that our heroic comrades in Spain have and all their courage will not move the English very much. Besides as I wrote you in my last letter anti-Fascist activity has been going on here the last eighteen months under all kinds of labels, and now that the Labour Party has suddenly discovered its love and sympathy for the unfortunate victims of Franco, it will be even harder to achieve anything. As to the communists they have a powerful movement and unlimited money. They can bribe and buy everybody. Not that I would do it, if I had the means. I do not believe in work thus given because of a job. One must have one's heart in it. One must feel the need passionately. I don't mean to suggest that there are no young sincere communists; but I know some of the leaders here and I know that they have no opinions of their own and no integrity.

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I am sorry to disappoint you about comrade Fidel Martin. I understand that he explained the situation here to comrade Urles when he was here in London. I am sure that he has also written to you that the comrades are a half dozen Spanish comrades - that they cannot do very much except as I have already said, raise a little money.

We are willing to go on to the best of our ability with the S.I. work. Naturally we have to do it in our own way as we are here and know the nature of the average British worker and middle class.

Next comes my hope of gathering of a few people, men and women outside of our own ranks to discuss ways and means of bringing the S.I.A. before the British public. I will let you know the result. But if anything comes of this meeting or not we will do everything in our power for the S.I. as we have for the C.M.T.-S.I.

At the same time when I will mail this letter a letter will go to Vasquez and to Martin. The letter to Vasquez is in Spanish, translated from my text by the Spanish comrade who has been a great help.

There are several lines I would like to add to Vasquez's letter; but as I cannot do it in Spanish I will ask your secretary to translate them for Vasquez.

I have received three different stories sets of the day by day reports of the taking of Teruel. I don't know why it was repeated as the one set I received last week has already been set up in type to go into "Spain & the World". In addition to the three sets sent me I also had one sent me in German from Galve, which I forwarded to our comrades in New York. It will go into the "Spanish Revolution" and the Jewish daily paper.

I am glad of course to hear often from you Vasquez and the others but at the same time I don't see the use of wasting paper in sending the same thing in a number of letters.

I have also received the book *Cronica del Frente de Madrid*. Will you please tell him that English is not again. That capitalism still exists in this country and that capitalistic publishers are not anxious to publish anything from Spain, especially work by C.M.T.-S.I. I am writing to him from the publisher who is considering the English text of the "Spanish Revolution". I will call him up tomorrow and find out what he has decided to do. If he has made up his mind to get it out I might approach him with this new book comrade Vasquez sent me or I will try and find a few publishers.

I am only too happy to be of service to the Spanish comrades. You should know that by this time. Unfortunately certain things are not in my power. Please also tell Vasquez that the book "July 19th 1936 to July 19th 1937" is in the hands of the same publisher who is considering the other work. By the way I have not yet received from Paris the balance of the English translation.

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3.

~~Dear Sergei.~~

The Manchester Guardian of the 1st January had a contemptible report by its Special Correspondent on our comrades at the front. I am going to answer it. I will send you copy of my reply although I have no hopes that the Guardian will publish it.

Actually most of our time is taken up in sending corrections to Daily papers in England and America who write the most ~~damning~~ lies about the C.M.T.-F.A.I.. Most of these wretched sheets have not the courtesy to publish a vindication. That makes our work here doubly hard. Nevertheless I mean to go on bombarding every paper that misrepresents the heroic comrades at the front. If none of them print anything I will get out a special leaflet of all the attacks and lies and spread them broadcast. It is the only means of reaching the public.

SALUD.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 3 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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19347

3rd January 1938.

Dear Martin,

Your letter of the 25th reached me the 30th December. I did not answer it at once because I had to wait for our printing of the C.N.T. Structure and the letter I am writing to the delegates who attended the Trade Union Congress held in September last. I am also sending this letter to all the local branches of the various trade unions. It will all go to-day. I did however send you the play for the chap who produced Steinberg's play. I sent it by the route you gave me. I was so afraid that our friends the censors will take all this valuable material I want you to have.

My dear, I do not understand why my letters fail to reach you. I have been writing you every week, and sometimes even twice. The only explanation is that the censors find them so interesting they want to keep them as a memento. I hope the last few have reached you. Let me know and I will write you by the other route.

You have asked for a list of addressees of all sorts of professional people. Vasquez asks for a similar list. As you people going to confuse each other. Naturally we can only send you one copy of the list. As it is we have a job to type the copy from the various lists we have got; but it must be understood that if I send it to you, you will give it to Vasquez. After all my dear I am responsible to the National Committee and not to the Foreign Section.

I am sending you a copy of my letter to Vasquez, so you will know that we have many ironies in the fire. Unfortunately only two people to attend to everything.

Thank you for the detailed account of the victorious taking of Teruel. It goes into the current issue of "Spain & The World". I also received a German copy via Paris which I sent on to Freie Arbeiter Stimme, and for the use of the "Spanish Revolution" and "Vanguard".

The Emma Goldman Papers

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I have not yet received *Trabajo Social*. I hope it will come. Nor do we get the Madrid C.N.T. and the *Castillo Libre*. If these papers do not want to send them free of charge for our Reading Room, I will subscribe to them. One thing is sure - we must get them one way or the other. The only two comrades who have religiously kept their word are the comrades of Campo and Ormaiztegui. In fact they have been too generous. They are sending me bundles of them. That is a waste of paper and postage. I want only two copies of each. Every day if they are delivered. I want one for the Reading Room and one for myself. Will you please write them and explain to them that I appreciate their comradeship; but it is no use sending me so much when paper is scarce and valuable, in Spain.

I hope that the New Year will bring victory over Fascism and the triumphant march of the Spanish Revolution, and may it bring you and your comrades health and happiness.

Always devotedly.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 3, London [to] Stewart [Kerr, New Milford, Conn.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 17 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W.14

London Jan. 3rd 38

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear, dear Stewart.

What a surprisa to hear from you the first time since my departure from America. I confess I did think you had forgotten your old landlady. And it made me very sad. I am relieved to know this is not the case, that your silence was due to the struggle and routine of life. Thank you for the letter and the two gifts your check and the snap. By, you look happy on the picture and of course as handsome as ever. Seriously, I was glad to see that broad grin on you.

Yes, I am planning to go to Canada not for its own lure but because of the faint hope that being near America I might again get a visa to reenter it. The chances are very slight. But I must try. I had intended to sail for Canada in Nov on my return from my second visit to Spain. But the comrades there insisted on my going back here to take up the threads of work I had broken by my departure to Spain last August. So here I am in the city I loathe more than any other. The why and wherefore you will find explained in the two copies of my letter to Harry. Am also inclosing one to Van. It will give you an idea about my struggle for our heroic comrades in Spain.

I wish I could agree that the people are realizing "what war means" But are they? I doubt it because they have remained blind, or most of them have to the world war that is already being fought in Spain and China, especially in Spain. I tell you my dear naver were any people so betrayed and sacrificed as the Spanish people, not the least by Russia and the whole Marxist gangs. It is deeply tragic and our comrades are paying the price in full.

Later on I may have more to write you. Just now I am expecting some people and as I want this to go by the Aquitania I must close now.

With the best wishes to you for the New Year.
and my old affection. Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 3 [London to] Stewart [Kerr, New Milford, Conn.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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19708

Jan. 3rd 38

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[and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

BARCELONA, a 3 de enero de 1938

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
London.

Estimados camaradas:

Adjuntamos a la presente un recorte de "LA NOCHE", del día 29 de diciembre último, diario de Barcelona, que ensalza el valor y la elevada moral del pueblo madrileño.

Interesaría hiciérais reproducción del mismo en la prensa afín.

Adjuntamos también, una página de "TIERRA Y LIBERTAD", sobre el trabajo realizado por el Sindicato de la Madera y la función elevada de las mujeres trabajando en la retaguardia.

Es material útil para la propaganda.

Confiamos que lo aprovecharéis, quedando vuestros y de la causa,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL CTE.

Pedro Herrera

Mariano R. Vázquez



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[Letter] 1938 Jan. 3, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / P[edro] Herrera. —
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35/58 19284

FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

COMITÉ PENINSULAR

Sección Internacional
(SECRETARÍA)

Via Durruti, 30, 6.º, ~~SEVILLA~~
Teléfono ~~91111~~

Barcelona, 3 de January 1938 de 193

"Spain and the World"

c/o 18 Castletown Road, London W.14

Dear comrades,

we should be very grateful, if you would send us
regularly two copies of your publication.

With anticipated thanks and comradely greetings

Yours sincerely

For the Section of Foreign Relations
of the Peninsular Committee of the P.A.I.

The secretary:

The Emma Goldman Papers

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA OURREUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84
TELÉFONO 14731 - 41

TELÉFONOS:

CENTRALITA 14731

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Barcelona 3 enero 1938.

Camarada **EMMA GOLDMAN**,
L o n d r e s.

Chère camarade,

Seulement aujourd'hui j'ai reçu votre lettre du 1^{er} décembre. C'est inexplicable ce qui se passe avec notre correspondance, car cela ne se passe qu'avec vos lettres. Je n'ai pas reçu la lettre que vous communiquez m'avoir écrit deux jours auparavant. Je fais tout mon possible pour que les lettres que je vous adresse vous parviennent le plus rapidement.

J'espère que vous aurez reçu déjà une autre série de photos. Je vous ai remis ces photos dans les premiers jours de décembre. J'ai encore en ma possession quelques autres que je n'ai pas envoyés dans la crainte de ne pas pouvoir les envoyer sans les plier et j'attendais l'occasion de quelqu'un pourrait vous faire parvenir ces photos telles qu'elles sont. J'espère pouvoir les envoyer l'un de ces jours. Les photos que vous avez fait avec Mava dans les montagnes, je les ai expédiées déjà et je suppose que vous les aurez reçues.

Dans l'une des traductions que je vous ai fait parvenir, je vous ai envoyé aussi la partie que nous n'avons pas pu lire avec vous. J'espère que vous l'aurez reçue aussi.

Je n'ai pas pu parler avec Esgleas de ce que vous me dites dans votre lettre. J'espère qu'il vous donnera une copie de son discours du Plénum. L'un de ces jours je pourrais vous envoyer le discours dont vous avez un si grand intérêt. Je ne peut pas vous le faire parvenir aujourd'hui même car l'on m'a communiqué qu'il se trouve au front et je n'ai pas la possibilité de le voir.

Nous faisons des démarches pour laisser cette maison, espérant avoir plus de chance en ce qui concerne les bombardements. Mais je crois que nous allons gagner bien peu, car samedi et dimanche dernier n'a pas eu un quartier de la capitale qui n'ai pas souffert un bombardement.

Je vous remercie de votre envoi du livre de Read,

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dent j'espère le recevoir l'un de ces jours.

Le livre de "antillán que je vous ai envoyé est celui dont vous me parlez dans votre lettre. Je croyais qu'il vous parviendrait faisant l'envoi légalement, mais si vous ne l'avez pas reçu encore, c'est dû sans doute à la censure espagnole qui n'a pas permis l'exportation. Je vais acheter un autre exemplaire et je vous le faire parvenir d'un autre façon.

C'est un dommage que Frank ait fait le contrat à son nom et qu'il ne vous ait pas laissé des pouvoirs afin que vous pourriez intervenir. Dans une lettre nous l'avons dit qu'il devait collaborer avec vous en tout ce qui concerne le film et que vous deviez partager aussi la responsabilité. Nous allons écrire aujourd'hui même à Frank concernant cette affaire et quelles sont les recettes et les frais occasionnés par ce film. Il est nécessaire de nous mettre au courant de tout le mouvement des frais et dépenses afin d'éviter des possibles malentendus.

J'espère que vous aurez reçu la lettre que nous avons écrit à Mascarell, par laquelle il nous communique vous avoir remis le film, mais il ne dit pas clairement s'ils ont ajouté toutes les coupures qui ont fait la censure.

Ce que je ne trouve pas très bien c'est que vous ayez publié que ce film n'a pas passé par la censure. Cela pourrait être le prétexte pour nous demander des explications. Il aurait été mieux de dire que c'est un film espagnol et rien plus.

Dans l'attente de vous lire, recevez mes salutations bien fraternelles,

Сегодня мне сообщили что из Марсelle
на мое имя и от Вас приходит два
пакета с книгой. Сердечно Вам благодарю
я и мою подругу. Очень у нас
здесь теперь нам нужно, поэтому что
есть большая нехватка всего.

Привет от Симона, Angeles
моей подруги и всех

Vain Martin

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 4? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. —
1 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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17200

Tuesday

Dearest Emma, further to my depressed letter of y/day, Warburg writes me that he will come Wed. if he can change over another appointment he has for then - he says we didn't give him much notice. Barbara can't come as she has to do a thing with her mother on Weds. I cut the Branch meeting last night and worked till ten, but didn't get much done as I wasn't able to start till 8 - it was a day which was one long series of interruptions. This afternoon (its midday now and I've done only letters though I came in to the study at 9.30 this morning) and all tonight are ahead of me, however, and all Wed. and I hope to be far enough advanced to come along - though I feel I won't be much good to you, unable this time to bring even my enthusiasm. Only I'll come if I'm able to for affection's sake.

^{this} Is ~~the~~ coming Sat. night any good for you to dine with me, Emma? Reg is away and I am free if you are, and the Index must be done by then, or near enough.

Rushing this to catch the noon post so will close. Hope to god you feel less grey and depressed than I do, though god equally knows that I've not done much to cheer you these last few letters!

My sincere love all the same



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 19]38 Jan. 4, London [to] Rudolf Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 8 × 13 cm.

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 Roc

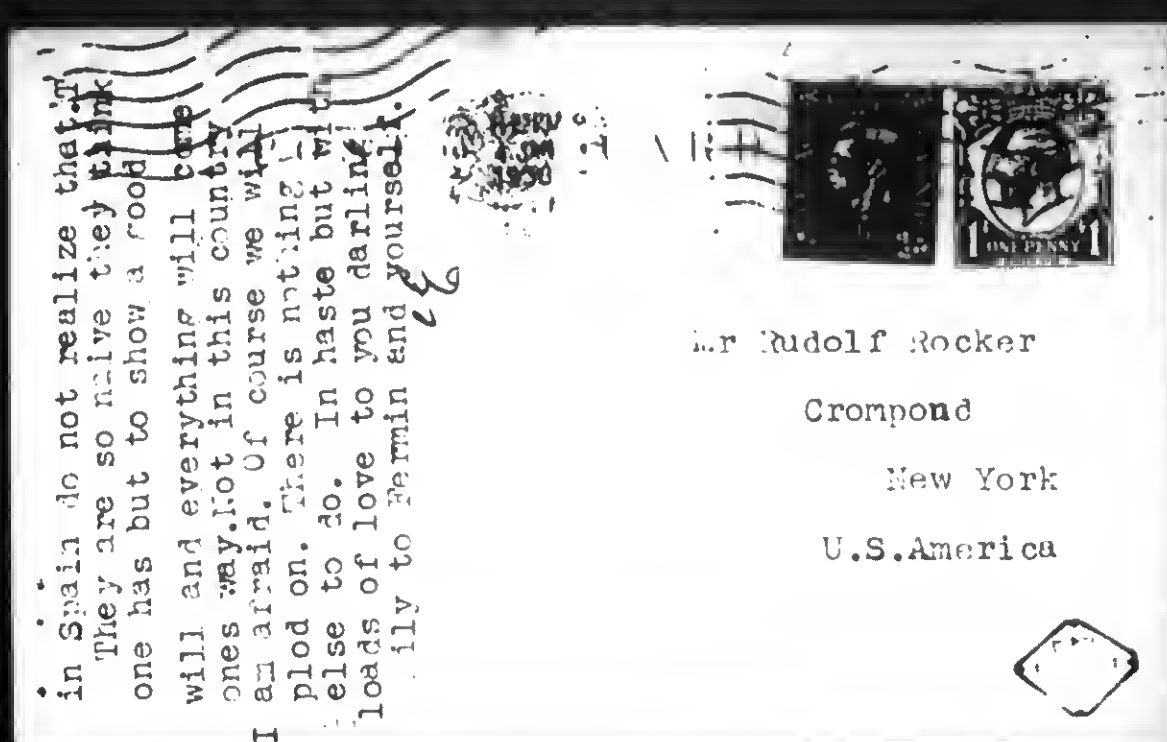
London Jan. 4th 38.

Dearest Rudolf. I have just spoken to Warburg. He swore he would send you a check right away. I hope he keeps his word. And I also hope your book maybe out soon. We want to rush it for all it is worth. Rose Pesetto is here. She sails tomorrow. She assured me she would see you and tell you all about me. Damned little it will be except misery over the work. It grows harder and more difficult every day. The latest is the discouragement from all sides about the formation of the SIA. I cannot blame the people who I had hoped would join. They feel that there are already dozens of An-F. organisations raising funds supposedly for the unfortunate in Spain, we will gain nothing. Our people

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[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 4, London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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A.I.T.

F.A.I.



London Office :

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W.14

London Jan. 4th 38

TELEPHONE : FULHAM 6829

Dear H.W.

I am a beast I know to treat a nice fellow like you so meanly. But you already know that if I do not write it is never because I no longer think of you. It is because of the bulk of work that demands ones attention. If only my being busy would bring results. Nothing doing here. The longer I live in this country the stronger I feel the utter futility in even trying to move the dead. I am sure I would have given up long ago were not for the tragedy of Spain. The tragedy of a heroic people being misrepresented, maligned constantly lied about. This not only by the Capitalist press but by ALL Communist Socialist and Liberal. Even so Liberal a paper as the Manchester Guardian has begun a process of misrepresentation. Their special correspondent in a series of articles raises the Communists to the sky and writes of the Anarchists as being "morally unreliable and doing nothing at the fronts". On the very same day when I read the article in the Guardian I received a day by day report of the taking of Teruel. And would you believe it Harry dear it was the 25th Division consisting of a number of brigades, all ~~members~~ members of the CNT-FAI and under the command of an Anarchist who actually took Teruel and were the first to march into it. Nor was it only Teruel. It was also Belchiti. And if the Negrin, Prieto and the Communists had not sabotaged the Aragon front Franco would have been driven from it long ago. It may seem preposterous but is yet true the Negrin, Prieto and the Communists would rather consent to any armistice than see the CNT-FAI victorious. It is the filthiest treachery the world has ever seen. So you see why I continue crying even if it is in the wilderness.

*Swear
men*

Rose Pesetto is here, she is sailing back tomorrow. She has faithfully ~~promised~~ promised to see you, Fitzi, Pauline and

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a few others about a committee that would get me a visa. I have made a few suggestions to Rose but am quite willing to put my fate in your hands and that of my friends. The idea I have in mind is a committee of outstanding people who would send a delegation with an attorney of need be, either to Roosevelt himself or Mrs R. I understand that Perkins is adamant against giving me a visa. But it maybe achieved through Mrs R. who, as I was told, four years ago gave a most flattering ~~report~~ verdict of LIVING MY LIFE. If anything is to be started it should as soon as possible. I plan to sail for Canada in August and it is then that I would want to get into the States to visit with my friends and family and to lecture on THE EUROPEAN SITUATION, innocent enough don't you think? Will you do what you can?

Rose will bring you my greetings for the New Year. May it bring you many eventful experiences. Only that enriches life.

With my old affections.

Emma Goldman

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[Letter, 1938 Jan. 4, London to] Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19106

Mariano R. Vázquez,
Secretario de la C.N.T. y
Pedro Herrera, Secretario del Comité Peninsular de la F.A.I.

Queridos camaradas. Salud:

He recibido vuestra carta fecha 11 del mes en curso, y os agradezco vivamente la manera amistosa en que me llamáis la atención sobre mi artículo en "SPANISH REVOLUTION", acerca de las persecuciones políticas prevalentes en la España antifascista.

Igualmente, aprecio en lo que vale el espíritu de solidaridad demostrado en vuestra observación encaminada a señalar la conveniencia de considerar los efectos que mis críticas del Gobierno Negrín-Commista pudiesen tener en la lucha antifascista. Siempre he sostenido la opinión de que la fórmula mas efectiva para allanar cuantas diferencias puedan existir en nuestros filas, es aquella en que la compensación entre los camaradas se distinga por una amistad leal y sincera.

Es ésta, queridos camaradas, la tercera vez que me pongo a contestar vuestra referida carta. Rompi la primera, porque tuve un gran disgusto al leer en vuestra carta que mis artículos podrían causar daño a vuestra lucha, y temía que su contenido pudiese producir en vosotros la impresión de que estaba molesta. Esperé 24 horas, lei y releí todos los párrafos de vuestra carta y empecé de nuevo a contestarla; pero no tuve mas suerte que la primera vez y me vi obligada a suspender la traducción cuando estaba ya casi a medio terminar. Me pase otro día y otra noche cavilando; y aquí me tenéis, procurando, por tercera vez, buscar las palabras y forma con que demostraros que he prestado mi mayor atención a vuestras objeciones.

Puedo aseguraros que en el transcurso de mis actividades en representación vuestra, he medido siempre de antemano mis pasos, y si bien en muchas ocasiones no podía estar de acuerdo con vuestras tácticas, no por eso dejé de seguir laborando por vuestra causa, puesto que conocía la fuerza siniestra que hacía aquellas acciones imperativas.

Durante mi primer visita a España, y cuando empezaron a llegar las armas de Rusia, no pude reprimir el convencimiento de que Stalin, a través de esta ayuda, imponería condiciones que serían una maldición para la Revolución Española y para vosotros, mas con Franco a las puertas de Madrid, tuve que darme cuenta que no había otro reme-

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19109

die, aun sabiendo el precio que habriais de pagar por la ayuda soviética y la amistad de Stalin, cuyo régimen implacable venia atacando públicamente desde mi salida de Rusia en 1922. Mantuve silencio porque abrigaba la esperanza que el pueblo español amaba sus ideales demasiado para caer como presa fácil de los designios de Stalin hacia su Revolución. Mantuve silencio basada en mi inquebrantable fe en el espíritu revolucionario de la C.N.T.-F.A.I.; su valor indomable y su acrisolada integridad. Pero llegaron los aciagos días de Mayo y vosotros mismos, no pudiendo conteneros por mas tiempo, empezasteis a romper vuestro silencio para atacar la villanía y perfidia de los comunistas. Vuestra voz no fué sólo oída en España; vuestra justa indignación llegó a conocimiento de los trabajadores de todos los países. Y fué entonces que me sentí relevada de la tarea odiosa de hacer aparecer como verdadero lo que en realidad era falso. No obstante y aun que expecté a llamar la atención sobre las conspiraciones de los vasallos de Stalin y sus crímenes contra vosotros y mis compañeros, puedo aseguraros que al hacerlo puse tanto en mis escritos como en mis discursos, todo el tacto que las circunstancias me permitieron, si bien he de confesar que no hubiese usado tanto tacto de no hacer seis meses que había salido de España y me encontraba distanciada de los estragos cometidos por los instigadores de los sucesos de Mayo. A fin de enterarme de su verdadera significancia fué por lo que con tanta insistencia recabé volver a España por segunda vez.

Y solo bastaron unas cuantas semanas de estancia en vuestro heroico país, para terminar de confirmar mis temores acerca de la camarilla cuyos criminales actos tanto habían minado vuestras conquistas. Pude observar los salvajes destrozos cometidos a su paso por varias de las Colectividades; el terror que habían impuesto y las víctimas de tanto vandalismo, tan en muertos como en prisioneros. Y lo que me pareció más trágico fué la supresión de vuestra libertad de palabra, prensa y reunión. Todo ello a instancias de la citada camarilla de Moscú.

Es raro como la historia de repite. Recordaréis que dije en el Congreso de la I.W.M.A. que no había comparación posible entre la Revolución española y la rusa. Pues bien, debí haber añadido que no había comparación alguna salvo en el hecho que el mismo régimen implacable que había aplastado la Revolución rusa había implantado su fuerza en el suelo de España. Reconozco que el espíritu libertario del pueblo español y la fuerza moral de la C.N.T.-F.A.I., lograron imponerse y atajar en cierta medida la corriente que venia del Este; pero el daño que habían conseguido causar a vuestra Revolución, a vuestro trabajo constructivo y a la posibilidad de una rápida victoria sobre Franco era tan grave que seguir manteniendo silencio resultaba criminal.

Así, pues, salí de España después de mi nueva visita decidida a dar publicidad al ambiente contrarrevolucionario creado por los comunistas en el poder, con el asentimiento evidente del Gobierno Negrín. Pero al llegar a Inglaterra me encontré con que otros se me habían adelantado y estaban dando publicidad con toda clase de detalles a los perniciosos efectos que las actividades de

.../...

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19110

los comunistas estaban causando a la lucha contra el Fascismo. Retativos como el "Daily Herald", "News Chronicle" y "Reynolds Weekly News", que hasta hacia poco se deshacían en alabanzas dirigidas a los comunistas, estaban informando a sus lectores que tal vez "habían ido demasiado lejos". El "New Leader", ya libre de las coqueterías de su Partido con los comunistas, ha entrado en una campaña sistemática, encaminada a desenmascarar a la pandilla de Stalin en España. Fenner Brockway, Secretario general de la Independent Labour Party, John McGovern, miembro del Parlamento inglés en representación de dicho partido, ambos han escrito violentos artículos que no son más que una acusación de Stalin y su deprimente influencia en la lucha antifascista. Con la presente os mando el folleto de McGovern. Verdaderamente arde de indignación contra aquellos que tienen la osadía de hablar de Socialismo y Comunismo, y sin embargo están en concomitancia con el Imperialismo en su empeño en ahogar la Revolución española.

No puedo creer, queridos compañeros, que vosotros hubiéseis querido que yo observara un silencio completo o que hechase tierra sobre lo ocurrido en España desde Mayo en adelante. No lo creo, máxime si hubiéseis estado enterados de como era ya conocido en todas partes el verdadero papel jugado por los comunistas en Iberia.

Me hacéis presente que "uno puede decir las cosas; pero que uno debe usar tacto". Uno de los camaradas de mas tacto en todo el movimiento Anarquista es el compañero Rudolf Rocker. No obstante, nadie ha podido ser tan claro y terminante en sus manifestaciones dirigidas a exponer las intrigas de Stalin en España y su cobarde asentimiento a la farsa de la "no Intervención" impuesta por Inglaterra y Francia. Me habían dicho que vosotros admirabais con entusiasmo el trabajo de este brillante y gran camarada. Y con justicia. Siendo así ¿por qué os perturban tanto mis artículos? Estoy pensando qué diréis cuando leáis la relación de la conferencia que di el viernes pasado versando sobre la manera en que había sido traicionado el pueblo español.

Otra de vuestras objeciones se basa en que hablar en el extranjero de las malas practicas de los comunistas y del Gobierno Negrin, ha de redundar en perjuicio vuestro. Los trabajadores de cada país se preguntarán entoces "¿por qué hemos de ayudar a la causa anti-fascista en España si el Gobierno persigue a nuestros camaradas aún más que en los países capitalistas?" La respuesta a esto, si me lo permitis, no está en negar la existencia de tales persecuciones, sino en su franca admisión para hacer constar que es debida a las intrigas e interferencias de los comunistas desde su conspiración en Mayo de 1937.

En 1922, cuando mi compañero Alexander Berkman y yo salimos de Rusia y comenzamos nuestra campaña dedicada a exponer la verdad sobre el régimen bolchevique, se nos dijo que estábamos poniendo en peligro la Revolución Social y ayudando a sus enemigos. Entonces nuestras voces predicaban en desierto; pero el tiempo ha venido a demostrar cuan ciertas eran nuestras declaraciones, y ahora todo el mundo conoce los efectos del régimen soviético dentro y fuera de Rusia.

.../...

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[Letter, 1938 Jan. 4, London to] Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19111

¿No es extraño, pues, que vosotros hagáis las mismas objeciones 16 años mas tarde? La manera en que ha sido traicionada la lucha antifascista y la Revolución Española por Stalin y sus emisarios, conjuntamente con los años del Imperialismo, es un secreto que todo el mundo va ya conociendo. Pero el peligro que se cibe sobre el resultado de vuestra lucha es todavía muy agudo. No, como vosotros creís, debido a mis escritos con respecto a vuestro Gobierno y los comunistas, sino porque todavía existen muchos que creen los engaños de la falsa propaganda comunista acerca de vosotros. Citaré unas cuantas pruebas: Louis Fisher, propagandista de Stalin, escribió el año pasado diciendo que los anarquistas habían huido en el frente de Madrid los días 6 y 16 de Noviembre de 1936. Eston en la prensa comunista. La llamada liberal, influenciada por ellos, no les va en zaga. El corresponsal del "New York Sunday Times" escribió que los anarquistas preferían pasarse los días en Valencia que no guardando el frente. El corresponsal especial del "Manchester Guardian", en un artículo reciente, informaba a sus lectores que "en cuanto a moral militar en el frente, los anarquistas no contaban para nada". Añadido a estos insultos hay que contar las declaraciones bombásticas de los comunistas y prensa liberal, de que Stalin ha sido el salvador de España; que la Brigada Internacional salvó a Madrid; que Rusia sigue enviando armas y víveres; que los comunistas son los únicos que luchan con bravura; que ellos tomaron Belchite, etc. etc.

Mis amados camaradas, es humanamente imposible guardar silencio a la vista de falsedades tan monstruosas. No opino, como vosotros, que alejaríamos el entusiasmo del proletariado internacional. El entusiasmo que animó a todos los trabajadores como una gran llamarada al principio de vuestra Revolución, ha sido apagado por aquellos mismos que vosotros habéis estado tratando con guantes blancos.

No creo me equivoque diciendo que la única manera de volver a encender el entusiasmo de los trabajadores en todos los países, en pro de vuestra lucha y de vuestras esperanzas, sería desenmascarando a Stalin y sus satélites, de forma que el mundo vea su horrible obra en toda su desnudez.

Por otra parte, se hace imposible escapar a la latente indignación en centros revolucionarios contra los desastrosos efectos del poder soviético. En todas partes confrontan a una con preguntas acerca de las actividades de los comunistas en España; persecuciones políticas y muchas otras cosas, las cuales han de contestarse sin rodeos, francamente, si no se desea caer en ridículo. Y lo mas significativo es que cuando los comunistas tratan de interrumpir el público lo rechaza, como ocurrió en nuestro mitin del 14 del actual. Con raras excepciones el público todo estaba de nuestro lado.

Por nada del mundo haría yo cosa alguna que pudiera causar el daño mas mínimo a vuestra lucha. De ser así, no me hubiese dedicado desde los primeros momentos del 19 de Julio a servir

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vuestra gran causa, y mi mayor deseo es seguir mereciendo vuestra confianza en mi actuación y manera de enfocar la defensa de vuestros intereses en este país. Conozco a su gente, sus posibilidades y la forma en que me debe dirigirse a ellos.

En conclusión, confío que después de leídas las presentes líneas, comprenderéis que ha sido movida por mi gran devoción hacia vuestra gloriosa lucha por la Revolución y contra el Fascismo, que escribí en la forma que lo hice.

Mi fé en vosotros seguirá siendo siempre inquebrantable.

Fraternamente,

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[Letter, 1938] Jan. 4 [London to Martin? Gudell?, Barcelona?] / Emma [Goldman].—
1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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19348

Jan 4th. I have waited all this time for the inclosed folder. As far as I know all your letters reached me. I have no time to check them up now. I will next time I write give you all the dates and you can compare them. But I fear not all my letters reach you. I would always write by the other route but fear it takes so long. Next time I will send it there. To day we are mailing you a copy of LIVING MY LIFE by the other route. I hope it will reach you. Please write that comrade and ask him to have it brought to you without delay.

Goodby for the present

Emma

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[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 4 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 21 × 16 cm.

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17211

Jan. 4th 38.

Ethel My Dearest.

Why should I deny it your letter struck me as a bolt from a clear sky. It made me feel faint, sick at heart. No, not because it fairly oozed pessimism but because you so large and so willing to help whenever I called on you now withdraw into yourself. As far as the men is concerned, Padmore, Conze is concerned your letter did not surprise me. I knew when Regie suggested them that they will not wish to allie themselves with me and that not only because they feel a new anti fascist group useless. If you remember I expressed my own doubts about the chances of such an effort when you and Reg were here. And though I did not express it I felt that the men Reg had in mind were too much Party people to take any kind of a stand outside of their Party. Don't you see dearest Marxists simply cannot get away from the idea of "POLITICAL" as government power. They do not admit or understand that what we call political applies to the social forces. That's the gulf between the Marxists and Anarchists which will probably never be bridged. That is very plainly expressed in the manifesto of the POUM reprinted in the Bulletin of the I.L.P.

You know how I feel about the persecution of the POUM and the endd to helpt them. But that does not blind me to the fact that the POUM is hanging to the skirts of the GIT, not the FAI however because the GIT is a formidable social force which the POUM never was. ~~It was~~ The part of the POUM in the May events was really to use the GIT in order to seize Power, Government Power. Had they succeeded and had they created the dictatorship they would I am sure have done the same with the GIT-FAI as Trotsky did with the Russian Anarchists and with the Cronstadt sailors, exterminate the Anarchists in Spain. In relation to us the POUM does not differ from the rest of the Communists whatever their opposition to Stalin. I had to smile when I read your

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[Letter, 1938] Jan. 4, Bearsville [N.Y. to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. — 1 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Bearsville, Jan. 4th

Dearest:

The hectic holidays are over. Davy went back to school yesterday. Ian leaves this afternoon. I took down the tree and ornaments and decorations yesterday and thoroughly cleaned house and was so tired last night, I went to bed at 7.30. The boys washed the dinner dishes!

Your short note, inclosing copy of your letter to R. came yesterday I can imagine your state of mind. I enclose an article in the Times on the subject. You see what bitter misrepresentation our people get from the outside world. It is innumerable that they can not bury their differences while their house is afire. I hope you will send me a copy of your notes. I am eager to see them. Meanwhile as I write the bloody battle of Teruel is being fought and the outcome still so uncertain.

How anyone could still fall for the Stalin regime, who isn't a complete moron I fail to see. You received Dewey's speech - it says everything for me. I wrote him and told him I sent it to you, also sent him R's pamphlet and here is the reply I received.

320 E. 72nd St. Dec. 22nd.

"Dear Mrs. Ballantine:"

Thank you very much for your kind note which is very heartening. When you write your Aunt again, please remember me to her. Thank you so much for R. Rooker's pamphlet on Spain. It is very instructive and I have enjoyed reading it and learned much from it. Evelyn (his daughter whom I know) happens to be visiting me just now and joins me in regards. Sincerely yours John Dewey."

Ruth, Bob and the baby spent the Christmas weekend. Ruth is much better and she was so pleased with the lace you sent Helen. She promised to write you herself. Did she? Bob too seemed more like his old self, now Ruth'sso much better.

There were many parties and I bought both my boys skates for Xmas and the both had so much fun skiing and skating. Then ~~friend~~ friends of Ian's stayed at a boarding house near by and Ian enjoyed them so much, Davy even more so. Davy is becoming expert at both skiing and skating.

Ian is seeing to the stamps on his return. It was impossible to do anything during the holidays.

I had a nice note from Karen. She is leaving for Denmark ~~in the~~ middle of the month and said she was writing you a long letter. I haven't heard from Moe for a long time. I called Saxe up on New Year's Day and he said he hadn't heard either.

I do hope, my darling, this year will brighten and that our martyrs in Spain will emerge victorious and their agony will take an end. The boys and Teddy send you fondest love and the best wishes for the New Year.

With deepest devotion,

Stella

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[Letter, 1938 Jan. 4, Bearsville, N.Y. to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Stella Ballantine].— 1 p.; 18 x 17 cm.

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Dear Stella:

You were sweet to send the card Christmas. I received it very belatedly but have meant ever since to tell you I appreciated it; that I regretted not having seen you in New York but that actually I might not have been able to because of the clitoral yearning for work. But I shall hope for next time. I have never forgotten how sweet you were when we met at lunch. I hope your own affairs are much happier and no longer worried.

I have treated dear Lynn badly she must surely think. I signed something that I thought was another organized effort to get her back into U. S.A., but then it seems to have petered out for lack of directive force. I can't criticize as I contributed none, but I am so sorry. I have not written her chiefly because of not writing any body. The strain of a year ago was not really felt by me to the full until this year and for a while I was so run down and exhausted the doctor had a t. t. course. But that, he says, no later findings disprove it. But the condition of bad health, continued necessary work; and very definite feelings in myself of scepticism about revolution into me to be tied toward this in particular. I feel a positive and now analyzed and understood distrust of revolution as a political movement—under no matter what name; and I am so bravely resistant about it and my respect for her as an individual so great it is painful for me to state to her what may seem to her like a betrayal of her cause. But please tell her I send my love, if you will, when you write.

So many good wishes to you and yours always, affectionately,

Carolyn Scott

Carolyn Scott

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[Letter] 1938 Jan. 4, Chicago [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Jeanne Levey.—
1 p.; 30 x 24 cm.
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JEANNE LEVEY

SALES REPRESENTATIVE
1534 MERCHANDISE MART
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

23865

January 4, 1938.

My very dear Emma:

I wrote you sometime ago, but since you are constantly travelling it may be that you did not receive my letter, or else it is following you.

Well Emma, dear, in reference to the fund, so far, we have collected \$200.00, including my own subscription. I am just wondering what I should do with the money. Shall I send it direct to you or shall I send it to Starrett. I shall await word from you regarding this.

I have just received a letter from Rudolf wherein he states that Frances Perkins has definitely refused to do anything about your entry into the States. She told this to Roger Baldwin. I am just wondering whether this is the last word or if there are friends who might bring pressure to bear. At any rate you can make the trip to Canada. That will take you at least six or eight months by the time you finish with that territory. Then perhaps we can arrange to meet you at some point in Canada because I am so anxious to get sight of you.

How are you progressing with the work on Spain. I do not know what to say about that situation. From day to day my hopes rise and fall, but your encouraging letter gives me some assurance on that basis of still feeling the Spanish people will come out on top if the war lasts long enough. Of course it is a horrible thing because the price they are paying is a tremendous one.

I am not going to write you a lengthy letter, dear, until I hear from you again because I am anxious to know just what your intentions are. I hope you have a much better year than the one just finished and that your health and endurance carries you on. We have had a very trying year with business conditions and many other disturbing factors, but then what do our troubles mean compared to what is going on in the rest of the world.

The Halperins gave me \$50.00 towards the fund. If you want a list of the contributors, I will be very glad to send it to you.

All our friends here, including Jay and myself, join me in sending our sincerest love and best wishes for your health and happiness.

Lovingly,

Jeanne

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[Letter] 193[8] Jan. 4, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe [Bluestein]. — 8 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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PARIS, January 4, 1937

Dear Emma:

I suppose you've just about given up hope of ever receiving another letter from me. And I suppose you've been wondering what kind of comrade I can be when I fail to write in such times as these.

Paradoxical as it may seem, I have not written for so long precisely because I have been dying to write to you! How is that possible, you must be asking.

Upon my return from Madrid, I had so much to write that I wanted to sit down immediately and give myself over to it. But I knew that what I would write you would never pass the censorship. And the failure of both Spain and the World and the FAS to print or even acknowledge receipt of at least ~~one~~ of three or four articles that I had sent out before my Madrid trip did not give me great confidence in the efficacy of our means of transmitting correspondence. Finally, a number of things conspired to convince me that I might as well leave my tragic Spain and return home.

So that, from the Madrid trip until the present I had been trying to get out---illegally at first. And never knowing when a ship would be leaving Barcelona for France, I lived more or less from day to day and was unable to do very much of anything except finish up my work at the office, including the translation and typing of the manuscript of the book. Incidentally, I got out of Spain legally, by brow-beating the government into giving me a Nansen Passport, and threatening to get out illegally if they didn't. (This was after I had been waiting for one of our ships for some 4 weeks!)

I have now been in France for almost two weeks, have written some 10 or 12 letters and only after I got them out of the way, have I been able to sit down and try to tackle my letter to you. Because what I want to write to you is bigger and requires more thought than the others. Also because it is so big that I haven't known where to begin, how to follow up and how to conclude.---I've been afraid to start!

Maybe that explains the long introduction!

How shall I start?

As you may recall, when you were still in Spain, I had no intentions of leaving the country as yet. I was discouraged, yes. I had lost a lot of hope. I was recognising and acknowledging the justice of Sania's criticisms---but I was still opposed to their coming out in the open. At the time I was planning to remain in Barcelona at least through the winter and all I wanted was an unhampered free and rigorous criticism and discussion within the Movement itself.

And especially, when you came back from Madrid and told of the marvellous spirit there, I was distinctly bolstered up and ready to continue the work I had been doing: the Bulletin and translation of another book.

Then we took our trip to Madrid. Now we were there only 2 or 3 weeks after you, but something seems to have happened within that short time.

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[Letter] 193[8] Jan. 4, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe [Bluestein].—
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20563

A- The spirit of militance that radiated an optimism in the future of the Revolution was conspicuous by its complete absence. On the contrary, men like Zugadi, formerly from New York, now a member of the Regional Committee of the FAI for the Center and Head of the Propaganda Commission of the CNT and the FAI, were decidedly pessimistic. Why?

1- Our Movement was not allowed to hold any more meetings, demonstrations, lectures, etc.--not only in Madrid but even in the smallest villages far behind the lines where they could not plead the pressure of the war;

2- The censorship was severe and unrelenting;

3- A number of comrades had been caught distributing illegal literature and had simply disappeared. Neither he nor the other ~~responsible~~ responsible comrades had the heart to call for volunteers for this work any more, especially in view of the fact that the Movement was not taking any real steps to fight against the vicious oppression and reconquer its liberties of speech, press, assembly, etc.;

4- "Frente Libertario", that had aroused so much enthusiasm in you, had disappeared from the scene. Its plant had been padlocked by the government, and the Movement was no longer issuing its illegal, uncensored organ because the government had prohibited it;

5- Zugadi attributed this spinelessness to the political line of the Movement--to the fact that they had not only been in the government once, but were trying everything possible to get there again.

In this respect a very curious incident occurred on the second or third day of our stay there.

Louis came back from the film studio one evening and started to tell us about a very intelligent leaflet that had been issued by the Caballero Socialists that day, a leaflet indicting the Negrin-Frieto Government. One of the leading comrades of the movie syndicate had picked it up in the street. It appears that 2 or 3 men had sped through the streets in a fast automobile and dropped bundles of them in various spots from which the people picked them up. They did not dare to drop them out while moving slowly in traffic. Only when they were moving at a good speed would they drop their bundles. And, according to the comrade's description, people picked them up and put them into their pockets to be read later. But all the leaflets were grabbed up.

They had all read the leaflet at the syndicate and had decided that it was a very good one. And altho it was an unsigned leaflet, everybody there, comrades all, simply took it for granted that it had been issued by the Caballero Socialists.

Out of curiosity, we asked what was in the leaflet.....

Upon Louis' description of the contents, I thought I recognized it. Going over to the desk where I had been translating 4 different leaflets that were to be published as a special English Bulletin from Madrid, I picked up one of them and asked Louis if that were the leaflet in question. He looked at it in amazement. It was.

It had been issued by the CNT and the FAI. And the few that were still left around the headquarters were to be destroyed lest we

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be raided. I took a few copies with me and have sent them out of the country. If they reach my New York address, I'll send you a translation of the contents - so that you may see it for yourself.

I will not deny that Madrid has a remarkably joyous and strong spirit, considering the pressure under which they have been living for such a long period of time. But that spirit was not necessarily or specifically revolutionary. It may be due to the inherent character of the Madrileños; it may be a direct reaction to the strain of their existence. I don't know its causes exactly, but I am certain that what I saw was no manifestation of revolutionary spirit.

Thus, I returned from Madrid with my last prop knocked out from under me.

Emma, as I see the situation in Spain, not only is the counter-revolution, with the communists at the top, making great strides forward, but, far worse, our Movement is doing absolutely nothing to resist the tide. And such an attitude is in itself an aid and a comfort to the reaction.

As you must have noticed, I tried to have my bulletin continually show the pressure and the oppressions that our Movement was compelled to endure. The idea behind it was that our comrades had the will but were hemmed in by insuperable obstacles. But when I became convinced that something had happened and that our comrades did not have the will I believed them to have; when I could no longer tell things (more due to Government censorship, I hope, than that of our own comrades) that had to be told, then I felt that there was no purpose in my staying on.

The only healthy revolutionary tendencies are now the various illegal oppositional groups that are beginning to spring up. They are ^{not} yet coordinated, nor are they, in my opinion, thoroughly clear in what they want. But I believe they will get there.

If I would have ^{known} Spanish better, I would have remained in Spain and joined the opposition. Definitely so. Only my limitations as a foreigner prevented me from getting into the illegal activities.

I will not say that the Anarchist Movement in Spain is in a hopeless condition. But I will say that it is in the most difficult position conceivable, and mainly for internal reasons. The members of the leading committees, the writers and editors, the official organs of the Movement have begun a very serious campaign that you, of all people, as a veteran of the Anarchist Movement, devoted all your life to the Idea rather than being a representative of some specific organisation with its internal disciplines and foibles, will have to consider very carefully and think over very seriously as to the course to be pursued regarding it.

I want to emphasize that I am not referring to the external objective factors militating against our comrades in Spain, ranging from the murderous onslaught of ~~the~~ international fascism to the bourgeois-Stalinist counter-revolutionary alliance behind our backs.

I am talking now of the evolution of our ~~own~~ Movement at the present time. Here we see not only more than a year of steady compromise and retreat that threatens to liquidate every last conquest won on July 19th, but we see much more--and much worse. The apologists of the Movement have naturally engaged upon an attempt to defend

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their "line". So long as they limited that defense to a declaration of the imperative necessities of the moment, it was tolerable if probably not wholly sound.

But what had been undertaken initially under the pressure of a given situation became the line that they have followed ever since and promise to continue following indefinitely. Such a course leaves the category of extraordinary, unusual, and becomes the normal regular course. But this course is a complete 100% reversal of their former activities. And one cannot plead the exigencies of a specific crisis for a permanent line. An entire philosophy of social thought must underlie social action.

This the CNT and the FAI ^{are} now trying to formulate. Emma, under our eyes, our Spanish comrades have begun to undermine the entire philosophy of Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism. Still holding on to their names, they are dressing them up with a new set of ideas that you will readily recognize----as something thoroughly alien until now to the entire Libertarian Movement.

I am giving you below the first two paragraphs that appeared in an editorial in "CNT", our most militant paper at the present time. It struck me at the time I read it and I took it down in translation. However, at the time, I thought it might just have been the slip of a pen on the part of an individual editorial writer, despite the fact that "CNT" is the organ of the National Organisation. Imagine my surprise therefore when that very editorial was reprinted, in toto in Tierra y Libertad a week and a half later, after they had sufficient time to think it over and appreciate the full significance of the passage. It therefore can no longer be considered an accident. On the contrary, its reprinting makes it the conscious policy of both the CNT and the FAI, since it appeared in the official organs of both organisations.

Significantly enough, although both "CNT" and "Tierra etc." usually receive rough treatment at the hands of the censors, not a line or a word was touched of this editorial in either paper.

I quote (all emphasis mine):

"The Syndicates Should Not Participate In the Government"
(from the Congress of the UGT of Catalonia) (headline)

"For a long time--years and years--all the Spanish political sectors censured the CNT for their refusal to participate in elections. The confederal organisation believed that, so long as the State remained in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the other privileged castes, the limited advantages that the proletariat would be able to win through participating in politics would be neutralised through the loss of pressure it could have by means of direct action. July 19th presented the opportunity to wrest the Spanish State from the privileged classes. The CNT, reluctant to assist at elections, rushed into the streets to destroy by force of arms what the elections had failed to accomplish.

"And once that was accomplished, once the Spanish State had passed into hands other than those that had been using it against the working class, the CNT was not opposed to declaring its former political position at an end. But, since then, a curious movement has arisen in certain political sectors that were before asking us to participate in the life of the State. Now they say that the functions of governing belong exclusively to the Parties, and the Unions should

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limit themselves to organising working conditions."

I could give you more but I don't think it is necessary. Something has happened in Spain that none of us can as yet explain. But its consequences are beginning to assume sharper and sharper outlines from day to day.

Now I am not a lover of abstract principles per se. Nor am I long enough in the Movement or old enough to be a traditionalist as such. But I am an Anarchist Communist and Anarcho-Syndicalist because I believe that the principles of these two schools of thought and tactic contain the truths that will help us to fight for and win our emancipation. So far as I can see, the Movement in Spain abandoned those principles in fact after July 19th, and are now trying to wave them out of existence by a stroke of the pen.

Am I harsh? It is in measure to the hurt and the shock of disappointment I have suffered.

Moreover, what I write to you is not for publication--not yet. At first, I believe that we must ourselves clarify our opinions regarding Spanish events and developments. Then we must be prepared to act.

Our Movement and our Ideas have had an acid test in Spain. So far, the Movement seems to have failed---but not the Ideas. That must be emphasised. The Movement abandoned the ideas and now seems to be trying to change them in order to fit its new tactics. But it still sticks to the name of Anarchism.

And because of that, you and I and a host of others want to help them out. But it is becoming ever more difficult to help them. And the difficulty is of their own making.

We can aid them by exposing the counter-revolution within the antifascist front itself, and the role of Soviet Russia and the Communist ~~Russia~~ International as agents of the reaction. But our Spanish comrades don't want us to do that. On the contrary, our own organs in Spain seem to be bending over backward in extolling the virtues of Soviet Russia. And in pressing for antifascist unity, they want to minimize and neutralise the effects of the counter-revolution upon their own revolutionary workers and peasants.

Further, I saw in the recent number of Spanish Revolution and FAS, your article of appeal for the antifascist prisoners in Loyalist Spain. But here too the CNT is actively preparing to put a stop to your work. I have had several talks with Galvé here in Paris--perfectly friendly for I let him do the talking and I did the listening. He told me that the CNT has given him official statistics that it has only 200 prisoners in all of Loyalist Spain, of whom exactly 7 are foreigners. Rudigher said the organisation claims 18 foreign comrades are prisoners. But he also says that the DAS alone has 12 prisoners and he believes that there are many more than 18 foreign comrades in prison. You yourself saw how many comrades were in one prison, and either Brandt or someone else said ~~x~~ that in one jail alone in Barcelona, the CNT has some 600 prisoners. The widespread, tho admittedly unofficial belief, is that there are some 10-15,000 antifascist prisoners in loyalist territory. Even if the figure is reduced to 3-5,000, it would still be bad enough.

But the CNT ~~is~~ now declares that only 200 of its members

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 193[8] Jan. 4, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe [Bluestein].—
8 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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are languishing in the jails, and that these will soon be released. When these 200 comrades, concerning whom they have evidently reached an agreement with the government, are released, the CNT will of necessity inform the world that no more revolutionists are suffering persecution at the hands of the government.

And you will either have to support this official position and continue to work with and for the CNT or tell the truth.

The CNT, seeking unity with the communists and the bourgeoisie at all costs, has to forget all differences existing between ~~and~~ them, and defend them against the anger and resentment of the workers and peasants of Spain, which you yourself saw so clearly and told me about.

Furthermore, the CNT must extend its conciliatory attitude toward the communists outside of Spain on a world scale. That is why they refuse to protest against the prisoners of the Bolsheviks in Russia.

But such an attitude not only abandons our comrades in Russia. It abandons ~~our~~ thousands of comrades in Spain itself, and must inevitably discourage those militants who would otherwise wish to carry on a brave struggle against the counter-revolution. The abandonment of the imprisoned comrades means the betrayal of those comrades. And a general knowledge of such an action must lead to the demoralisation of those comrades ~~who~~ who have been following the National Committee of the CNT and the Peninsular Committee of the FAI.

But in this respect another element enters the picture. At the very time that the National Committee of the CNT is preparing to announce that it has only 200 comrades in the prisons and they are to be released, the illegal paper of the Youth (in the opposition) is not only demanding the release of the 15,000 antifascists in jail, but is demanding a stop to the continuing and growing persecution of the revolutionists. They have begun to raise the slogan of an eye for an eye etc. and have declared that the terror of the Cheka must be met by terror against the Cheka! Yes, dear Emma, in the face of the continued oppression the Youth have raised the cry of individual terror as their only possible reply. And their illegal paper has a circulation of 30,000, comes out weekly, and is being supported and distributed by a number of unions, among them the food workers, who handle thousands of ~~food~~ in their office at 30 Via Durruti each week.

So that your appeal for the imprisoned revolutionists is far more in the spirit of the militant opposition than it is in that of the official line.

And your struggle against the communists is also against the official line of the organisation but in direct harmony with the activities of the illegal opposition. For only the illegal press today carries on a stiff fight against the communists and right wing socialists. And you will find, within a very short time, that the organisation's policy of internal reconciliation with the communists within Spain itself, will be pushed on an international scale. Thus, if you will continue to follow their lead, you will find yourself seeking a rapprochement with the Bolsheviks and all that that implies.

Emma, in these most crucial days for our Movement and our

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 193[8] Jan. 4, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe [Bluestein].—
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Idea, we all bear a tremendous responsibility. The Spanish comrades are carrying theirs as they see fit---fighting and sacrificing their all---but threatening to abandon everything that they stood for until now and that we still stand for. There is no doubt that our Ideas have suffered a severe blow in Spain.

That many comrades in Spain itself are aware of it was made clear ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ to me when one powerful illegal paper appearing in Aragon printed a full column article thanking their French comrades for having dared to criticize so thoroughly and so fearlessly, telling them that the Spanish militants have been following their work with interest and benefitting from it, and urging them to continue their good work. I read the article two days before I left Spain and was thrilled by the warm comradely spirit with which it was written.

The paper is called "Frente y Retaguardia", is spread in every town and village in Aragon and speaks in the name of the FAI militants, although not in that of any official committee or organism.

I could go on further, and probably will in future correspondence. But I believe that this is long enough for one letter.

To sum up:

A point has been reached in the present activities of the CNT and the FAI where they must modify and transform the basic Ideas of Anarchism if they are to continue in the future the course characterized out since July 19th, and still keep the label of Anarchism. This they have already begun to do---perhaps subtly so far, but there can be no mistaking the trend.

Their course of collaboration with the communists within Spain requires a similar course in all other countries. This means that they will abandon their own militants in Spain who are victims of the oppression and will forbid or at least fight against every manifestation of solidarity with our victimised comrades in Russia as well.

This must lead to demoralisation among the Spanish militants unless the opposition is able to rise quickly enough to forestall it.

It also means that we on the outside who have been appealing for solidarity with the Spanish Revolution and denouncing the counter-revolution will be compelled to stop all that and fight for---antifascist unity. For only the illegal opposition press is still fighting for the Revolution. In this respect, it is curious to note that while the communists imply that July 19th represented a step forward by saying let's go back to the status quo prior to July 19th, our comrades have suddenly come out with the declaration that there was no revolution in Spain at all, but only a legitimate defense against fascist aggression, thereby implying that no steps forward have as yet been taken.

As I said before, Emma, we shall have to reach a decision. To go on with the official CNT-FAI means to abandon the Spanish Revolution, to abandon the revolutionists in Russia and Spain, victims of the Bolsheviks, and to abandon all those principles for which

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 193[8] Jan. 4, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe [Bluestein].—
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you have fought all your life, and which have still to play their role in the Social Revolution ~~in~~ throughout the world.

I will not say more for the present, Emma. But please answer soon and let me know what you think of all I have said. My address, until I get a home of my own, will be: 508 East 173rd Street, Bronx, N.Y..

Mollie and Senia, and Sania and Fania join me in sending you their love.

Your devoted comrade,

Abe

P.S.: The enclosed article is absolutely true. I saw the passport, the letters to fascist Spain, the foreign currency. I tried to give it to the N.Y. Post because they have such a large circulation and it would have a much greater effect that way. But they were afraid to handle it. It will appear in Combat, and I am taking a copy with me to America for FAS, Spanish Revolution. Copies are also being sent to our papers in Holland and Sweden. It should make a big sensation. *Please sign it like Coleman.*

Incidentally, have Spain and the World sent to Tierra now because no one will take care of it at the Casa. Greet Barr for me-- Also Recchionne.

And write soon!

Your comrade

Abe

P.P.S. I just learned by accident that you are waiting for Santillan's new book to have it translated & published in English. The book appeared about 2 weeks before I left Spain: an edition of 10,000. Tierra had already sent 3,000 copies to Valencia & Madrid & was preparing to distribute it throughout Catalonia & Aragon. But the entire edition has been confiscated — by the C.N.T.! They are not allowing any copies to be sold. Santillan is in hiding, his life having been threatened. And the comrades at Tierra, Verde and Finkelstein, are so disgusted they want to quit. I learned all this 3 days before I left. Are they Anarchists — or Bolsheviks?

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ELIOT WHITE
126 GORDON STREET
ROSELLE, NEW JERSEY

1789

P. I. Sipping
to San Juan
for the
at 60
did not find
time.

January 4th, 1938.

My Swaya dear Friend,
Mrs. White and I were
sincerely pleased to receive
your Christmas tide card of
greeting, and are treasuring it
among our valued souvenirs.

Of us, in turn, send you
heartfelt wishes and a prayer
for your new year, that you
may find in it unexpected good
things and restoring experiences.
At any rate, be sure you will have
on every day of it our warm
friendship and regard.

I have appreciated your sending us the reports from Spain and am glad that you saw there

believe the divine source. They are first taught to
take that reality all the opening year, and followed by
with a return and a message from us both and a warm
across the sea, some friends always

R. V. Dwyer
5 - bear pines
for white
ash to
distill for
urea.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 4, Roselle, N.J. [to Emma Goldman, London] / Eliot White. — 2 p.; 17 x 15 cm.

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evidences of results of your labors, and
peace endurances than the last years.

You know that we believe that
there are awaiting you in other
spheres than earth's and our present
life, rewards and compensations
for your services to humanity and
the often so difficult truth, here among
so much deceit and cruel injustices.
Also, that we may honestly hope to
be rejoined to those we loved here
but see no more with these bodily
eyes.

I know also, that you realize
that I am not "sermonizing" or
uttering cant phrases. No, I have
had, and continue to have, sufficient
difficulty in holding such faith in
the face of so many baffling things
here, to burn away, I believe, most of
the dross of the perfunctory and verbose.
But your life has been a witness to your
vision of truth and humanity's better days.
You have been willing to die for your faith, and
in a real sense, you have died many deaths for
it. That is a saving grace and comes from what we

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 4, Oak Park, Ill. [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Charles Henry Mitchell. — 2 p. ; 26 × 17 cm.

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819 Lake St., Oak Park, Ill.
January 4, 1938

Dear Miss Goldman,

I am glad to have your letter of December 21st. I am more than grateful for your continued interest in the work I am doing.

Whether I misstated what I had to say regarding Czolgosz's mental status or whether you misread my letter, I do not know; at any rate I most certainly did not intend to make the statement (which you quote) that "Czolgosz was undoubtedly legally insane"; instead, I should have said "Czolgosz was undoubtedly legally sane." My further words in elaboration of the topic in my letter of November 12th should have made my position clear, although I can see that the quoted portion must have been puzzling to you if that was the way it appeared in my letter.

I am working now on the earlier part of the history: from the time Czolgosz left the family farm near Warrensville, Ohio, in July 1901 until the assassination. I have completed the later portion of the story (from the assassination to Czolgosz's execution). That part is all fully outlined, and only the writing remains. My original intention was not to develop anything prior to the assassination, but I have been driven to an attempt at realizing, if at all possible, what went on in Czolgosz's mind -- what the circumstances were -- that forced him to the decision to kill the president. Thus, you will see, I have arrived close to what must be your own standpoint in the matter, that is, the social implications and the political significance of the act.

It would be of great assistance to me if you would help me out on those aspects of the early part of the story (the Czolgosz family, etc.) which are related to your own personal experience. I believe that you visited the family some time after the affair. Can you give me your own impression of the personal appearances and personalities of those of the family you met? Can you help me to present the character of Schilling, the Cleveland anarchist, to whom Leon went shortly after leaving the farm in the summer of 1901? Can you help me out with the Isaaks and their house on Carroll Ave. in Chicago? What is your impression of Leon's attitude toward you? Were you at all aware of any romantic inclinations he might have had for you? I am driven to every means at my command in my search for authentic data, and anything you can do to help me will be of great help to me. (The fact that I myself was born several years after all of this happened has handicapped me somewhat.)

With continued gratitude,

I am, Yours truly,

Charles Henry Mitchell

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[Letter] 1938 Jan. 4, Oak Park, Ill. [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Charles Henry Mitchell. — 2 p. ; 26 × 17 cm.

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The Gypsy family, as I remember it (I do not know any
with me) consisted of his father, mother (stepmother
him did not like), an older brother (Walden),
sister (Victoria), and the latter's husband (Frank).
There were some younger brothers & sisters —
them half-brothers & sisters — but they evidently
not near much to Sam. The father, the brother,
sister, and the sister's husband all visited Sam
regularly while in Buffalo after he was convicted. He
fond of the sister, and he & the brother had
a great deal in common earlier in life. Indeed
he also had a good deal of affection for his
I have a fairly clear picture of the father & the
I would like to have a clearer picture of the
Victoria. The stepmother seems to have played
important role. There was so much friction
Sam and her that he finally broke away
the family on account of her. — Perhaps
of this will help you to recall the family
you knew it.

C. H. M.

Emma Goldman
London

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 4, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve.—
1 p.; 21 × 21 cm.

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N° 93

ES/EE

Paris, 4 de Enero 1938.

Publicación :
LA NOUVELLE ESPAGNE
ANTIFASCISTE

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de Presse : Paris - C 217 - 22

A. C. 217 - 22

Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Road
West Kensington
LONDON W.14

Querida compañera Goldman,

Recibidas todas las tuyas a las que contesto con cuatro breves
líneas.

En primer lugar, te diré que ayer enviémos la segunda parte de
la traducción inglesa del libro "Apuntes Históricos de la Revolución
Española" - Hoy, te mandamos los clichés con el mapa.

Cuando nos remitas informes para el Comité Nacional, señala
los mismos que son para ellos.

Sin más por el momento, y en espera de tus gratas nuevas, te
saluda fraternalmente,

Por la Delegación Permanente de la CNT/FAI en Francia,

Nemesio Galve
Nemesio Galve.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 5 [London to] Monica Whately, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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17721

Jan. 5th 38.

Dear Monica Whately.

I had to dash off to Paris again. That is why I have not written you to send my best wishes for the holidays and the ~~the~~ New Year. I hope you had a merry Christmas and that the New Year may bring you health and happiness. One needs both these days with all the sorrow and suffering in the world.

I inclose a copy of an appeal I have received from Fedrica Montseney the brilliant CNT member and the secretary of the SIA, the International Anti-Fascist Solidarity Group. I am its representative in England. I am sending you the appeal hoping you could let me have a list of ~~names~~ individual as well as women organisations to whom I might send the appeal. I intend to have it printed in folder form.

You will probably say that since the Labor Party is now raising funds for Spain the appeal of Montseney is unnecessary. May I suggest that unfortunately very little of the help for Spain of the Labor Party or any other organisation goes to Cataluna. Of course ALL help is needed and the help of the Labor Party ~~is~~ is certainly appreciated by my friends in Barcelona. It is only that the heaviest burden of the care of the refugees and the children are on the shoulders of the organised workers in Spain. I hope therefore you will be good enough to help me reach women in this city and the provinces by ~~giving~~ your suggestion of names and organisations.

We are opening head-quarters at 21, Frith Street. They will consist in a reading room and for the purposes of small exhibitions of ~~children~~ drawings of the school children in Barcelona and other Catalonian towns and offices of the London Bureau of

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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the CNT-FAI, THE SIA (The INTERNATIONAL ANTI-FASCIST SOLIDARITY and also SPAIN AND THE WORLD the paper published in this City. We hope to be installed there next week. As you see I have under taken much. If only there were some response. I confess I find it bitter hard to move English people. You, my dear are among the few who have responded. However I mean to go on. No effort is too much as compared with the heroic struggle and sacrifice going on in Spain.

Please give my fond greetings to my dear comrade Foot. I hope she is keeping well in this penetrating weather. Give her my kindest wishes for the New Year.

Cordially.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 6 [London to] Shloime [Sutton, Enfield, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 19 cm.

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17928

Jan. 6th 38

Dear Shloime. I was most relieved to get your letter. It shows you are getting "every day in every way better and better". The old ~~old~~ idea. Moreover your good spirits and humor are the same. Keep it up my dear and you will soon be out of the Hospital. By the way, what made you choose one so far away? I hope the treatment is not ~~all~~ all too bad.

No there would be no one not to find you alone in a room where one might have a real visit with you. I thought you were in a private room which would have given me a chance to "weep on your shoulders" over the ever growing difficulties of accomplishing much for Spain here. I had about 14 people at my place last night to discuss a Committee that would do real work for the International Anti Fascist Solidarity Organisation with section in every country except England. It would have frozen your blood. All I succeeded is to get three people to draft the appeal with which we might try for names such as ~~Richard~~ Aldous Huxley Havelock Ellis Sir Chalmer s Mitchell and a few others. Actually it will be Ethel Mannin who will write the draft. Really, if I did not have all the support from Ethel I simply would have to close "shop" I am tired unto death from trying to infuse life into British corpses.

As you see we have our new stationary. We will not be settled in the new place until the latter part of next week. My Castletown address remains until March anyhow when I will move to Liza Koldofsky. Its too much to keep up two places besides I will have to be in our new quarters pretty much the largest part of the day. So why keep up two joints,?

Indeed I will be glad to come to your new home once you will be out from the hospital and since my coming to the St George would only mean having a look at you I will let it go especially as I do not know if you will still be in Sunday. I know your are sensible, sometimes anyhow. You will not think me neglectful.

With the best wishes for your speedy recover and
with my old affection

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 6, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Dorothy [Rogers].— 1 p.; 21 × 15 cm.

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Chine Drive
Scarboro Bluffs
Ontario, Canada.

Jan. 6th. 1938

Emma Dearest;

I was so pleased to receive you card for the New Year. You must be quite disgusted with me for not writing to you for such a long time. Even now I am not going to write you a real letter. But I promise that I will soon.

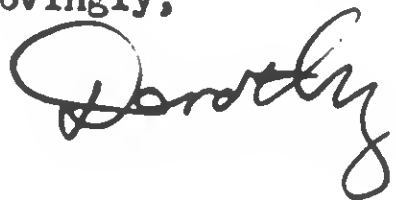
I want you to have the enclosed editorial. It appeared in the Daily Star on Dec 31st. I have been sending copies of both papers to the Star for a long time now but this is the first time they have seen fit to attack them.

The Star receives the CNT bulletins direct from Barcelona. I sent the comrades the Star's address since I thought that best. There have been three or four editorials on information received from the bulletin.

I believe that Joe has written to you recently, telling about the activities of the group; so I know that you know what we are doing.

I promise to write a personal letter soon. When are you planning to come to Canada? But I will write again before you need answer that.

lovingly,



The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 Jan. 7, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[anuel] Mascarell. —
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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La Nouvelle Espagne Antifasciste

N° 19
M. B. G.

Paris, le 7 Janvier 1938.

Emma GOLDMANN
37, Old Compton St W.I.
LONDON

Chère Emma,

Il y a quelques jours, j'ai reçu une lettre me demandant, entre autres choses, les clichés des photographies que nous avons publiées dans la "NOUVELLE ESPAGNE ANTIFASCISTE", concernant la collectivité de Balsareny.

J'ai en ma possession les dits clichés. Je te les enverrai dès que possible, mais je ne sais pas encore par quelle voie.

Je joins à ma lettre, des photos que j'ai reçues de Barcelone, au sujet des manifestations d'enthousiasme que le peuple catalan a fait aux héros de Teruel. La majorité de ceux-ci appartiennent à l'Organisation Confédérale et spécifique.

J'espère que tu m'enverras un exemplaire de chaque numéro du journal que vous allez éditer. Est-il déjà paru ?

En vous souhaitant un grand succès dans la publication dudit journal, reçois un affectueux salut de ton ami et camarade.

M. MASCARELL.



P.J. - des photos.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 8 [London to] The Manchester Guardian, Manchester [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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20451

Wyan Pease
Manchester Guardian
Manchester

8th January, 1938.

Sir,

Having lived in England for some time and watchful of the daily press, I have not been surprised to find continued misrepresentation about Anarchism and Anarchists, but I was shocked to discover in the Manchester Guardian a similar trend. I had always believed that your paper is absolutely reliable as far as news is concerned, and very fair in its treatment of all matters, especially so as regards the Spanish anti-Fascist struggle and the part in it of the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.L.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.).

I am referring to the series of articles on Spain by your special correspondent. I followed the series with interest, the more so because I had but recently covered the same ground as he. But great was my surprise to find in his last article on January 1st a number of gross mis-statements. I have tried all my life to guard against charging anyone with ulterior motives who disagreed with the ideas I represent. I am therefore loath to accuse your special correspondent with having permitted himself to be influenced by his "Communist friends". For it is certain that he did not get his information about the Anarchists first-hand. He certainly never took the trouble to find out how many there are at the front and what their fighting capacity is. Had he done so, he would never have stated that "from the point of view of morale the least reliable element, the Anarchists, are also scattered through the Army and do not, as a rule, form any separate fighting units". Whatever his source of information or whatever his reasons for denying the Anarchists any morale in the anti-Fascist war, his statement is utterly wrong.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 8 [London to] The Manchester Guardian, Manchester [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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A point in case is the taking of Teruel. Your special correspondent has remained blissfully ignorant of the truly extraordinary fortitude and valour of the 25th Division in taking Teruel. I am enclosing a Spanish text of the day by day account of the part played by this gallant Division under the command of one of the most heroic men, Garcia Vivancas, member of the C.N.T. You will see that far from lacking "morale", it was the 25th Division with its numerous Brigades, among them the most outstanding in courage and daring, the 116th, 117th and 118th, who fought their way into Teruel.

I cannot understand how your special correspondent could have failed to learn about this, and how he could be so limited by his Communist influence as to deny justice to the brave fighters at Teruel. The Communist bias of your correspondent fairly oozes out of every line, even though he often contradicts himself in the high tribute he pays to his friends. In one sentence he stresses the fact that "the Spanish Communists have been among the bravest and most determined leaders in Spain" and that "the young Communist Party has been the greatest driving force in the anti-Fascist war." Almost in the same breath he admits that the influence of the Communists is on the decline. True, he assures your readers that it is not only with "professional anti-Communists like the Anarchists and the ex-Poum people, but also with certain members of the Negrin Government" that the Communists have lost prestige. Strange, is it not, that the influence of the "greatest driving force" should so quickly be on the decline. I wonder why your special correspondent fails to give the reasons for this change in the Communist position? May I presume to enumerate some of them?

In doing so, I must revert to your special correspondent. Where he states that "Russia literally saved the Spanish Republic", it was done by selling arms to the Spanish Republic which other Governments failed to do. I would like to impress upon the minds of your special correspondent and your readers that Russia did not only "sell arms" to Spain for gold, but also the famous Soviet methods of dealing with all opponents. In the first place the Spanish Republic and the Spanish people were quite justified in expecting help from a Republic that calls itself Socialist. In the second place it was a breach of all sincerity and justice on the part of the Soviet Government to attach to the arms furnished its methods of imposing the blessings of the Soviet Government on the Spanish people. As a result of this, dictatorship has been established in Spain, free speech and press curtailed and the prisons filled with thousands of revolutionists who had faithfully and selflessly served the anti-Fascist war until the Soviet

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 8 [London to] The Manchester Guardian, Manchester [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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20483

3

Government planted its iron heel on the necks of the Spanish people. The Communist Brigades, painted in glaring colours by your special correspondent, were "a great driving force" indeed: alas! not against Franco so much as against the Collectives which sprang up after the heroic revolutionary uprising of July, 1938. The Spanish people have learned since that their bargain with Stalin was paid for not only with gold but with blood and the annihilation of part of their political liberties, which they had certainly not bargained for. In fairness to them I ask you to publish my corrections of the numerous mis-statements in the article of your correspondent.

The Anarcho-Syndicalists and the Anarchists are no negligible quantity. Their organisations can boast of a membership of 3,000,000 men. Their dogged adherence to the anti-Fascist war has permitted nothing to swerve them, and their fighting courage has stood the test of fire on every front - Madrid, Belchito and now Teruel. They deserve fairness and justice from a paper of the standing of the Manchester Guardian. They ask for nothing more.

Yours faithfully,

The Editor,
The Manchester Guardian,
Manchester.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 8, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rock-er]. — 4 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

15486

Crompond, N.Y. Januar 8th 1938.

My dearest Emma:

Deinen Brief gerade erhalten, allerdings mit einigen Tagen Verspätung. Wir waren nämlich die Feiertage über in Towanda. Dein Brief wurde nach dort nachgeschickt, aber als er ankam, hatten wir uns bereits wieder auf die Heimreise gemacht, so dass uns dein Schreiben erst hier erreichte.

Ja, du hast recht, Emma, dieser Brief war nicht gerade erhebend, aber das war sicher nicht deine Schuld. Du schreibst unter dem Eindruck der Eindrücke, die du in Paris empfangen hattest, und die waren eben nicht dazu angetan, dich in eine bessere Stimmung zu versetzen. Ich selbst hatte nichts Besseres erwartet, nachdem ich Einsicht in die Berichte von beiden Seiten genommen hatte. Ich hatte bisher an allen Kongressen der IAA teilgenommen und muss gestehen, dass ich ihrer mit den ernstesten Gefühlen gedenke. Sie waren interessant, kameradschaftlich und von jenem Geiste der Toleranz beseelt, der für ein freundschaftliches Zusammenarbeiten unentbehrlich ist. Bloss ein Teil der Verhandlungen auf dem Kongress in Madrid machte eine unangenehme Ausnahme, und zwar die, welche sich mit dem Fall Souchy beschäftigten. S. war unmöglich geworden, aber der unheimliche Einfluss Thérèses verhinderte ihn immer wieder, freiwillig zurückzutreten, trotzdem er es mir privat wiederholt versprochen hatte, wenn ich ihn in durchaus freundschaftlicher Weise seine schiefe Position klarzumachen versuchte. Saja, Müller-Lehning, Orobon, Bernard hatten dann alle Mittel angewendet, um ihn zu Fall zu bringen. Auch die kleine Mollie hat an diesen Untrieben den lebhaftesten Anteil genommen. Faktisch waren sie vollständig im Recht, aber die Wahl der Mittel war sicherlich verfehlt und hat bis heute bei mir einen unangenehmen Eindruck hinterlassen. Wenn man mit Genossen zusammenarbeitet, ist der offene Weg immer der beste. Begibt man sich erst auf Hinterwege, untergräbt man das Vertrauen von Mensch zu Mensch, und früher oder später stößt sich das. Souchy hatte viel gesündigt, seine sexuelle Hörigkeit hat ihn zu Dingen verleitet, die untragbar waren. Hätte er die mindeste Spur von Selbstrespekt gehabt, so wäre er lange vorher gegangen. Er hat es nicht getan. Ich war vielleicht der einzige, der die inneren Ursachen seiner unbegreiflichen Schwäche erkannte und diese menschlich beurteilt. Aber ich hätte es gerne gesehen, dass man ihm einen kameradschaftlichen Umgang gesichert hätte. Die bittere Erfahrung hat mich gelehrt, dass wo persönliche Verbitterung einsetzt, alle Brücken zwischen Mensch und Mensch abgebrochen werden, und das führt nie zu etwas Gutem. ~~Burns~~ Durruti nannte S. stets den "Hampelmann seiner Frau". Er hatte sicher recht; aber persönliche Schwäche ist noch kein Verbrechen. Dass er nicht länger Sekretär der IAA bleiben konnte, war für mich klar, umsomehr, als Th. fast alle seine schriftlichen Arbeiten besorgte und dadurch Einblick in Dinge erhielt, die bei ihrem hysterischen Charakter leicht zu grossen Gefahren führen konnten. Aber es wäre nicht nötig gewesen, ihn mit jenem unversöhnlichen Groll scheiden zu lassen, der sich heute so verhängnisvoll auswirkt.

Denn es ist für mich ganz klar, dass manche Entscheidungen ^{der} auf die Einflüsterungen S. zurückzuführen sind, wahrscheinlich auch die Idee, mit der zweiten und dritten Internationale Fühlung zu nehmen. Ich weiss ganz genau, dass S. alles versucht hat, um die Kluft zwischen der spanischen Bewegung und der IAA grösser und klaffender zu machen. Er hat schon letztes Jahr den Spaniern die Idee nahe gelegt, mit der I.L.P in

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15487

und anderen Organisationen eine neue Internationale zu bilden, und die Spanier, die leider von den Verhältnissen im Ausland fast gar keine Ahnung haben, schenkten diesen Einflüsterungen ein umso willigeres Ohr, als sie den bitteren Angriffen Sqnjas, Besnards und anderer ausgesetzt waren. Ausserdem war S. für sie der Mann, der mit der ausländischen Bewegung Bescheid wusste und selber an den Ereignissen in Spanien Anteil nahm, was bei ihnen natürlicherweise sehr viel zu sagen hatte.

Als du mir seiner Zeit schriebst, dass S. seine ganze Kraft für die spanische Bewegung einsetze, so war ich natürlich der Meinung, dass man ihn in keiner Beziehung stören dürfe, denn es ist mein Grundsatz, dass man einem Menschen nie die Gelegenheit nehmen sollte, das wieder gut zu machen, was er verschuldet hatte. Aber dass S. in der FAI einen solchen Einfluss bekam, war ein Verhängnis. S. ist kein Charakter, sondern ein unverbesserlicher Kleingeist, der den inneren Groll gegen seine Gegner in der IAA nie überwinden konnte. Dabei hat er ein starkes Geltungsbedürfnis, das durch den unheimlichen Einfluss einer hochgradig hysterischen Frau bis zum Extrem entwickelt wurde. Wenn solche Leute in einer Bewegung Einfluss bekommen, werden sie zu einer Gefahr, nicht weil sie persönlich unehrlich sind, sondern weil sie nie weiter sehen können, als als ihre Nase reicht und weil sie leider allzusehr geneigt sind, aus ihren persönlichen Angelegenheiten Bewegungsangelegenheiten zu machen.

Das schroffe Auftreten Sqnjas und der Übrigen gegen die CNT hat ihm seine Aufgabe viel erleichtert. Es ist nicht die Frage, wer in diesem Streite recht hat, sondern mit welchen Methoden ein Streit ausgetragen wird. Nicht darauf kommt es an, was man sagt, sondern wie man es sagt. In einer normalen Zeit ist es vielleicht von wenig Belang, wenn man ab und zu über die Stränge schlägt, obwohl auch hier ein freundschaftlicher Ton mehr ausrichtet wie innere Verbissenheit. Aber in einer Zeit, wo es sich um einen Kampf auf Leben und Tod handelt, wo die ganze Existenz einer Bewegung und eines ganzen Volkes auf dem Spiele steht, sollte man sich die grösste Zurückhaltung auferlegen und nicht Leute in den Rücken fallen, die ihre Haut zu Markte tragen und jeden Moment ihr Leben in die Schanze schlagen. Es sind dies Dinge, die man nicht immer mit dem nüchternen Verstande erfassen kann, sondern die man menschlich nachempfinden muss, um sich ein klares Urteil zu bilden. Aber nicht jeder kann das, und das ist ein Unglück. Theorien haben nur dann einen Wert, wenn sie sich aus den unmittelbaren Verhältnissen des Lebens entwickeln und nicht zu einem starren Dogma werden. Menschen, die von Natur aus dogmatisch veranlagt sind, werden das nie begreifen, und darin besteht das Verhängnis.

Dass die Leute der CNT Fehler begangen haben, bestreitet keiner. Der Mensch ist ein unvollkommenes Geschöpf; deshalb werden seine Taten auch stets unvollkommen bleiben, weil der Menschengeist nicht alle Dinge vorzusehen kann. In einer verwickelten Situation wie die spanische, ist das immer gefährlich. Aber wer von uns ist sicher, dass er unter ähnlichen Umständen nicht dieselben Fehler gemacht hätte? Tropotkins Stellung im Kriege, war ein ungeheurer Irrtum, aber es war ein Irrtum, der seiner besonderen Auffassung der Dinge entsprach, und dessen innere Logik durchaus nicht von der Hand zu weisen ist. Aber niemand von uns beschuldigte ihn des Verrates, jeder war von der Grundehrlichkeit seines Handelns fest überzeugt. Sogar Sqnja hat die Freundschaft mit ihm nicht gebrochen. Deshalb sollten wir mit den Spaniern eine Ausnahme machen? Es ist sehr leicht, von sicheren Auslande über Dinge zu richten; aber es ist etwas ganz anderes, wenn man mitten im Kampfe steht, immer das Richtige zu treffen und oft in einem Augenblick Entschlüsse von ungeheurer Tragweite zu fällen hat. Wie immer man die Dinge beurteilen mag, eines steht fest: so wie in Spanien besteht das ganze Volk nicht aus Anarchisten, obgleich unsere Ideen dort tiefer im Volke wurzeln, als in jedem anderen Lande. Aber wenn man das anerkennen muss, dann muss man auch

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3

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Es ist klar, dass unsere Genossen den gegebenen Verhältnissen Rechnung tragen mussten. Sie mögen sich dabei in der Wahl ihrer Methoden geirrt haben, aber ihnen daraus einen Strick zu drehen, ist ungerecht. Um sich vollständig durchzusetzen, hätten sie zu dem Mittel der Diktatur greifen müssen und einen neuen Bürgerkrieg entfesseln müssen, der nicht nur den Faschisten ihre Aufgabe erleichtert hätte, sondern aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach zu einer Invasion Englands und Frankreichs geführt hätte. Unsere Bewegung im Auslande hätte den Spaniern in einem solchen Falle wenig Hilfe leisten können und die übrige Arbeiterbewegung auf Grund ihrer ganzen taktischen und theoretischen Einstellung erst recht nicht. In diesem ungleichen Kampfe hätte die spanische Bewegung sicher unterliegen müssen. Sie hätte damit die Gloriole des Märtyrertums um ihr Haupt gekundend, und die Unentwerteten in unseren Reihen hätten damit stolzieren können, aber welches moralische Recht haben wir, ein solches Opfer zu fordern? Für eine revolutionäre Bewegung sind Blutzugeen vielleicht unentbehrlich, aber man schafft damit allein noch keine neue Ordnung der Dinge.

Wenn ich alle Versehen, Fehler und Irrtümer der Spanier in eine Wagschale lege und in die andere ihren heroischen Widerstand gegen die faschistische Überbrückung der Welt und ihre grossen konstruktiven Versuche auf dem Gebiet der Industrie, der Agrikultur und des ganzen sozialen Lebens, dann wiegen alle Fehler federleicht gegen ihre unsterblichen Verdienste.

Wenn Sonja und andere dir zum Vorwurf machen, dass du mit deiner Stellung zum IIT heute alles über den Haufen wirfst, was du dein Leben lang reproduziert hast, so lasse dir darüber keine grauen Haare wachsen. Das sind leere Worte und nichts mehr. Der gute Sonja kann eben nicht aus seiner Haut heraus. Er ist einfach nicht imstande, die Gründe anderer zu würdigen und sieht nur das Bild, das er sich selbst geschaffen hat. Das ist nicht seine Schuld, denn nichts ist schwerer, als anderen ganz gerecht zu werden. Ich erinnere mich eines Artikels im Londoner Arbeiter-Freund, den er kurze Zeit nach dem Kriege, als er geheim in England war, geschrieben hatte. Er verdammt dort jede Kritik an den Bolschewisten und vertrat den Standpunkt, dass unsere Genossen Schulter an Schulter mit ihnen kämpfen müssten; jede andere Stellung erschien ihm als direkter Verrat. Seine Stellung Machno und Volin gegenüber, der Machno verteidigte, ist dir bekannt. Es fiel mir niemals ein, ihn deshalb zu verurteilen. Ich versuchte seinen Standpunkt zu verstehen, obwohl ich ihn nicht teilen konnte. Ich zweifelte keinen Augenblick an der inneren Aufrichtigkeit seiner Auffassung, obwohl ich mir vollständig darüber klar war, dass seine Voraussetzungen irrtümlich falsch waren. Er hat seinen Irrtum lange eingesehen und begriffen, dass er den Moskauern ein Verraten untergebracht, das sie ihm schlecht gelohnt haben. Das alles ist menschlich. Jeder von uns hat ähnliche Situationen erlebt und ähnliche Fehler begangen. Alle, alle, ohne Ausnahme. Aber wenn das so ist, dann sollte man auch anderen ihre wirklichen oder vermeintlichen Fehler nicht so dick anstreichen und vor allem jenen bitteren und selbstherrlichen Ton vermeiden, der nur verdammten, aber nicht verzeihen kann. Das ist besonders nötig in einer Situation wie die spanische.

Menschen, die jeden Tag um ihr Leben kämpfen und vielleicht alle dem Untergang geweiht sind, haben feine Ohren, und eine Verurteilung durch die eigenen Gesinnungsfreunde wiegt schwerer wie alle Verleumdungen und Unterstellungen der Gegner. Die Spanier fühlen sich verlassen in ihrem Kampf, und jedes bittere Wort, das aus den eigenen Reihen kommt, muss bei ihnen Empfindungen auslösen, die vielleicht nicht gerechtfertigt, aber menschlich begreiflich sind. Wenn wir selbst in ihrer verzweifelten Lage wären, würden wir die Dinge anders empfinden? Ich glaube kaum. Ein Schritt findet sich mit jedem Urteil ab, aber Menschen, die es redlich meinen, fühlen anders, sogar wenn sie sich nicht verhehlen können, dass

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15489
sie gegen Irrtümer nicht gefeit sind. Wenn dazu noch die ~~x~~ innere Mühe-
arbeit geborener Kleingeister kommt, die jede Gelegenheit ausnutzen, um
den anderen etwas am Zeuge flicken zu können, so wird die Lage noch kompli-
zierter und verstärkt das Misstrauen, das bereits gesät wurde.

Wahrscheinlich entspringt auch der Vorschlag der Spanier, sich an die
beiden Internationalen zu wenden bloss dem Versuche, Hilfe zu erhalten
um jeden Preis. Ich nehme die Sache nicht so tragisch wie du, da wahr-
scheinlich aus der ganzen Sache so wie so nichts herauskommen wird. Die
IAA hat sich früher bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten an die ~~xxxtaxmnd~~
reformistische Gewerkschaftsinternationale gewendet, obwohl wir in vorn-
hinein fest überzeugt waren, dass nichts dabei herauskommen würde. Wir
taten es aus gewissen Gründen, die unsere Position moralisch festigen
mussten. Selbstverständlich müssen wir alles tun, um die Spanier vor
unüberlegten Handlungen in dieser Beziehung zurückzuhalten. Ich habe
bereits vor einigen Tagen an Rüdiger geschrieben, der ohne Zweifel
Xelsquez Vasquez, für den mein Schreiben wirklich bestimmt war, meinen
Standpunkt mitteilte. Vor allem aber müssen wir versuchen, die Genossen
zu einer klipp und klaren Stellung den Russen gegenüber zu bringen. Ich
werde alles aufwenden, um das zu erreichen, darauf kannst du dich fest
verlassen.

Rüdigers Bericht habe ich noch nicht erhalten, weiss also noch nicht,
wie alles verlaufen ist; aber er wird ihn mir sicher senden, da er mir
bisher alle Dokumente zuschickte. Helmut ist übrigens ein prachtvoller
Kerl, etwas schwer zugänglich, aber wenn man ihn kennt, ein vorzüglicher
Charakter. Er besitzt nicht bloss gute Kenntnisse, sondern hat auch
menschliches Verständnis, und das ist die Hauptsache.

Ich habe vorgestern die Korrekturen meines Buches für Secker & Warburg
zurückgesandt. Es waren dort noch eine ganze Anzahl Fehler und vor allen
einige Verstellungen im Satze. Du könntest mir einen grossen Gefallen
tun, wenn du ihn noch einmal anrufen würdest und ihm ans Herz legst, die
Korrekturen gut zu besorgen. Das kleine Buch ist gut geraten und wird
dir sicher Freude machen.

Du erwähnst in deinem Briefe kein Wort von meinem letzten Schreiben an
und von meinem Buche über Nationalismus, das ich dir zuschickte. Hast
du beide erhalten?

Wir umarmen dich alle recht herzlich. Verliere den Mut nicht,
liebe Emma und arbeite weiter für die braven Spanier; sie haben es ehr-
lich verdient.

Von ganzem Herzen

Rudolf

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 8, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez
[and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

BARCELONA, a 8 de enero de 1938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
London.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Adjuntamos a la presente nuestro Boletín de Información nº 22, del cual podrás extraer material para la propaganda, al propio tiempo que representa un documento de consulta sobre la trayectoria y el trabajo que se realiza en España.

Te anunciamos que a partir de este momento, te remitiremos un ejemplar de cada número.

Te saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

Pedro Herrera

FEDERACION ANARQUISTA
IBERICA
COMITE PENINSULAR
SECRETARIADO

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL CNT.

Mariano R. Vázquez

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL
DEL TRABAJO
CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS
SOCIALES
SECRETARIA

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 8, New York [to] Emma Goldman, London / Edward Dahlberg. —
2 p.; 22 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18202

237 West 16th Street
New York, New York
January 8, 1938

Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Road
London, W 14
England

Dear Emma Goldman:

I was more than delighted to have your letter. Believe me, I wish you had the time to do an essay on that very special period in our American life. Actually, and you know this so poignantly, so little is known of Alexander Berkman, Voltairine de Cleyre, yourself, and that small little band of heroic idealists.

I don't think we were ever, in our lifetime anyway, in a darker philistea than today. And never was it more urgent that we challenge even the very things we think we believe in as now. *quite*

I am particularly interested in Randolph Bourne, and if you recall, you republished an essay of his, I believe, "The War and the Intellectual" in Mother Earth Press. *did not*

For my own book on American literature, on early American communities, on politics and truths and American anarchists, all this is woven of one idea and one cloth, I have done an essay on Bourne called "An American Therapists". *no*

Naturally, I want to give you some of the atmosphere of the magazine that we intend to publish.-- We will challenge all those things that seem to demolish the human impulses regardless of their political character or source.

Perhaps you might reconsider doing something for us. It need not be the thing I suggested to you in my last letter; perhaps you have some manuscript at hand which deals with those fearful and wretched dilemmas of our own day. *it's*

Another thing, we are changing the name of the magazine to TWICE A YEAR. This we are doing to avoid the waste of sum- *magazine*

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 8, New York [to] Emma Goldman, London / Edward Dahlberg. —
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Page 2

mer publication. Perhaps later we will bring it out more frequently.

Although we have contributions from all sorts of people abroad and here, we are much more interested in a particular idea, in the spirit rather than in names.

I am following your suggestion and will write to Alsberg whom I know and to Hippolyte Havel.

I will be grateful to hear from you further. I have some of your books, but not "Living my Life." That I will get in the course of the next few days and read it.

Meanwhile, please accept my warm admiration.

Sincerely,

Edward Dahlberg

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 9? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.—
2 p.; 20 x 16 cm.

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Sunday

17212

Darling Emma,

Here with a rough layout of the appeal-leaflet. I think the 'copy' would go into that size leaflet as indicated, but a printer would be able to tell you definitely and whether a slightly larger leaflet (say, the size of the Spanish film one) would be necessary. On the other hand you may think fit to cut some of the copy.

I thought we should explain something of the purpose of the SIA and the attempt to organise an English branch, and I have been 'tactful' about the 'facts and figures'. You'll of course cut or alter, or both, as you may think advisable. But ~~xx~~ I think I've brought out the chief points.

I have taken the most 'telling points' from Montseny's appeal. I don't know if we should end the appeal in letter-form - perhaps we should if we begin Dear Friends (though of course we need not begin like that; it was just that it occurred to me as a possibly good opening) - perhaps we should end - ~~xxxxxxxSIAxxxx~~
~~xxxxxxxSIAxxxx~~

For the S.I.A. (English section)
Emma Goldman

Ethel Mannin

Frederic Warburg

Reginald Reynolds

--- Adams

and any other names you think fit. Or just your name and mine (as Treas.) and perhaps one other (Ralph Parr as Sec. say). Then the leaflet could go out with a covering letter, very brief, a mere covering note, on SIA stationery and with the ~~list~~ list of patrons, Sponsors, or Supporters (or whatever you like to call it) down in the left-hand margin.

But we could obviate the extra work of a covering letter by having the list of Sponsors under the title of the leaflet, thus-

SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL ANTIFASCISTA
(International anti-Fascist Solidarity)
English section

Supporters: Emma Goldman (Gen. Organiser) Ethel Mannin (Hon. Treas.)
Ralph Parr (Hon. Sec.)

Frederic Warburg, Reginald Reynolds, Mrs -- Adams, Sonia Clements,

and any other names we can raise.

I really think this would be best, Emma. It would save extra work and trouble and expense.

I really do think it would save a lot of bother if you didn't have anything but a ~~list~~ list of Supporters and just we three, you and I and

'nominal committee'

really think this is better. Hope

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Barr, as a working committee — just people helping you; which is all that needed. 17218

Its really too absurd! if we've got to get the 'O.K.' of Sonia Clements and that chi. Harrisson and god knows who else on this leaflet, when you know what it's about, and you are the CIA representative here. Its a waste of time, will mean a lot of bickering and counter-suggesting, and is all to no purpose. Its for you to choose who will help you, and you to approve or correct their efforts. You could ask Harrisson's advice on the printing, and Sonia. She has any suggestions to make (but she offered nothing helpful at the meeting, and she certainly was not with you and me and Barr over the Spanish film, I can assure you! I feel she would only try to throw her weight about and raise difficulties.) But you could offer her the position of Treas. by all means. She will have the advantage of being here all the time, and it might keep her quiet — I mean then she won't want to try to throw her weight about where it really isn't wanted. Just alter the ending of the leaflet if you think this is a good idea. You must know I wouldn't be in the least offended — only too glad, in fact!

re the 14th. meeting. I think I should say my little piece first, Emma. It could be a sort of 'introduction' to your speech; I mean you would pick up and enlarge upon the points I would only tentatively make. Its silly putting a 'little' speaker like me after you: can only be an anti-climax. Unless you have me make the appeal. I'll have to say my piece about not speaking for, or as a representative of the I.L.P. of course I enclose Fenner's letter and my reply so that you can read them properly: I don't think you heard much in the tumult of the Ivy last night: please return.)

And tell me if you agree either to my speaking first, or to my making the appeal, and give me some ' pointers', please.

Dearest Emma I must fly: my family is coming to tea. Its nearly 4 and the tidying of the house (I have no maid on Sundays) and the getting of lunch for myself and the gardener (who comes Sundays to help out the family staff) and he does the rest of the week! and the writing of this leaflet and this to you have taken all day till now! Now I must go and cut bread and butter and lay the table.

You looked very charming last night, dear; I loved that dress: it was perfect with your hair. I wish the Ivy had been quieter, that's all. But we'll patronise the Spanish consulate's place next.

My dearest love, darling Emma

Stu

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan.? 10? London to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y. (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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18112

I don't see what else I can do except to tell them if they feel I am injuring them I will resign. I have never known great agony of spirit than to go on defending and explaining the action of the CNT-FAI as having been imposed on them. In point of fact the must carry very considerable of the blame because of their mad idea that all must be ~~sacrificed~~ sacrificed for the anti Fascist war. Well, Lenin preached and did the same and so did all governments in the last war. You know dearest I have come a long way but being sagged as far as the dreadful Stalin regime is concerned and all the truly horrifying things the Communists have an are doing in Spain. No, I cannot submit to that. I am too unhappy now to consider what I will do if the National Committee should decide on an ultimatum. At their request I have gone into and initial expense of £75, a lease on our offices for a year. The work for the exhibition of the Barcelona childrens drawings has been started and hundreds of letters sent out in re the CNT-FAI

Dearest I have decided to give up Aunties flat. As long as I combined the office with my living quarters the up-keep of the flat was not so bad. Cooking for myself was trying and still more being alone nights all the time. When one cannot sleep its even more trying. With our new place where I will have to be most of the day and evening I mean if I will continue the work for the CNT-FAI it is a useless expense to keep the flat only coming to sleep in there. I have already written Auntie giving her a month's notice and paying her for the month. I am moving to my dear Liza Goldersky. She is still broken up from her loss, feels terribly lonely and she asked me to come to her. I can wish for none better to look after my needs, save me house keeping, and also I will not be alone. I do not yet what date next month I will move. Better write up to the office address for the present, later it will be to Liza who has taken a small house. The address is 6, Sneath Ave, Golders Green London N.W.11.

Darling I wish I could retire from everything and hide myself somewhere. After all I have given forty eight years of my life to our movement. What is the use of going on when one has to deny ones faith day by day? True my heart and my thoughts are with Spain I feel with the comrades in their crucial hour. I am no sectarian. But there is a limit to compromises. It has arrived for me and unless the comrades can trust me and rely on my judgment in the work in England I simply will have to go that's all. The question only is where.

Goodby darling. I hate to write you such a gloomy letter But I really feel battered and at the end of my tether.

Love to the family. Love to you dearest.

Please keep this letter and the copy of mine to Vazquez to yourself. For whatever happens I will not ever take a stand against our people publicly.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 10, London [to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18900

London Jan 10th. 38

Dear comrade Galve.

reel 18 I have received the translation and the maps also your letter. In addition I have also received two books one on the Madrid Front and the other Vanguardia et Retroguarda. I wish dear comrade I could help you realize that English publishers as a whole are not interested in any books of the CNT-FAI. Nor can the London Bureau undertake to publish anything beyond a leaflet or the printing we need for our immediate work. The one publisher who ~~has~~ is showing interest in the work of Cervantes and is carefully considering the English translation may really decide to go the book out. He will let me know when he has made his decision. Of course the Communists have their own publisher. He has made a fortune on their works so he can afford to put many books on Spain from the Communist Angle on the market. His name is Gollanz. But he would not touch anything of the CNT-FAI. I ~~am~~ have tested him so I know. I am hoping Warburg may bring out the Puente Historico. I will let you know just as soon as I have a definite reply from him. I also gave him two other books the JULIO DE JULIO and the Record of Madrid. He tells me he has Spanish readers and he will let them read the books and let me know whether they advise their publication. But really I am not very hopeful.

Have the Spanish comrades in New York done anything about approaching the publishers I suggested, Knopf, Viking and some other and what have they said? I am interested because ~~the~~ I think the chances in New York are greater than here.

Early last spring comrade Vasquez wrote asking whether I could organize labor committee, not of the leaders but of the ~~work~~ workers in different trades to go to Spain on a visit to the CNT. I began to do so. Then came the May events and the impossibility of getting visas. Now since the Leaders of the Labor and Trade Union Parties are being given visas it might be possible to send a commission of real workers not leaders to go. I talked to the Sec of the I.L.P. about the matter and he said he would try to select a commission exclusively of workers of various trades. Of course we could add a comrade from our side.

Now the question is whether the Spanish Consul will give such a commission a visa. Comrade Roca had no difficulty in getting one for me. Do you think he could just as well get it for a half dozen people? I wish you would let me know. Of course they will have to be invited by the CNT as its guests and their traveling expenses will have to be paid. But I rather think it would be worth while for British workers to see the industries either collectivized or under the control of the CNT. I am sure it

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would make our work so much easier if these men or women
Spain would speak in a public meeting about the conditions
the IWW-USA.

I am writing Vassquez about the matter in a day or two.
I am busy sending out hundreds of the inclosed letter and
and also announcements of our meetings.

Please write me by return mail about the
of a real workers commission.

Greetings to all the comrades of the Delegation.

Salud.

Please write me French.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 10 [London to] John Dewey, New York / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 26 × 17 cm.

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10th January, 1938.

Dear Professor Dewey,

I was delighted to see in the report of your radio speech in the New York Times of December 10th your stand on the present political persecution going on in Soviet Russia. If I had any personal vanities I should feel highly elated to find so distinguished and liberal a man as you pointing out the evils in Russia which my comrade, Alexander Berkman, and I have written about sixteen years ago; but, being human and therefore "fallible" I confess I feel vindicated. I am only sorry that my co-fighter is so long or among the living to see that the truth about Russia is finally coming out.

Believe me, I have no desire to be unkind to anyone who is a refugee and denied asylum in many countries. At the same time I cannot share the feelings that motivated your condemnation and you to vindicate Leon Trotsky, for I know that when he was in power he did exactly as his present arch-enemy, Stalin, and that he would repeat the same inhumanity to his opponents were he again in power.

It was under the régime of Lenin, Trotsky and the unfortunate victim of Stalin, Zinoviev, that the Anarchists were "liquidated", and it was Trotsky who did the liquidating with machine guns. It was also under their régime that Trotsky commanded his lieutenant, Purasovsky, - recently murdered - to exterminate the Cronstadt sailors, the very men whom Trotsky on more than one occasion hailed as the "Red pride of the Revolution". Fourteen thousand lives were lost in that bloody purge. It is also necessary to point out that under Lenin and Trotsky thousands of Anarchists, social revolutionists, Mensheviks, the liberal intelligentsia, workers and peasants were exiled to the far north and imprisoned for no other offence than their inability and unwillingness to ally themselves with the Bolshevik State machinery. As now, so then, the Chinese in its deadly work tortured people in their underground prisons and shot them in the back of their necks without trial and without mercy.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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2

No one raised a voice against these horrors under the Bolshevik régime. Only once did distinguished men of letters like Anatole France, Romain Rolland, Bertrand Russell and a few others, plead for the lives of the 22 victims of Lenin and his comrades, and thereby saved their lives. After that, absolute universal silence in the face of the continued and incessant brutal extermination of everyone who dare doubt the holy Trinity, Marx, Engels and Lenin.

After all, Stalin is only the exaggerated expression of the Bolshevik ideology and tactics which justify every crime. It therefore seems to me not quite logical to turn the light on the present ruler of Russia and keep in the shadow the very forces that created Stalin's psychology and conditioned all his actions.

Nevertheless, I rejoice that brave men and women have been found, with you, dear professor, in the lead, to cry out against the dreadful butcheries going on under Stalin's régime.

Unfortunately the poisonous ideas introduced by Bolshevism and the belief in dictatorship as the only anointed power for the regeneration of society and the masses, are undermining life not only in Russia. They have been transplanted into Spain, imposed on the Spanish people by the same means as practised in the Socialist Republic. This is the more reprehensible because it was done at the time when the Spanish people were face to face with Fascist invasion, with the wholesale butchery of their spokesmen as well as the workers and peasants, by Franco. The world has been assured that it was Soviet Russia which saved Spain from the German and Italian hordes; but the world has yet to learn that along with the arms sold to Spain for good gold Stalin has also sold the Spanish people the blessings of the U.R.U. with all its gruesome methods and destruction of the finest and the best in the country.

Since the advent of Russia, the Communists have gone through Spain with fire and sword. They have destroyed much of the constructive achievement of the Spanish Revolution, such as the Collectives on the land and in the industries. They have filled the prisons with thousands of men and women who until last May were among the most heroic fighters at the front and in the rear. They have kidnapped people who have left no trace. Others again they have killed in broad daylight, such as Bin, the leader of the Four, Rein, the son of the famous Russian Bolshevik, Abramovitch, Camilo Berneri, distinguished Anarchist, thinker and writer, and his comrade, Barbieri, and recently Kurt Landau, and many more. After six months of imprisonment, the wife of Landau, released temporarily as a result of two hunger strikes, has again been arrested and taken to the Chaca of the Spanish Communists, presided over by the Russian satraps of Stalin.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 10 [London to] John Dewey, New York / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 26 × 17 cm.

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3

I am sending you with this letter two issues of the paper we are publishing here. I call your special attention to my article on political persecution in republican Spain; also to the heroic part played in the taking of Teruel by members of the National Confederation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia. The Press in the land and the United States have silenced the share of those gallant people or, where they have spoken out, it was with venom and malice aforethought to misrepresent and to malign the Spanish Anarchists, and so far no voices outside the ranks of my comrades have been raised on behalf of the people who alone fought back almost with bare hands the military and fascist conspiracy in Catalonia on the 19th of July, 1936.

Would that you, dear Professor, might be roused by the same indignation which motivated your brave stand on behalf of Trotsky, equally to protest against the similar injustice practised by the Communist gang in Spain.

The irony of all the Bolshevik tactics is that though they are dictated by Stalin, the unfortunate devils who carry out his orders are sooner or later held to account. Thus, the Soviet Consul, Antonov-Ovsienko, who negotiated the sale of arms to Spain, has now been recalled to Moscow and imprisoned, if not already shot. Stalin simply over-reached himself in his megalomania to think that his methods would be accepted by the Spanish people as cringingly as they have been accepted by the Russian people. Actually, the Communists with all the demoralising bribes, have taken no root in the Spanish people. I know whereof I speak. I have recently returned from Spain. I have travelled the length and breadth of the anti-fascist part, to remote villages, and I can give you my word of honour that far from Communism having impressed the Spanish masses, it has developed an overpowering hatred against Stalin's emissaries.

As I do not like to send this letter to Columbia College, I am sending it to a friend in New York who will no doubt be able to forward it to your private address.

Let me assure you once more that I was delighted to see you at the head of the Commission re Trotsky, and even more so in reading your own reaction to the frightful Jesuitical régime in my unfortunate country of birth. Thank you deeply.

Sincerely yours,

Professor Dewey,
New York City,
U.S.A.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 10, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. — 1 p. ; 11 × 18 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84
TELÉFONO 14731 - 41

19344



Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,
Londres.

Barcelona, le 10 janvier 1938.

Chère Camarade,

J'ai reçu, de provenance Perpignan, un drame à trois actes intitulé "Sons of Rome" par Victor Wolfson. Je suppose que ce drame est pour les Espectacles Publics de Barcelone et pourtant je l'ai transmis au camarade Markwald afin qu'il fasse la traduction et si l'on considère que ce drame en vaut la peine, l'on fera sa représentation.

Recevez, chère Camarade, mes salutations bien fraternelles,

Martin Gudell

*Bis heute noch kein Brief bekommen
Ich bin unruhig. Herzliche Grüsse
Martin*

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 10, Paris [to Emma Goldman, London] / [Mejorte? de Sesias?]. —
1 p. ; 20 × 21 cm.

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19193

PARIS, le 10 de Janvier 1.938

Emma Goldman.
18 Castletow Road.
West Kensington.
LONDON W 14.-

Chère camarade:

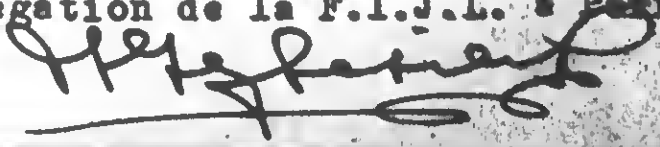
Je crois que la dernière fois que j'ai parlé avec vous à Barcelone, je l'ai fait en français, et c'est pour ça que je m'adresse à vous dans cet idiome que je ne domine pas, spécialement dans l'écriture. Pardonnez chère camarade.

Je suis à Paris délégué par les Jeunesses Libertaires d'Espagne, et l'objet de faire une coordination de tous les éléments et organisations juvéniles libertaires du monde, dans le but de les concentrer dans un ample mouvement international. C'est pour ça que notre idée une fois établie la coordination précisée, c'est, de convoquer une conférence mondiale à Paris, qui pourrait être le premier pas vers une International Juvenile Libertaire, au but de intensifier la vie juvénile anarchiste.

A ce but, j'espère de vous, camarade, m'indiquez à qui dois-je me diriger, s'il y a des mouvements des jeunes libertaires organisés, ou quels ils pourraient être notre premier travail pour les constituer, etc.

En attendant vos nouvelles, je vous salue
révolutionnairement,

Par la Délégation de la F.I.J.L. à Paris.



(Suite)

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 11 [London to] Aldous Huxley, [New Mexico] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 21 × 16 cm.

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17449

18, Castletown Road,
West Kensington, W.

11th January, 1938.

Dear Mr. Huxley,

I do not know whether my name conveys anything to you. Your name has conveyed much to me for a very long time, through your works, though we have never met.

I read your answer in "Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War". I was delighted to see that you are so close to the ideas that I have fought for all my life. It is so rarely that one finds in England men or women dedicated to a truly libertarian ideal that I was more than pleasantly surprised to read what you had to say. I thank you in the name of the ideal that is still so terribly misunderstood, so maligned and misrepresented, especially in this country.

I enclose a copy of a draft relating to the new venture I am engaged on in this City. I hope that you will not refuse to read this, but that it will appeal to you sufficiently for you to give your consent to become a sponsor.

Please let me hear from you soon, as I am anxious to proceed with the publication of the draft.

Sincerely,

Aldous Huxley, Esq.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 11 [London to] H[enry] W. Nevins, [London?] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 21 × 16 cm.

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18247

18, Castletown Road,
West Kensington, W.

11th January, 1938.

Dear Mr. Nevins,

You probably have not forgotten our several meetings, the last at the luncheon arranged by Christine Poyle, over which you presided, and I was one of the speakers.

I know how generous you are in lending your name to all sorts of worth-while undertakings, especially on behalf of stricken Spain. It is for this reason that I am taking the liberty of approaching you.

I enclose a copy of a draft relating to the new venture I am engaged on in this City. I hope you will not refuse to read this, but that it will appeal to you sufficiently for you to give your consent to become a sponsor.

As we would like to reach a great many people as soon as possible, I shall hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

H.W. Nevins, Esq.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1938 Jan. 11, [London to Emma Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].—
2 p.; 7 × 11 cm.

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Jan. 11th 1938

17210

Forgive card this time as I have a story to do and
its asked for regently & I can't afford to miss the
opportunity of the nice fat cheque it'll bring... I
never met Sir C-M with F. He waved all could-be inter-
viewers aside and nobody got near him. It would be
better if someone who knew him approached him. I don't
know if Fenner does. I will write later, if you cannot
find anyone more suitable. The Friday - I would
much sooner explain my position in regard to the ILP
myself, please - for one thing it gives me one more
thing to say! I will gladly support your appeal, but
I don't see how its to be done; I mean I can't jump
up and speak after you've made it, and to refer to it
before you've made it wouldn't be tactful, would it?
I don't think its good to tell an audience in advance
its expected to dub up, do you? could speak about
the ILP - I am always better if I've got something ver

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 11, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano [R.] V[á]quez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 2 p. ; 25 x 18 cm.

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19187

Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo

^Y
Federacion Anarquista Iberica

Barcelona 11 janvier 1938

Au Bureau de Propagande C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Angleterre
LONDRES

Chere camarade Emma Goldman :

Nous avons devant nous l'article publié dans le journal "Spanish Revolution" le 20 décembre 1937, écrit par toi avec le titre "Les persécutions politiques doivent finir en Espagne". Il n'y a pas longtemps et aussi récemment nous avons eu l'occasion d'examiner les traductions de quelque autre article, écrit aussi par toi, et qui concerne, plus ou moins, la même affaire.

Tout d'abord nous allons te faire quelques indications bien sûrs d'être compris par toi et avec le désir de raisonner ensemble sur les résultats de la propagande qui, en tous cas, nous voulons rendre, sur tout très utile.

Il n'est pas propre et convenant parler beaucoup à l'étranger des persécutions et du procédé arbitraire qui réalisent, le gouvernement Négrin et les communistes.

Nous avons la certitude de que la situation changera et nous sommes aussi sûrs de pouvoir résoudre avec succès les divers problèmes tracés par la guerre contre le fascisme.

Parler toujours à l'étranger de la mauvaise attitude et actuation des communistes et du Gouvernement Négrin nous entoure à mesure que le temps passe, d'une atmosphère d'indifférence envers nos affaires et notre guerre et, par conséquent, très nuisible pour nous. Le prolétariat mondial se demande: "Pourquoi nous allons prêter de l'aide à l'Espagne antifasciste et son gouvernement fait des persécutions sans nombre et son actuation est beaucoup plus mauvaise que celle de quelque autre gouvernement bourgeois? et naturellement, pendant que cette situation ne soit pas changée, nous sommes impossibilités de prêter notre appui à celui qui combattent et veulent exterminer à nos frères de classe.

Ce raisonnement simple c'est celui qui se fait le peuple et, par conséquence, se produit un refroidissement

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-2-

19188

de l'enthousiasme qui nous porte de nombreux préjugés comme antifascistes, comme révolutionnaires et, par le contraire, est favorable à la politique anglaise et des démocraties qui veulent, par tous les moyens, faire cesser la guerre d'Espagne nous imposant des conditions honteuses.

Nous croyons, chère camarade, que tu dois réfléchir sur cette question. Nous croyons aussi qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de parler toujours de la répression exercée par notre Gouvernement et de plusieurs événements qui se déroulent en Espagne. On peut dire quelque chose mais de temps en temps. Tu dois penser qu'autour de la guerre d'Espagne il y a de nombreux intérêts et intervenants qui pourrissent un point de vue propre. Par cette raison il est nécessaire de réfléchir profondément et examiner le pour et le contre avant de dire quelque chose qui peut être nuisible pour notre cause, et, après avoir réfléchi longuement, agir en conséquence.

La solution plus mauvaise pour notre guerre serait l'acceptation du point de vue défendu par l'Angleterre, et, si nous faisons à l'étranger une grande propagande contre le gouvernement espagnol et les communistes en exposant avec clarté sa mauvaise situation, nous pouvons aussi nous voir placés devant l'indifférence produite à conséquence de cette propagande et nous trouver étouffés et isolés complètement de la solidarité du prolétariat mondial, dans une circonstance comme celle-ci, nous imposant la thèse anglaise.

C'est surtout dans l'Angleterre que nous sommes obligés de faire notre propagande avec beaucoup de tact.

Nous avons la certitude chère camarade, d'être compris par toi d'avoir exposé notre pensée avec exactitude et clarté et, par cette raison tu dois agir d'accord avec cette ligne de conduite. Tu dois comprendre que, malgré tous les événements qui peuvent se produire en Espagne, malgré toutes les disputes entre les antifascistes qui à son temps seront éliminées par nous - il faut enlever l'enthousiasme du prolétariat, l'appeler et mobiliser pour nous prêter l'aide nécessaire pour finir avec succès notre lutte. Il faut travailler pour lever chaque fois plus l'enthousiasme vers l'Espagne antifasciste et ayez la sûreté que nous sommes sûrs de résoudre les problèmes produits, sans lâcheté et avec fermeté d'accord avec notre pensée.

Dans l'attente de vous lire, recevez chère camarade, nos salutations révolutionnaires et anarcho-syndicalistes.

PAR LE COMITÉ PENINSULAIRE
DE LA F.A.I.

Pedro Herrera.

PAR LE COMITÉ NATIONAL DE
LA C.N.T.

Mariano M. Vasquez

Secrétaire ,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 11, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano [R.] V[á]quez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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20454

Confédération Nacional del Trabajo

y
Federación Anarquista Iberica

Barcelone 11 janvier 38

Au Bureau de Propagande C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Angleterre

LONDRES

Chère camarade Emma Goldman :

Nous avons devant nous l'article publié dans le journal "Spanish Revolution" le 20 décembre 1937, écrit par toi avec le titre "Les persécutions politiques doivent finir en Espagne". Il n'y a pas longtemps et aussi récemment nous avons eu l'occasion d'examiner les traductions de quelque autre article, aussi publié par toi, et qui concerne plus ou moins la même affaire.

Tout d'abord nous allons te faire quelques indications, bien surs d'être compris par toi et avec le désir de raisonner ensemble sur les résultats de la propagande qui, en tous cas, nous voulons rendre, sur tout très utile.

Il n'est pas propre et convenant parler beaucoup à l'étranger des persécutions et du procédé arbitraire qui réalisent, le Gouvernement Negrin et les communistes.

Nous avons la certitude de que la situation changera et nous sommes aussi surs de pouvoir résoudre avec succès, les divers problèmes tracés par la guerre contre le fascisme.

Par/ler toujours à l'étranger de la mauvaise attitude et actuation des communistes et du Gouvernement Negrin nous entoure à mesure que le temps passe, d'une atmosphère d'indifférence vers nos affaires et notre guerre et, par conséquence, très nuisible pour nous. Le prolétariat mondial se demande: "Pourquoi nous allons prêter notre aide à l'Espagne anti-fasciste si son gouvernement fait des persécutions sans nombre et son actuation est beaucoup plus mauvaise que celle de quelque autre gouvernement bourgeois ? Et naturellement pendant que cette situation ne soit pas changée, nous sommes impossibilités de prêter notre appui à ceux qui combattent et veulent exterminer à nos frères de classe.

Ce raisonnement simple c'est celui qui se fait le peuple et, par conséquence, se produit un refroidissement de l'enthousiasme qui nous porte de nombreux préjudices comme anti-fascistes, comme révolutionnaires et, par le contraire, est favorable à la politique anglaise et des démocrates qui veulent, par tous les moyens, faire cesser la guerre d'Espagne nous imposant des conditions honteuses.

Nous croyons chère camarade, que tu dois réfléchir sur cette question. Nous croyons aussi qu'il n'est pas nécessaire

The Emma Goldman Papers

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-2-

20455

parler toujours de la répression exercée par notre gouvernement et de plusieurs événements qui se déroulent en Espagne. On peut dire quelque chose, mais de temps en temps. Tu dois penser qu'autour de la guerre d'Espagne il y a de nombreux intérêts, et intervenants qui poursuivent un point de vue propre. Par cette raison il est nécessaire réfléchir profondément et examiner le pour et le contre avant de dire quelque chose qui peut être nuisible pour notre cause, et, après avoir réfléchi longuement, agir en conséquence.

La solution plus mauvaise pour notre guerre serait l'acceptation du point de vue défendu par l'Angleterre, et, si nous faisons à l'étranger une grande propagande contre le gouvernement espagnol et les communistes en exposant avec clarté sa mauvaise action, nous pouvons aussi nous voir placés devant l'indifférence produite à conséquence de cette propagande, et nous voir étouffés et isolés complètement de la solidarité du prolétariat mondial et dans une circonstance comme cela, nous imposent la thèse anglaise.

C'est surtout en Angleterre que nous sommes obligés de faire notre propagande avec beaucoup de tact.

Nous avons la certitude chère camarade, d'être compris de toi. d'avoir exposé notre pensée avec exactitude et clarté et par cette raison tu dois agir avec cette ligne de conduite. Tu dois comprendre que malgré tous les événements qui peuvent se produire en Espagne, malgré toutes les disputes entre les anti-fascistes, qui à son temps seront solutionnées par nous, il faut soulever l'enthousiasme du prolétariat, l'appeler et mobiliser pour nous prêter l'aide nécessaire pour finir avec succès notre lutte. Il faut travailler pour lever chaque fois plus l'enthousiasme vers l'Espagne anti-fasciste et ayez la sûreté que nous sommes sûrs de résoudre les problèmes produits, sans lâcheté et avec fermeté d'accord avec notre pensée.

Dans l'attente de vous lire, recevez, chère camarade, nos salutations révolutionnaires et anarcho-syndicalistes.

PAR LE COMITE PENINSULAIRE
DE LA F.A.I.

Pedro Herrera

PAR LE COMITE NATIONAL DE
LA C.N.T.

Mariano Vasquez
Secrétaire

780

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 11, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera.— 1 p.; 27 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Nº 55.E.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

Barcelona, a 11th of January 38

Propaganda Office C.N.T.-F.A.I. in England

L O N D O N

Dear Comrade Emma Goldman,

we received your letter of January 3rd.
On the convenience to establish direct contact with the Trade-Unions we absolutely agree with you. Therefore we hope to receive as soon as possible the list of addresses of the various Trade Unions, so that we can immediately proceed with the work and send out a circular in English directly from Barcelona.

When we ask you to give us informations about liberal personalities, etc, it is, because we want to supply them with informative material directly from here and also in English, so that they will be able to understand perfectly and the wanted effect will be achieved at last.

We are glad you have now conquered all the difficulties and found suitable quarters for the office.

This is all for the moment, wishing you good luck for you work, we are

yours cordially

For the Peninsular Committee
of the F.A.I.

Pedro Herrera.

COMITE PENINSULAR
SECRETARIADO

For the National Committee
of the C.N.T.

Mariano R. Vázquez

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 11, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

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copy

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For the Peninsular Committee
of the F.A.I.

For the National Committee
of the C.N.T.

Pedro Herrera.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 11, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Mariano Cardona Rosell [and] Emilio Aparicio— 1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TELÉFONO 70640 - VIA AUGUSTA, 6 - BARCELONA, 11 de Enero de 1938

Mr. Baar, 106 Coningham Road London W. 12

L O N D R E S

Estimados compañeros: Salud

Al corriente de vuestra dirección por el periódico "C.M.T. Marítimo", órgano del Sindicato Nacional del Transporte Marítimo, que se publica en Valencia, nos complacemos en enviaros un número de la revista mensual "FORMACION" editada por nuestros compañeros de la región Centro, Sección Madrid, y otro número del Boletín también mensual de los Trabajadores de Banca, Ahorro, Seguros y afines de Cataluña igualmente afectos a nuestra Organización Confederat. En el caso de que os interesara seguir recibiendo ambas publicaciones con regularidad, no teneis mas que comunicarnoslo y nos será muy grato remitiros una y otra gratuitamente.

Aprovechamos esta oportunidad para pedirnos os tomeis la molestia de facilitarnos, si ello es posible, un ejemplar de cada una de aquellas publicaciones de caracter tecnico que pudieran editarse en esa, lo mismo de son de matiz sindical que si tienen caracter burgues siempre que se refieran a cualquiera de las actividades profesionales enmarcadas en nuestra Federación, como son la Banca y los Seguros, y siempre tambien que a juicio vuestro, valga la pena de conocerlas. Si nosotros viésemos que contienen trabajos de algun interes ya cuidaríamos de ponernos directamente en comunicacion con las respectivas administraciones.

Os agradeceremos que de existir ahí algun núcleo de compañeros de Banca ó Seguros organizados bajo la disciplina de nuestra gloriosa A. I. T. hagais el favor de decirnoslo en vuestra contestación al objeto de poder entrar en contacto con los mismos e iniciar seguidamente una activa corriente de relaciones.

Nos interesan saber el titulo y domicilio social de cuantos Sindicatos ó asociaciones existan en esa de trabajadores de Banca, Ahorro y Seguros

Saludos fraternales.

Mariano Cardona Rosell
Presidente.



POR LA FEDERACION NACIONAL

Emilio Aparicio
Secretario accidental.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 11, Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London (fragment)] / [Mariano Cardona Rosell and Emilio Aparicio]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

We owe your address to the C.N.T. Maritimo, organ of the National Syndicate of Maritime Transport, published in Valencia.

We are sending you a copy of the monthly review "FORMACION" edited by our comrades in the centre Region, Madrid Section, and another copy of the Bulletin, also monthly, of Bank, Insurance, Savings and kindred workers, affiliated to our organization.

In case you are interested in receiving these publications, please let us know and they will be sent to you free regularly.

We take this opportunity to request the favour of forwarding us, if possible, a copy of each of those publications of a technical nature published in England, either of Trade Union or bourgeois character, which refer to any of the activities covered by our Federation such as Banking, Insurance, etc. and which you may think worth while our study.

If there is any group in England of comrades employed in Banks, Insurance Companies, etc., organized on principles similar to and under the discipline of our glorious A.I.T., kindly let us know in order to get in touch with them and establish an active interchange of relations.

We should like to know the names and registered Offices of all Trade Unions and Associations of Bank and Insurance workers.

Fraternal greetings,

Emma,

When you reply to these "naive" comrades, as you call them, refer them to Mr. Montague Norman, President of the Bank of England. He will put them right. So far as I know, there is only one independent organization in England of Bank clerks, so lacking in support and membership that it is not even recognised by the Banks themselves. I refer to the BANK OFFICERS GUILD. Apart from this, the staff of several of the big Banks run Associations of their own, under the paternal guidance, of

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. between 11 and 31, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Jack]
B. — 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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785

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 11, Manchester [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / The Manchester Guardian.— 1 p.; 22 × 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24026

The Manchester Guardian

PROPRIETORS: THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN AND EVENING NEWS LTD

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TELEPHONE
BLACKFRIARS 2348
TELEGRAMS
GUARDIAN MANCHESTER

EJP/HW

11 January 1938

Dear Madam,

We thank you for your letter but regret that we cannot give it publication. It would occupy far more space than we could afford.

Yours very truly,

for the Editor,



Miss Emma Goldman.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan 12, London to Ethel Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman].—
2 p. ; 21 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

Wed.

Dearest. Of course you can do your own explaining about the I.L.P. And of course you can speak about the SIA. I prefer you do it now that you have written the draft. It will relieve me tremendously. I would also feel relieved if you would make the appeal for the SIA. But if you consent you'd have to speak after me as one could not very well make the appeal before. Or you could speak before me and I will refer ~~taxpayers~~ to your talk when I make the appeal. Do what is easiest for you my dearest.

Every day our comrades in Spain send me new commissions. I am so worn out from lack of sleep ~~in~~ the daily grind and the thousand details in connection with the new place, the exhibition and writing for the Anarchist Press ^{in L.} and Spain and the World I ~~must~~ really haven't enough energy to do more.

To day I received a letter from a young comrade I met in Barcelona. She has been sent to France to rouse the revolutionary YOUTH into some International stand for the Spanish struggle. She asks me if I could help get her in touch with YOUTH organisations here. Well, I do not know one. Besides, most YOUTH groups in England are honeycombed with Communists. Can you suggest some young people. I don't know whether the young Spanish comrade means to come here as well. I suppose so since she asks for suggestions and she cannot mean for me to suggest YOUTH organisations in Paris.

Sonia thinks the draft fine. She still harps on figures. But was less insistent when I told her why we had to keep out definite figures. To day I have sent a copy of the

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and Helen Russell

draft to Warburg. Tomorrow one each will go to Havclock Ellie Powells and Naomi Mitcheson. I have written Kuzley but do not know where to send the letter. Ralph will try the WHO is WHO or his publisher. Recently I read, he was in America. Of course we cannot wait for his answer from there. We will have to do with the few who will reply favorably. I am having twenty four copies typed of the draft to send to some of the writers whose reply in re their stand on Fascism seems to indicate that their sympathies are more than "with the Spanish government". I have sent the Magazine to Warburg asking him to let me know whether he knows any of the names and how they can be reached, Rose Macaulay for instance, and Cyril Connolly, and others. I really need a staff to help but our people in Spain are too poor to pay a number of people for their labor. Besides I really do not consider it fair to exploit workers even if I had them.

If you feel anything so rotten before a meeting as I do you must be cursing me for having asked you. I am really ill for days in advance every time I have to speak, this after forty eight years on the platform. It is absurd.

Until Friday darling. With love.

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 12, London to Ethel Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 21 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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17204

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5302

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[Letter, 1938 Jan. 12, London to Ethel Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17206

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790

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 12, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez. — 1 p. ; 17 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Comité Nacional

BARCELONA, a 12 de Mayo de 1938

A la Delegación Permanente de la CNT, en Londres.
Londres.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Para tu conocimiento y a los efectos de la ley, te adjuntamos a la presente, un ejemplar del "Boletín de Servicio de Prensa para el Exterior".

Te saluda fraternalmente,

POR EL COMITÉ NACIONAL



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791

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1939 Jan. 12, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez. — 1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

A.I.T.
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo.
Comité Nacional.

Nº 14. E.

BARCELONA, a 12 de enero de 1.939.

A la Delegación Permanente de la C.N.T. en Inglaterra.
Londres.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Para tu conocimiento y a los efectos de la propaganda, te adjuntamos a la presente, un ejemplar del **SUMARIO Nº 13**, "Servicio de Prensa para el Exterior".

Te saluda fraternalmente,

POR EL COMITÉ NACIONAL.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

Secretario.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 12, London [to Mejorte? de Sesias?, Paris] / Emma Goldman. —
1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

89194

London Jan 12th 38

Dear Comrade. Thank you for your letter. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~
A spanish comrade who is always helpful with translation will
translate this for me in answer to your letter which reached
me to day. I am not sure whether you want me to hep you with
the youth in Paris or here. Fact is I do not know them in either
country. I should think in Paris our paper LIBERTAIRES and the
Youth of COMBA SYNDICALISTE ought to be of help. Here there
are quite a number of Youth groups in this country but I have
no connection with them. I will try to get you some names. But
it will take time. How long do you intend to remain in France?
Do you also intend coming to England? I ask because I might
succeed in intersting people who would help with a meeting for
you. I am not certain but I will try and let you know as soon
as I have something difinite.

Fraternally.

Emma Goldman

Please be sure to
write me enough
it will save time
for our hard worked
comrade who helps
with the translation
into Spanish.

793

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 12 [London to Mejorte? de Sesias?, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12 de Enero de 1938.

Estimada camarada. Salud!

He tenido sumo gusto en recibir tu carta. Un camarada español que siempre me ayuda me traduce mi contestación a tu carta, que llegó hoy. No estoy segura si lo que deseas es mi ayuda en relación con el movimiento de juventudes, aquí en París, pero resulta que en ninguno de estos países conozco tal movimiento. Tal vez en París nuestro periódico LIBERTAIRE y el de las juventudes COMBATTIMENTALISTE, pudieran ser de utilidad para lo que te propones. Aquí existen varios grupos de juventudes, pero no estoy relacionada con ninguno de ellos. Procuraré conseguir algunos nombres, pero tardaré algún tiempo. Cuanto tiempo permanecerás en París? Tienes intenciones de venir por Inglaterra? Te lo pregunto porque podría interesar a algunas personas que colaboran en la organización de una mita en el que te tomarías parte. Tan pronto como sepa algo definitivo sobre esto te lo comunicaré en algunas escrituras en francés, pero no se sabe todavía que no tengan la carta.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 12 [London to] Fredric [J.] Warburg, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 26 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Jan 12.38

Dear Fredric Warburg.

Please find inclosed a copy of the draft Ethel sent me. Will you read it and let me know if you think it sufficient for the purpose of placing the International Solidarity Fund before people in this country. If not will you add something? Please do it as quickly as possible. I am sending it to your Apt. so you can go over the draft in peace without being interrupted as you would in your office.

Ethel is of the opinion that it is no use to try for a committee since I would have to do all the work anyhow. She suggests sponsors. I have written to Cavelock Ellis, Aldous Huxley, John Cowper Powys, Stella Churchill, Ethel and Reg Reynolds are giving their names. Will you and your darling lady? Please do. Another thing I am sending the little magazine that contains the replies to the question who is for or against Fascism. As you will see I have marked off some names. I don't know any one of them except Cyril Connolly and Naomi Mitcheson. I will write them. Perhaps you can tell me what Connolly's address.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 12 [London to] Fredric [J.] Warburg, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 26 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

I wonder if you happen to know Sir P. Chalmers Mitchell. I want to reach him for the SIA. Manifesto. No not because he has a title. It is because he once wrote with much sympathy about the CNT-FAI. He may be willing to go as sponsor.

Please go over the names in the magazine and tell me who some of them are. If Communists I do not want to bother with them. Forgive me for taking advantage of you so early in our acquaintance. That's the penalty of knowing E.G. My only excuse is that I have the Spanish struggle so much in my system and I feel so helpless and forlorn in this country I have to burden the few people who show me some kindness. So be a dear and send back the draft and magazine with your suggestions.

Kind greetings to the lady of the house.

Cordially.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 12, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Mollie Steimer].—
3 p.; 29 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Senya Flechine Archive.

Please return after reading.

Paris Jan. 12th 1938.

File

My dear Emma,

I received your letter of the 7th and the check for 50 Frs. Am returning the check herewith, for you must have gotten by now the letter which I sent you with Marie-Louise and you know that this matter is settled.

I cannot understand why you do not get the papers! Have written to each one of them: Espagne Nouvelle, TERRE LIBRE & the COMBAT to find out what is the trouble.

About M., I am very much surprised. I thought she didn't answer your letters because she has been ill (at the clinic) for some time. I still prefer to believe that it is a misunderstanding which will soon be cleared up. She intends to come to Paris as soon as she gets better do you want me to show her your letter?

Fact is that money causes people to commit all sorts of unbelievable things!

Comrades who were considered to be a highly moral force in our movement, are now docile employees of those who give them a chance to exist. Speaking in private they express opinions AGAINST but officially they go on working for the organization which they privately DISAPPROVE. It is not that they are uncertain, no, they are very well informed and know only too well that the present activities ~~which~~ which they are forced to defend, are contrary to the cause they profess to serve yet, they go on speaking and writing as they are directed to do! And each day brings more and more proof of this inconsistency - to use a very mild expression. My only hope is that this is transitory. That soon a clearing up will start which will spare no one. The Xs and Ys will all be called to account. Already the French Anarchist Youth (some of whom participated in the struggle at the Spanish battlefields), have written for ~~their~~ first number of a new Review such a bitter article against the An. Governmentalists (meaning those who support the official attitude of the CNT-FAI), that even I, who disapprove 100% of the reformist and misleading ~~authoritative~~ attitude of our comrades ~~in~~, advised them against using such language. But I understand them very well. It is a natural reaction against what goes on now in our ranks!

You say: "I ~~am~~ am sure Abe too will speak and write differently when he is removed from the scene of action and when he will have time to find his bearing." I hope to Goodness that HE WILL NOT CHANGE and that he will continue to be truthful to himself and to the Anarchist cause! The proof that he is not made of the same brand as the others, lies in the fact that he DECLINED the proposition made to him by Vasquez and Galve to remain in Paris and work for the CNT. He would have loved to remain here, give Selma a chance to study in Paris (when she heard about the proposition she accepted it with enthusiasm for they suggested he should call her out here). They proposed him a good salary which tempted him a great deal - for you know what awaits him in N.Y. & that the prospects of a man looking for a job are far from being envious. Yet Abe refused the secure position of a CNT employee at the Paris Bureau because he didn't think he could work with them and at the same time criticise them.

He has an enormous amount of facts proving that the

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Institutional Location: Senya Flechine Archive.

2

National Committee of the CNT-FAI adopted the reformist policy not because there was no other way for Anarchists, nor because the Spanish comrades are too naïve, nor because "they are obsessed by the idea to win against Franco", nor should the fault of all evils in present day Spain be put at Moscow's door! No, the cause of their attitude is much deeper than that. It is to be found in the famous 7 Points (LE REVEIL November 20th 1937) of the FAI, it is to be found in the article by Jacob Prince (J.P.) in Tiempos Nuevos, in the unsigned articles in CNT and in Tierra Libertad, in the strange attitude of the Soli and in the general campaign against 'r o m a n t i c' Anarchism.

When Abe was here, his intentions were to point out to the comrades the dangerous road taken by the officialdom of the CNT-FAI. I am convinced that in doing so Abe will render the Spanish comrades - & the Anarchist movement in general - a greater service than do those who deliberately close their eyes to compromises which are equivalent to suicide.

At the Congress of the INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION the delegation of the CNT r e f u s e d to vote for a resolution denouncing the persecution of Anarchists in Russia!!!

When Georges PIOCH, at a meeting of the SIA (Paris Dec. 17th 1937) criticised all dictators, "be it Hitler, Mussolini or Stalin", a representative of the CNT in Paris told the organizers of the SIA (in my presence) "to go slow in your criticism against Stalin". And so with every day more and more concessions are being made to the enemies of the working class: the Stalinists, the bourgeois democracies, the Social Democrats and the yellow unionists. Our comrades became advocates of the idea of: the lesser evil which is so dear to the Social Democrats! As far as I can remember, it was precisely this idea of "DAS KLEINERE ÜBEL" that the Anarchists - including our grand Rudolf - have always fought with tooth and nail!!! We mocked at these reformists and called them traitors to the workers cause! And to day? To day, we do precisely the same thing! Paradoxical as it may sound, you say that Rudolf agrees with you. I can hardly believe it. Rudolf has too much of a good brain, too clear a vision not to see where the stand of the NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE CNT-FAI will lead to.

From the pamphlet the "Spanish Tragedy", if you read between the lines, you can see that he does not approve their attitude. And it may well be that if he didn't speak more openly and distinctly against their doings, it was because his source of information was some what limited. Further more, so many things are being said. You maintain that he agrees with you, Carbo wrote that he agrees with him. Now, we will have to wait and hear what Rudolf himself has to say.

Emnotchka, as I am writing these lines, the German Bulletin N° 67 came. Imagine my ~~amazement~~ amazement to find there an ATTACK and WARNING against the Committees called: Com. to help the Victims of the Spanish Counter-Revolution. This statement says: "Wir halten diejenigen, die ohne jeden Grund ihre Posten im spanischen Kampf verlas-

798

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 12, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Mollie Steimer]. --
3 p.; 29 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Senya Flechine Archive.

SG File

3

sen haben um ins Ausland zu flüchten, jeder Unterstützung oder ~~jein~~
Hilfe für unwürdig." !!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

Also, when you give a few francs for Levin, Karl ~~Rosenfeld~~
~~Winn~~ Zuffal or to the unfortunate Götze, so that they shouldn't
sleep on the street or die from hunger, you are hurting the prestige
of the CNT-FAI!!!!?????

You were there. You told us how these boys were persecuted.
You know that they didn't just run away without any reason whatever
but that it took a certain effort until they were gotten out of prison
and that they were EXPELLED or were forced to leave! You know that
the German, Italian Bulgarian or other foreign comrades once persecuted
by the Spanish Checka c a n n o t return there anymore, for if they
do it means further imprisonment! How can you allow such a shameful
document to pass in silence? For this denial of help to the ~~Stalinist~~
victims of the Spanish Stalinists is not signed by some insignificant
individual. Oh no! It is signed by the:

AUSLANDSEKRETARIAT DER C.N.T.-F.A.I.

PENINSULARKOMITEE DER F.A.I.

NATIONALKOMITEE DER C.N.T.

Thus, not only do they refuse to protest against the persecution of
Anarchists in Russia, but do not want it should be spoken about a coun-
ter-revolution in Spain, nor allow to organize help for its victims!
The SIA? This is milk for the kids. But let no one be fooled. It does
not help the persecuted who are here, nor do I think those in Spain.
For, a letter came from Gustel Dörster from the concentration camp --
where there are 7 other German Comrades -- asking for some help "if
ever so little". Surely, if the SIA would help the prisoners, he would
not have written the kind of letter we received!

This will do. I am so broken up from the whole mess.
I can't any more.

Your ever devoted

P.S.

You ask about Sanya's health.

He is worse now than when you were here.

The attacks he gets are becoming more and more frequent.

It is very serious but we don't know what to do. It is on nervous ground
and he takes the events in Spain too much to heart.

799

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] Jan. 12, Bearsville [N.Y. to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Bearsville, Jan 12th

86116

Dearest:

Your letters of Dec. 21st and Jan 3rd and yours and Ross's card all arrived this morning. I am going to town for Saturday and Sunday with Davy to see about a school for next year. We stand a good chance of getting him a scholarship in Lawrenceville, N.J. I will be in N.Y. on Sunday and have already written Rose asking her to see me. I will talk things over with her and get in touch with Pauline and Fitz, if they are in town (they often go up to Fitz' place for the weekend) and I will then report to you. Morris Ernst ought to be a good man. He's a fighter - that I know. I like Ross very much, she is sincere and will do what she can. I am eager to see her and get a first hand report on how she found you.

Teruel was a glorious victory, after all. The news the past few days shows that our people are in complete possession. The tide seems to be turning. How presumptuous it is for foreigners to judge how a people should carry on their struggle. I am disappointed in Abe Brasstone. I thought he had more stamina. Its one thing to go to meetings and sit around in cafe's and write articles, another to be in the midst of the struggle - our young people will all discover that. I used to get 5 copies of Spain in the World. I haven't had one for a long time. I can't find one for 5 here, but I would like two copies of every issue, one for myself and one for our library. Is Abe returning to this country?

No, we can't go to town this winter at all. First, Davy has to be kept at his school, then we can't afford it. Teddy has even had to lay off his model for three weeks, we ran so short, unexpected dentiste bills for Ian, extra expense for the car, etc.

I am enclosing a separate list for you to send Spain and the World to, what I have here. I could do something in N.Y. just how much I don't know.

Mos called me up last week and told me you had sent 27 pounds. I knew he must have written you. They could have bought a less expensive car, but Babe had her heart set on this particular 1937 model. The family talked it over, but none of us were in a position to do anything about it. I first thought of writing you but it seemed an imposition. I know we need a new car but we have to use our old one sparingly. We have driven it four years. Mos told me he feels fine. The reason he called me was that he was worried about a French check. I explained it all to him. Evidently he hoped to cash it right away. I explained that it would take about three weeks to clear and he was satisfied.

I was thrilled by the account of our CNT divisions and their heroism and so glad to know about Vivancoos. I know how discouraging you find England, especially in the winter, yet I hope you will have greater success this year. Your letter to the Toronto Star is fine. I sent it on to Karen. I had the enclosed letter from her. I sent her

800

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] Jan. 12, Bearsville [N.Y. to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18117

your addressee in England. She calls for Denmark shortly.

I had a marvelous letter and some Norwegian embroidery from my beloved Ellen Gleditsch for Iman. Her brother is secretary for the relief committee for Spain in Oslo and has been to Spain twice, where Norway had a hospital which the Spanish government has now taken over and his wife is still there, working for the Spanish children. She says "I wish I could shake England into action. I think they are behaving dreadfully".

Our lives here are so uneventful. It has been dreadfully cold and the hills are so icy now, I hardly dare leave the house. I fell once on my knee and I was worried for days, fearing I had hurt it seriously. Luckily it is only a bad bruise. We haven't seen the snow for days.

Teddy feels very well again. Mother wrote she was writing you a long letter. I hated to disappoint them about the visit but I just couldn't manage it.

Hope your meeting Friday night is a great success. Davy and Teddy send you their love.

Devoted love, darling, always.

Stella

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726170

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 13, Huntington, N.Y. [to Emma Goldman, London] / Babsie and M[orris Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 31 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23616

Jan 13, 1938.

Charadeh darling.

Your two sweet letters and checks came. The four pounds came the day before Christmas and the other, ^{a week ago.} ~~just a few days ago~~ I could not collect on them. The bank here in town with whom we have a small checking account for our current expenses, said that all foreign checks they send to their bank to New York and from New York the checks must go back all the way to Europe for clearing. He didn't know exactly how long ^{the other} it would take. I called up Stella ~~last~~ night. She has had experience along such lines. Stella tells me it takes about three weeks and that even if you had sent a Cashier's check it would take the same time for clearing. ^{I suppose a cashier's check in dollars would} ~~would~~ ^{would} have cost you more, but then what would

802

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726170

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 13, Huntington, N.Y. [to Emma Goldman, London] / Babsie and Morris Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 31 x 24 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

(2) have been the case if a Cashier's check would have had to go back to Europe first before we could have collected.

Mazeltoff - we have the car. We

borrowed the down payment from a friend here in Northport with the understanding that he would get his loan back just as soon as those checks come through.

For the past five weeks the nursing business has been slack. Not a single call. But that's the way it goes. Then suddenly a wave of illness strikes people who can afford to have private nurses. It is usually more busy in the summer time than in the winter, out here in Long Island. People flock from the City to their summer homes out here on the Island. Therefore more people who can afford to pay for the luxury of illness. Poor folks have no business to get sick.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726170

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 13, Huntington, N.Y. [to Emma Goldman, London] / Babsie and M[orris Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 31 x 24 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

(3)

23618

~~However Babsie didn't lose anything. By this I mean, that even if it had been busy instead of slack, Babsie could not have worked because she was ill. Had two violent migraine attacks nine days apart; then came down with gripple and pleurisy. She is now up and around again, just dragging along. We take turns and if both of us were down at the same time, wouldn't that be something? A kind neighbor did the cooking and I was nurse, doctor and dish washer.~~

We got a lot of Christmas cards, but ^{what} was Christmas to us or us to Christmas, that we should have felt merry about. Doss tehen izz wie ahn alten Zaidel's laangelh Kapottel - faar laetet, faarknaitzed und in gaantzen beschiessen.

We are clearing out of Northport by the 20th of January.

Effen our luck will change. We move to Huntington into a warmer house. It's one flight up, but we were promised the first ground floor vacancy. Our monthly oil bills to heat the house was too much for us and the heat was not retained. It is just a thrown together bungalow, pretty to look at, but uncomfortable, ~~where~~ like those winter days on Spadina are with gunny sacks wrapped around our feet. Do you remember those days? I guess you do.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 13, Huntington, N.Y. [to Emma Goldman, London] / Babsie and M[orris Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 31 × 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

93619

Good luck to you darlingest Schwester - Our ~~letter~~
and kisses and thanks. ~~from~~

Your loving Kindulach

Maischel & Babes.

The new address -

Brookside Apartment no 9.

35 New York Ave
Huntington, Long Island
New York.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 13, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Sección Externa

Nº 65, E.

20630

BARCELONA, a 13 de enero de 1.938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.
London.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Adjuntamos a la presente un nuevo resumen sintético de la intervención de nuestras fuerzas en las operaciones de Teruel. Es de remarcar la última parte del mismo, en la que se demuestra que si Teruel no se ha vuelto a perder, ha sido debido a la eficacia y valor de la 25 División.

Queremos hacer notar, que estos informes no son nunca para reproducirlos íntegramente o parcialmente en la prensa. Simplemente es material, del cual vosotros, podéis extraer los detalles y el argumento preciso para hablar en la prensa, valorizando nuestras fuerzas. Es decir, que no todo lo que se dice en el informe debe ser reproducido.

Te saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

Pedro Herrera.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL

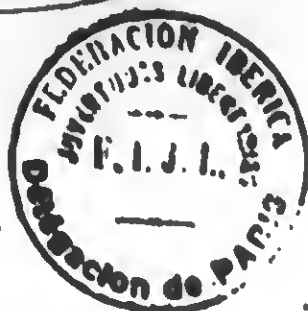
Mariano R. Vázquez



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 13, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / [Mejorte? de Sesias?]. —
2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



19195

Paris 13 de Janvier 1.938.

A Emma Goldman.
LONDON.-

Chere camarade:

J'ai reçu votre lettre 12 du present.

Vraiment je n'avez pas especifier le
suffisant dans ma lettre, au but de ce que desire de
vous et que c'est, precisement, ce que vous m'indiquez.
Avec les groupes juveniles de France et d'autres pays
je suis déjà en contact, mais je n'avez pas occune orien-
tation respect au mouvement de ce pays-la. C'est pour
ca que j'espere de vous que m'indiquerez, quels mouve-
ments existent, comment son ils organises, ca potencia-
lité etc... Au même temp, vous me donnerez l'adresse,
le plus vite que ca vous soi possible, au but de me di-
riger a eux pour les informer de notre idee de convo-
quer une conference des jeunesses libertaires du monde.

Au but de mon séjour a Paris je vais te
dire, que peut être je resterais ici longtemp, quelques
mois par exemple, parce que je suis la deleguée a la
Comission International de la Jeunesse. On ne peut pas
faire aucun travail positif des ce bureau, et pour nous,
simplement, c'est un moyen de pouvoir passer la frontiere
et, profitent l'arrent de l'Etat qui nous paye les frais
de permanence ici, faire un travail positif specifique
d'organisation.

De moment, je n'avais pas penser de y aller
en Angleterre parce qu'on m'avez informer que c'était pres-
qu'impossible de rentrer et parce que, pour la dépense que
voyage me rapporterait, je n'ait pas consignation économique.
Neamoins, j'informerai a l'organisation de votre proposition
et je vous tiendrez au courant.

J'espere ou je le desire surtout que vous aures
un grand succes au meeting que vous auez demain et, comme je
connait, pas beaucoup, l'anglais, je vous remercierai bien que
vou m'envoyez quelque journal pour m'informer un peu au respect.

(juveniles)

(2 les espagnols)

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 13, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / [Mejorte? de Sesias?]. —
2 p. ; 27 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19196

En même temp je voudrais savoir quels journeaux anarchistes
existent ~~là~~, y-ei-dans- et ci ils apportent colaboration juvenile.

En attendant vos nouvelles je vous salu cordialement,



Mejorte de Sesias

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 14 [London to] Rebecca West, [London?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10090

10, Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
W.

14th January, 1938.

Dear Rebecca,

How strange it is that you and I never got together more than once every time I came to England. Of course we are both busy women, each in her own sphere. Still, I had hoped that we would get sufficiently close to, either to develop a need for more frequent reunions than have taken place so far since I first came to this country in '24.

Last year while I was working like a beaver on the concert I had undertaken, I tried to get you on the 'phone several times, but you were always out or away from the City. I do not know whether you are at home now, but I will take a chance, hoping that my letter will be forwarded if you are away.

The enclosed copy of a text about my new venture for the victims of Franco, speaks for itself. I want your name among the sponsors, or any other names you can suggest.

I see that you are heading a lot of undertakings: all honour to you, my dear! But the tragedy of Spain is so deep and the suffering so great that there is plenty of room for more efforts.

Since I saw you last spring I have been back to Spain for another two months' visit. I was greeted on the day of my arrival with the bombardment of Barcelona. I saw with my own eyes the frightful havoc, especially among children, that the methods of Franco entailed. I wish I could speak with tongues of fire or rouse the people of this country by my pen. Surely they would strain every nerve and muscle to do more than they have so far.

Especially is this necessary for Catalonia which, for some reason or another, has not received the same assistance from England. Particularly is this true of the refugees. The hospitals in the rear, with their thousands upon thousands of stricken people - I want to help them especially.

Will you help me to rouse the people of this country?

Please let me hear from you soon.

Mrs Rebecca West.

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809

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] Jan. 14 [London to] John Cowper Powys, [Corwen, Wales] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17625

18, Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
W.

14th January, 1938.

Dear Friend,

You will wonder what has become of me since I have given no sign of life for so many months. As I wrote you last summer, I was determined to go to Spain, which I finally succeeded in doing. I spent another seven weeks there.

I saw what I had foreseen when my comrades entered government ministries and accepted the "comradely" help of Stalin. The Communists have taken advantage of the innocence of the National Confederation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia. Since their ascendancy to power, the Communists have introduced the methods of the G.P.U. to Spain, have persecuted and arrested thousands of people, have killed a number in broad daylight and have even attempted to crush some of the collectivised work. If they have not entirely succeeded in their vicious task, it is only because libertarian ideas are too deeply rooted in the Spanish people ever to be eradicated.

Do not think I have returned discouraged. True, some of the revolutionary constructive achievements have gone by the board, but I have too deep a faith in the Spanish people and in my own comrades to despair entirely.

I have come back to take up once more the threads of activity in this country. I have already found it as trying and difficult as ever. My main object is to launch a section of a new organisation brought to life in Spain, the S.I.A. (International Anti-Fascist Solidarity). This organisation has been founded expressly for the care of the tens of thousands of refugee children, men and women, to minister to the needs of the unfortunate wounded victims of Fascism in the hospitals in the rear of the struggle, and to take care of the civil population so as to prevent their demoralisation: all in all a worthy humanitarian task, you will agree. The English Section which I am trying to found will be devoted particularly to Catalonia which has a million refugees. So much is being done for Spain by all sorts of organisations in this country, but very little for Catalonia. It is for this reason that I and a few friends are anxious to rouse interest as well as moral and material help for the task of the S.I.A.

I am enclosing a copy of a rough draft which we mean to print in a folder. Will you please read it carefully? If it appeals to you, will you give me your name to be added to the list of sponsors? Please do so soon.

810

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] Jan. 14 [London to] John Cowper Powys, [Corwen, Wales] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

17626

2

I wonder how you have been all this time? I have seen a review of a work of your brother's, but nothing mentioned about you. Have you been well? Are you writing? I would love to hear from you again to re-establish our correspondence.

I am rather belated with my good wishes for the New Year, but I do wish you health and many interesting events.

Sincerely,

John Cowper Powys, Esq.

Similar text to Havelock Ellis, Esq.

811

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 14 [London to] Louis Golding, [London?] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

17508

18, Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
W.

14th January, 1938.

Dear Louis Golding,

I have not forgotten the kind encouragement you gave me in my effort to organise a concert for the homeless Spanish women and children. That emboldens me to come to you again with another request: to give me your name as one of the sponsors of a new venture I am engaged on in this City.

I enclose copy of a rough text which sets forth the purpose of this venture. No doubt you are a busy man, and it is rather presumptuous to impose on you extra reading, but I feel sure you will not refuse to go over the enclosure and see whether it appeals to you sufficiently to persuade you to sponsor our efforts.

As we should like to reach a great many people as soon as possible, perhaps you would be good enough to let me hear from you very soon.

Louis Golding, Esq.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 14, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fenner Brockway. —
1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Chairman: MAXTON, M.P.

Hon. Treasurer: F. W. JOWETT

Telephone: Central 3196
Telegrams: Ipar, Ltd, London



Secretary: A. FENNER BROCKWAY
28 St. Bride Street
London, E.C.A.

14th January, 1938.

Emma Goldman,
18, Catsletown Rd.,
West Kensington, W.14.

My dear Emma,

I loved having a meal with you and the apology is due from me to you for running away rather than from you to me because I did not get the coffee.

I cannot get information about a Trade Union delegation to Spain. No one seems to know about it. As you know, one deputation of Labour M.P.'s has gone and before they left I wrote to each one of them individually urging that they should get into touch with the C.N.T. It was stated that a second deputation was going, but I have heard no more about this. I am still making enquiries and if I hear of anything I will certainly urge that they must visit the C.N.T.

If you can arrange for someone to come to this office we will gladly let him take a list of the Trade Union addresses which we possess. Please let us know beforehand when he is likely to come.

So far as the commission to Spain is concerned, I think the first thing to do is (a) to get an assurance from Paris that a Spanish visa will be forthcoming, and (b) to get an assurance from Vasquez that the fares will be met and that they will be the guests of the C.N.T. in Spain itself. When we had this idea before I wrote and obtained acceptances from good working class people. They have sometimes written to me about it since and naturally are disappointed because nothing came of it. I don't want to be renewing hopes unless there is something definite. I can give you the promise that I can find a representative miner, railwayman, engineer and textile worker to go, at least.

With all good wishes,

Yours,

Fenner.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 14 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / [Fenner Brockway].—
1 p.; 28 × 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23927

14th January, 1938.

Emma Goldman,
18, Gt. Portland Rd.,
West Kensington, W.14.

My dear Emma,

I loved having a meal with you and the apology is due from me to you for running away rather than from you to me because I did not get the coffee.

I cannot get information about a Trade Union delegation to Spain. No one seems to know about it. As you know, one deputation of Labour M.P.'s has gone and before they left I wrote to each one of them individually urging that they should get into touch with the C.N.T. It was stated that a second deputation was going, but I have heard no more about this. I am still making enquiries and if I hear of anything I will certainly urge that they must visit the C.N.T.

If you can arrange for someone to come to this office we will gladly let him take a list of the Trade Union addresses which we possess. Please let us know beforehand when he is likely to come.

So far as the commission to Spain is concerned, I think the first thing to do is (a) to get an assurance from Paris that a Spanish visa will be forthcoming, and (b) to get an assurance from Vazquez that the fares will be met and that they will be the guests of the C.N.T. in Spain itself. When we had this idea before I wrote and obtained acceptances from good working class people. They have sometimes written to me about it since and naturally are disappointed because nothing came of it. I don't want to be renewing hopes unless there is something definite. I can give you the promise that I can find a representative miner, railwayman, engineer and textile worker to go, at least.

With all good wishes,

Yours,

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814

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 14, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fredric J. Warburg. —
2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

MARTIN SECKER AND WARBURG LTD

22 Essex Street, London, W.C.2

Publishers

January 14, 1938

Miss Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Road
West Kensington
W. 14.

Dear Emma,

Thank you for your letter of January 12 with the enclosed draft of the appeal which I return you herewith. It seems to me very effective.

With reference to your proposed list of sponsors I do not think I can give you permission to add my name to them.. Not because I do not fully approve the objects of the appeal but because of my very special position as head of this publishing firm.

X Cyril Connolly's address is: c/o New Statesman, 10 Great Turnstile, W.C. 1. marked Personal. I do not know Chalmers Mitchell personally.

With reference to the names in the pamphlet AUTHORS TAKE SIDES. I cannot give you full biographies of them in this letter but of the ones you have marked I should think the most suitable for your purpose are:

Amstelers
X Oswald Blakeston
Gerald Bullett
X Thomas Burke
X Hamilton Fyfe
X Douglas Goldring
Geoffrey Gorer
X Laurence Housman
Brian Howard
Storm Jameson

X C.E.M. Joad
X Rose Macaulay
X Louise Morgan
X Llewelyn Powys
V.S. Pritchett
X Herbert Read
X Rebecca West
Antonio White

The proofs and the chapters have gone to Rooker. I am sending you herewith a set of the proofs for yourself. I think it makes a nice little book.

We are not yet ready to give a provisional

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 14, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fredric J. Warburg. —
2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Publishers

(continued)

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decision on Cervantes SPANISH REVOLUTION.. I hope to have
something to say about this book inside the next fortnight.

Yours cordially,

Fredric J. Warburg

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 14, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[anuel] Mascarell. — 1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

La Nouvelle Espagne Antifasciste

F38
M.55.

Paris, el 14 de Enero 1938.

A EMMA GOLDMAN

LONDON

Estimada camarada,

En acuse de la tuya del 10 del corriente, he de decirte que veo has recibido todo cuanto te he os mandado, exceptuando los clichés de la colectivización de Bulsareny. A lo menos, nada nos dicen en la tuya de que lo hayas recibido.

No me sorprende que los editores ingleses no tengan interés ninguno en publicar los libros de la C.N.T.-I.O.L. ¿Que vamos hacerle? No dudamos que tú haras todos los posibles para que se haga lo que buennamente se pueda.

Respecto a la proyectada comisión de auténticos obreros del partido leborista que desean visitar España, he de decirte que lo estimo interesante. Pero he de advertirte (según me ha comunicado el camarada ROCA) que no es posible obtener la autorización, por parte de las autoridades españolas, para poder entrar en España si esta comisión no lleva todos los documentos en regla por parte de las autoridades inglesas. Tú debes comprender que facilitar la documentación a una persona sola, siendo difícil, no lo es tanto como obtenerlo para varios. Y ese es el caso que tú planteas de esa comisión colectiva. Te repito, pues, que hagas todos los posibles para que los compañeros que formen parte de esa comisión para visitar los centros de producción industrial y campesina, deban salir de Inglaterra con todos los documentos en regla. De lo contrario, corren el riesgo, sea quien sea el que no los tuviere, que se quedara forzosamente en Francia.

Inutil decirte que esperamos nos mandaras 3 ejemplares de cada número del periódico que vais a editar.

No restándome nada más, te saluda fraternalmente.



M. MASCARELL.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Circular] 1938 Jan. [15?] London [to unknown recipient] / Emma Goldman.—
1 p.; 28 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA
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21 FRITH STREET
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LONDON, W.1

London,

TELEPHONE: GERARD 2636

January 1938

The Secretary,

Dear Comrade,

The enclosed folder contains a brief outline of the structure of the CONFEDERACION NACIONAL TRABAJO (National Confederation of Labour - C.N.T.) in Spain.

Right from the historic date - July 19th 1936 - when the heroic Spanish people repulsed the treacherous military and Fascist rebellion, the C.N.T. took upon itself the task of looking after the functioning of the Economic Life of their country.

They took charge of the Transport, Railway system, the various industries, as well as the Land, which were collectivised under Anarcho-Syndicalist control. By the excellent working of all these Services, they proceeded to demonstrate to the world the possibility of constructive work in the midst of a Revolution and civil war. This had never before been attempted during a revolutionary period. Despite well-nigh insurmountable difficulties and hardships, in the face of ever present danger and death, they succeeded in maintaining their remarkable achievements to this day.

The growth and Revolutionary character of the C.N.T. must be sought in the Federalistic structure of its organisation, as described in the enclosed folder. They are therefore anxious to share their experiences with all Trade Union comrades in other countries - not because they want to impose their own form of organisation on others. They know too well that every country has its own special conditions which determine the policy and tactics of any labour struggles and fundamental changes.

The C.N.T. does feel, however, that if the workers outside of Spain possessed an accurate knowledge of the methods and bases of their organisation, it would bring the other workers closer to them and would enlist their solidarity and support.

We hope, therefore, that you will give the enclosed folder careful consideration and bring it to the attention of your members.

Should you desire any further information on the subject, please write or call at the Office of the London Bureau of the C.N.T., 21 Frith Street, (Shaftesbury Ave., W.1).

Yours fraternally,

Emma Goldman

Accredited representative of the
C.N.T.-F.A.I. in England

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan.? 15? London to Pedro? Herrera?, Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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pounds of which four hundred came from America. The comrades of our paper used to send this money to the comrades of Espagne Libre I believe that was its name, the comrades who took care of those orphans. This organisation was done away with when the SIA Section was organised and our comrades of Spain and the WORLD now feel they would like to contribute the money they raise to the English section of the SIA if they could be assured that you would assign some particular colony of children which that money would support. You must realize the psychological effect of an appeal for a direct purpose such as an orphan colony, school or refugee home. It would be a pity to lose what SPAIN AND THE WORLD can raise in money. Especially as the comrades want to cooperate with the English Section of the SIA. I suggest therefore that you name some one definite childrens home or colony for which the paper can go on appealing. We would like to suggest a comrade who has been at the front a long time, then came here and helped organize a small Anarcho-Syndicalist Union. Then went back to Spain and he has since been in charge of some school near Barcelona. I haven't his address at hand. But I will get it. His name is Dreescher. He wrote us that he would be most willing to be put in charge of a colony or school for refugee children. Perhaps you will get in touch with him after I sent you his address though Martin may know where he is and see what can be done about placing him and his comrade, an English girl in charge of some work in connection with the SIA. But whether it is he or someone else the main thing is that you specify some one school or colony for which SPAIN AND THE WORLD can continue to appeal. The money will then be turned over to the fund of the English Section of the SIA and sent to Marseille or whatever place you will indicate. Please answer this question very soon.

I think you know that Volin has written a reply to that miserable liar Yaroslavsky who attacked our comrades in Russia and Anarchism in all countries. I wonder what was done about it. Was it ever published in Spanish. I asked comrade Vazquez at the Conference in Paris and he promised to let me know. He has not done so until now. Will you please find out and write me.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

Salud.

Dear Comrade whoever did the English Bulletin it is impossible to give it to an English person to read. It is an atrocious English full of mistakes. It seems such a waste of paper and time to get out such a bulletin. I have written comrade V suggesting that we publish organize a Press Service here, not a paper but just news items. That would do away with the need of printing an English Bulletin in Spain. Will you remind him of it? Of course for Press Service we would need fresh and important news. Is there no way to arrange for direct telephone connections between Barcelona and London? That would keep us informed quickly because the news we get even from Paris is too old for England. If it is impossible to connect direct with me by phone perhaps it can be arranged that comrade Galve call me

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The
Emma
Goldman
Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 41

Correspondence

August 1, 1937, to January 15, 1938

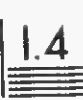
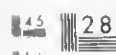
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